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Founded by JAMES KNOWLES.

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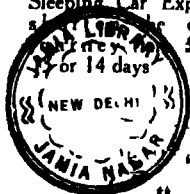
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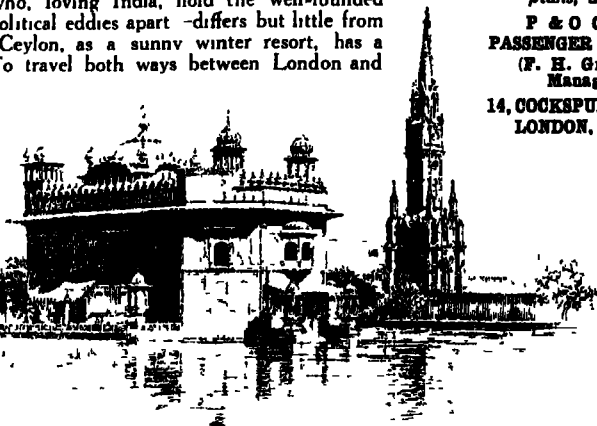
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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

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BRITAIN AND THE DOMINIONS

There are those who think the British Empire is quietly disintegrating. In both Britain and the Dominions there are a very few who care little whether it disintegrates or not. The great multitude of British people everywhere desire its continuance. The question in suspense is, not whether it shall continue, but how.

There are some who think the present system satisfactory. Under it the Empire has survived; under it, during the Boer War and the Great War, the Dominions rendered great services to Britain. Yet there are many who ask whether an Empire without a Government can stand.

There are certainly dangers in the present situation. The first of these is that in the executive sense of the word we have no Empire. There is no person or body that can speak for the Empire or put it in action. It is claimed that the King is the link that holds the Empire together. But even he has no execu-

tive Imperial powers, either in himself or through any of his Ministers. The Empire at present is merely a loose association of powers. It is not even an alliance of these powers, for there is no treaty. Up to the present these powers—Britain and the Dominions—have always acted together in matters of foreign policy and war. Until lately the conduct of these matters was left wholly and without question to the British Government. But an arrangement which works well while the family is young ceases to work when its members near adult age. Consequently the Dominions are now being 'consulted' on foreign affairs. Some of them are beginning to ask themselves whether they shall not in their own persons, through their own Ambassadors, address and do their business with foreign Courts. Well-known men in some of the Dominions state that it is an open question whether the Dominions would support Britain in any future war. Quite probably the Dominions would, and without hesitation. Certainly New Zealand would. But the mere fact that the above questions are being asked shows a certain drift. If this drift becomes more marked, where is the Empire?

The fact is that the Dominions are coming of age. Do not let it be thought that means there is any resentment on their part towards Great Britain. There certainly is not in New Zealand, and there is little or no evidence of any in any of the other Dominions. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence of intense affection for the Old Country, and of appreciation of the magnificent generosity with which Britain has treated the Dominions. *Still*, the Dominions are growing up, and they are beginning to ask—not insistently or offensively, it is hoped—for a share in the government of the Empire.

Britain now appears to be more willing to grant this share than the Dominions are to acquire it. She refuses them nothing. She established Imperial Conferences before they were asked for. She carefully 'consults' the Dominions on matters of foreign policy. But still, in the executive sense of the word, there is no Empire. Even the Imperial Conferences have no executive power. Some of the Dominion Legislatures in set terms bind their Prime Ministers not to commit the Dominions to anything. Britain enters the Conferences equally unfettered. As recent events have shown, there is some danger that the Conferences may thus damage rather than strengthen Imperial unity. No one can even question the right of Great Britain or of any of the Dominions to decline to confirm resolutions come to at the Conferences. But, however unreasonable the feeling may be, there is apt to be some annoyance on the part of those who favour resolutions that are discarded. They ask, 'If they won't take our opinions why do they call us together?'

There is another danger in these Conferences. The invited Prime Ministers go to them as specifically representing certain territories. It can be granted that they all have an earnest desire to promote the general interests of the Empire, but they go, not as Imperial representatives, but as representing in each case either Britain or a Dominion. The consequence is, that if anything goes wrong, the country responsible for the mischance, and not the school of thought, is blamed. So in Dominion newspapers we see a heading, 'Grievance against Britain,' because the British Parliament declined to confirm the Imperial Conference resolutions. In this way nation is put against nation within the Empire. Without any malicious engineering, such a position might easily create the feeling that the Dominions had a real grievance against Britain, and history shows how quickly such a feeling may become dangerous.

Now if the Dominion representatives could go home, not specifically as representing Dominions, but as representing schools of thought, or, as we more often call them, political parties, such a danger would be averted. In the recent instance not Britain but the Free Traders would be blamed. In other cases the Little Englanders, or, as might be the case, the Jingoes, would be blamed. Within the Empire nation would not be set against nation. Party might quarrel with party without endangering the Empire, and if the delegations were big enough, delegates from the same Dominion, or from Britain, would be found taking different sides. The present system tends to set the territorial units of the Empire one against the other. This matter needs stressing, as it is a real source of danger.

In much the same way, trouble is likely to arise from the 'consultation' on foreign affairs. It is necessarily a pitiful business. Save on the rare and brief occasions when the Imperial Conference is sitting, the 'consultation' must be by letter or cable; and what satisfaction can be expected from that? Also it will sometimes happen that one unit of the Empire will be much interested in some particular question, and when 'consulted' will give its advice freely and zealously. If, as is quite probable, the advice is not followed, angry resentment is felt. And again it is directed against one country: 'Britain asked our advice and then took no notice of it.' How often, even in private life, deep offence is felt by a man who has given an opinion on a matter on which he has a right to be consulted, and finds his opinion ignored! If the same man were on a board of directors, and after expressing his opinions had a vote taken, and found the matter decided and settled against him, he would never dream of taking offence. Considerations such as these led Froude to denounce the legislative bodies then in existence in the West Indies. They

were advisory bodies only, with no executive powers. He held there were no worse means of irritating the West Indian people, and of embittering their relations with the Empire, than by giving them the right to advise but not to perform. The Empire would certainly seem to need some representative authority with executive powers.

In the absence of such an authority the Dominions are tempted to take things into their own hands, to question whether they would support Britain in war, and generally to act as independent units rather than as members of the same Empire. The tendency in that direction, slight though it is, can even now be noticed by the reader of the debates in the various Parliaments of the Empire. But those who know how quickly events move in the rapidly growing Dominions, know that what is to-day a slight tendency may in a single generation become a confirmed practice. There being, in the true sense of the word, no Imperial Government, the Government of each Dominion will bulk more and more largely in the eyes of its people, will become the only Government, will become '*our*' Government, to the exclusion of all other Governments. To-day, if a New Zealander were travelling in Europe and were asked his nationality, he would probably reply that he was a Briton, because to-day the Empire is the biggest thing in his thoughts. If, however, his sense of empire is allowed to die away, in thirty years' time he will be nothing but a New Zealander. The near will transcend the distant. It is the other way about with the American. There were times when he would have claimed to be a Virginian, or a New Yorker. To-day to all foreigners he is an American. The greater transcends the less.

The danger of a change of attitude in the Dominions is the greater since their feeling for Britain is based so largely on sentiment, and this sentiment again is based on birth and parentage. In ever increasing proportions the Dominions will be peopled by those born within their borders, and further removed from direct British parenthood. If anything is to be done, it should be done now when sentiment would make the doing easy.

The Empire is seriously handicapped by the present want of a representative authority with executive powers. The world has always found it difficult to believe that the far-flung British Empire is a unit. When it finds that this or that Dominion has failed to follow a lead it will be sure it is not. It is not what an Empire is, but what the world believes it to be, that counts in diplomacy. If the Empire had a representative authority its prestige would be even greater than at present. Also affairs would be much more easily managed. At present things are in a chaotic state. The London Conference met to discuss the Dawes

Report, and the British Government, instead of being able to devote its whole time and thought to that conference, was compelled to devote much attention to securing representation for the Dominions at the Conference. What a reflection on Imperial unity it would be if some of the Dominions voted one way and some the other! Sooner or later, under present conditions, that is bound to occur. The Empire needs a single and representative executive.

Then why not have it? Possibly the Dominions would not agree to have it. If while they were younger they had been invited to join an Imperial Executive, to become partners, as it were, in the administration of the Empire, they would probably have done so. In fact, the Dominions, or the Colonies as they were then, should from their foundation have been given a place in the British Parliament. Everyone must recognise the difficulties in providing for that, and realise that in the early days such representation would have been a mere formality. But, living as I do in the most distant of the Dominions, I venture to assert unhesitatingly that the difficulties could have been overcome, and that the formality of representation would have become a reality.

But little is to be gained by discussing what might have been. The question is, Why not have representation now? The Dominions have been so long without it that it is questionable whether they would accept it now. Certainly there would be need of enlightening discussion before they would. The common form of objection to any form of Imperial Federation is, 'Oh, we cannot part with our autonomy.'

Before dealing with that, may I issue a word of warning to British statesmen? I have often been amazed to note that they accept as the deliberately thought-out convictions of the people of the Dominions mere catch-cries that voice a passing and hastily formed idea, and very often an idea that is entertained by only a few people. It is wonderful, however, how a catch-cry will pass from mouth to mouth, and become popular for the moment. But the ideas are as quickly dropped as they were picked up, and should not be taken too seriously. A little thought and discussion would possibly convince us that our autonomy was in no way threatened by Imperial Federation. Under that we could keep all the autonomy we enjoy at present —that is, the unlimited right to manage our local affairs. Imperial Federation would increase our powers, not diminish them. For at present the Dominions have no powers in regard to foreign affairs. We are 'consulted,' but we have no 'authority.' Under Imperial Federation our representatives would be members of the body that would control foreign affairs. There would appear

and produce an impression that their opinions are generally held. And so we get the cry that 'The Dominions will never submit to taxation by an Imperial Parliament.' If the Dominions are given representation in a properly constituted Imperial Parliament, I am confident there will not be the slightest protest or objection against the taxes imposed by that Parliament.

All history is against the likelihood of any such objection. Before Federation the American States showed an excessive meanness in contributing to the general expenditure. Even during the War of Independence, when feeling and patriotism were running high, the States haggled over, evaded, and refused contributions. They starved their army. Only a man with Washington's indomitable persistency could have carried on. As it was, his fortunes were time and again almost wrecked by want of the money the States were under a solemn obligation to provide. After the war Alexander Hamilton saw the danger the lack of a central Government was creating. In spite of enormous difficulties, difficulties far greater than those now facing the people of the British Empire, he induced the people of the thirteen independent States to join together in a Federation under a Federal Government, and thus to become the United States of America. From that day to this there has been no trouble about taxes, although some of the States are 3000 miles from the seat of government and have only one representative in a House of Representatives numbering 435 members. In Canada it was the same. The Provinces were quite independent of one another, but the need of a general Government became apparent, just as it has become apparent in the British Empire. Conferences formulated a Federal Constitution, the Provinces adopted it, and we have now the Dominion of Canada, speaking with one voice. The Canadian people everywhere pay taxes to the central Federal Government, the people of Yukon, isolated and thousands of miles away, as readily as the people of Ontario. It must be remembered that Canada had a special difficulty in securing the unity of its people in that the people of Quebec, its oldest and most populous Province, were French, different in race, in language, and in religion from the British people of Canada.

The same is true of South Africa. Differences of race and language, and even the memories of a bitter war just fought between themselves, did not prevent the South African States from federating, and to-day the Boer of the Transvaal pays his taxes to the Federal Government just as willingly as does the Englishman of Natal. In Australia it has been the same. Save for enormous distances, there were not the same difficulties in the way of Federation there as in the other cases, but through personal feelings and local jealousies, and the want of a man to lead them,

the people of Australia had to wait longer for Federation than they should have. But there, again, the people of the far-away States pay their taxes to the Federal Government without a thought of protest.

Since Federation has been a success in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, in the United States, why is it not adopted for the British Empire? The need of it is very apparent. The difficulty of carrying on the government of the Empire under the present system, or rather want of system, is becoming more and more acute. That is universally recognised. But, instead of following the blazed trail, our statesmen in Britain and the Dominions follow this and that and the other unexplored track, and, of course, become bogged or lost. They try any and every way except the one way that has been proved for a hundred years and more to lead to success. That way they will not put a foot upon.

There are a few who urge that the Federal solution will not apply to the British Empire because the units of the British Empire are separated from one another by the sea, whereas the territories of all previously federated States are contiguous. Students are agreed that this would make Imperial Federation easier—not more difficult. In all Federations the one great difficulty is to reconcile State Rights with Federal Rights. Where does the one end and the other begin? It was the failure of the Constitution of the United States to make this explicit that made the American Civil War possible. And while one State bounds another State it will always be difficult to decide what are local matters and what are general matters. In the British Empire, the sea happily settles this matter for us. Each of the units of the Empire is self-contained. The sea has drawn a ring round it. All the matters that concern only the peoples within each of those rings are for their own management and settlement. These are State or Dominion Rights. Matters that concern them all, such as War, Diplomacy, and Defence, can by common consent be left to the common or federal Government.

Who then will take the lead in federating the British peoples? Naturally the Mother Country should. It is her privilege to offer to make her sons, the Dominions, partners in the firm. Yet she perhaps hesitates. She remembers using pressure on the American Colonies and the sad result. Possibly she has determined now to leave all advances, all suggestions for constitutional changes, to the Dominions. If that is so there is little likelihood of anything being done, for in their turn the Dominions are waiting for a lead from Britain. As usual, it is Britain who is to do the giving. She must express her willingness to hand over the government of the Empire to a Federal Parliament.

At the Imperial Conference of 1911 Mr. Asquith gave the

impression that Britain would decline to do this. He also urged that as some of the Dominions would have a small minority representation, any plan for an Imperial Parliament was unsuitable.

If that argument were sound, of course no Federation with its Federal Parliament would ever have been formed. For the United States, it must be urged again, have States that have only one representative in the Federal House of Representatives. In Canada Yukon has only one member. In South Africa Natal has small representation, and so has West Australia in Australia. Yet that fact apparently creates no difficulties and rouses no soreness. Apparently Mr. Asquith thought that members of the British Imperial Federal Parliament would vote according to their domicile, that they would be present only and wholly as Englishmen, or Canadians, or Australians, or South Africans, or New Zealanders. Does anyone believe that, say, 100 British representatives elected throughout Britain would meet and vote only as Britons; that is to say, always and only as Mr. Asquith or anyone else thought was to the direct advantage of Britain? Would, say, the five New Zealand representatives form a tiny *bloc* and always vote together because they were New Zealanders? The idea is absurd. In other Federal Parliaments representatives from the same State take different sides and vote against one another, because they vote not, for instance, as New Yorkers, but as the Republicans or Democrats on whose ticket they were elected. In New Zealand, under Imperial Federal Government, New Zealand would have, say, five members, and of these two might be Conservatives, one a Liberal, one a Socialist, and one an Independent. Does anyone think that these five men could sit in the Imperial Parliament and vote always together as New Zealanders? Domicile simply does not and would not come into the question.

If the Empire is to be kept together, what is to be done? Everyone seems to recognise that the present position cannot be safely maintained. The Dominions are insisting on being treated as full partners. Failing that, they are beginning to act as independent entities. There is no feeling of soreness against Great Britain, no quarrel with her, and in any event there will, it seems plain now, be no revolution. The Dominions, or some of them—for I cannot imagine New Zealand, for instance, separating from Britain in the next fifty years—failing to get the status of partners, and a right to a deliberative and executive say in diplomacy and in the making of war and peace, will probably set up agencies of their own for dealing with these matters, and will not associate themselves with what is done by Britain. Does someone say that such action would be very much to the disadvantage of the

Dominions themselves? I truly believe it would. And more than that, the breaking up of the British Empire, even though it happened without any ill-feeling, just as it happens in a family when the sons come of age and start off on their own—the breaking up of the British Empire would be the greatest calamity the world has ever known. British people throughout the world quite rightly labour and spend to keep alive the League of Nations. Many wish they would spend more thought on maintaining the magnificent league of nations called the British Commonwealth of Nations. Many believe with Mr. Walter Page that the great hope for the future of the world lies in a good and permanent understanding between the British Empire and America. The first requisite of that is the continuance of the British Empire. If the good understanding with America comes, the Dominions should be able to play a big part in bringing it about. Being the last word in democracy, they appeal to the United States in a way of their own. They could easily be a link between the two great countries. And yet in New Zealand, a Dominion intensely loyal to Britain, the disintegration of the British Empire is the matter of everyday conversation. That to many here seems to be the way things are shaping. What can be done? Could not a widely spread conference be called, a conference, for preference, that would be elected by the peoples themselves, but if that were considered impossible, a conference that would represent all shades of opinion in Britain and in each of the Dominions, a conference to which the Dominions would be asked to send men specially qualified, and not necessarily parliamentarians? Could not such a conference be called for the specific and single purpose of discussing the constitution of the Empire? Some are afraid of such a conference. They fear that if it were called it would reveal that there is on the part of some of the Dominions no desire for further union. If that is so, should the Empire not know it? And would a conference make the position any worse than it is now? The Empire cannot be saved by neglect of these things, by wilful blindness to dangers. Of course there will be some who will say that things are quite all right as they are, that those who think otherwise are mere pessimists. So the Pacifists talked when Lord Roberts and others begged the Empire to prepare against the German menace. Yet the war came. What harm could such a conference do? Would the harm, if any, be greater than the harm done by letting things slide?

And such a conference might save the Empire.

A. S. MALCOLM.

MODERN TENDENCIES IN SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND, in common with other European countries, has since 1918 been passing through a phase of novel social adjustment and spiritual change. Her problem of reconstruction has, however, a dual aspect, for it is not confined to Imperial and mercantile considerations alone, domestic and social anxieties in some cases transcending these, and in others equalling them in moment.

That so little comprehension of the actual position of Scottish affairs is to be encountered in the English Press and among the English people is in part due to the conditions which at present prevail in Scottish journalism. English opinion is naturally largely dependent on the writings of Scottish publicists for its attitude towards Northern affairs, and, as at present constituted, Scottish journalism is somewhat unequal to the task of recognising the true character of the larger tendencies and issues which are presently taking shape in its environment. They appear to be regarded by the Scottish Press as merely of local moment, and therefore comparatively unimportant. Just as the newspapers of Brazil or Mexico give much more space to Parisian affairs in their columns than to local news, the great Scottish dailies, for the most part, fill their pages with matter relating to London in its parliamentary and social aspects, and relegate Scottish news to their more obscure corners.

Unfortunately, too, articles and reports by Scottish correspondents which appear in English journals are manifestly written with a view to their consumption by English readers, and are designed to agree with English susceptibilities. Like the plays of Sir James Barrie or the frequent Caledonian sallies of Mr. Punch, they represent a Scotland fantastic and unreal. This, one feels convinced, is due to a fundamental misapprehension of English requirements and sensibilities, so that a more frank, though still unbiassed, statement of Scottish perplexities and tendencies may subserve the purpose of much-needed enlightenment. But if the statement be frank, no inferences of an alarmist nature need be drawn, save as regards that portion of it which applies to the West of Scotland, where revolution seems to impend. The spirit of

the great mass of the Scottish people is profoundly averse from violent or precipitate courses. But the continued disregard of those problems which at present awaken a sense of uneasiness and disappointment in a community so well balanced and disciplined must, if persisted in, culminate in serious misunderstandings and mutual loss to the peoples of this island. Indeed, the continued absence of a new and more vivid policy devoted to the exclusive consideration of Scottish affairs is as unstatesmanlike as it is unwise.

Long experience has proved that it is not possible to apply a provincial administration to Scotland with any hope of success. Her national individuality is so salient, and her customs, law and outlook differ from those of the sister nation so fundamentally, as to necessitate the separate administrative treatment of her internal affairs. The existence of a Scottish Grand Committee in Parliament and the annual passage of numerous Bills exclusively relating to Scotland are tacit recognitions of this need, but they do not supply it. A sharp sense of the neglect of those questions which peculiarly affect Scotland and her corporate life is slowly perhaps, but none the less surely, permeating every class of the community. Prior to the war this sentiment was confined to a comparatively small circle of those whom their fellow-countrymen indulgently regarded as mere faddists. But not even the least observant of Scotsmen can now remain unaware of the quiet but frequently-expressed resentment which is so constantly awakened by the perfunctory and hasty consideration of Scottish business in the Imperial Parliament, by the manner in which it is too often regarded as a matter *pour rire*, by the way in which measures of urgency to Scotland are set aside on seemingly frivolous pretexts, by the extraordinary neglect of the housing question, by the manner in which covenants continue to be broken by those responsible for settlement on the land, and by the exhausting delays which accompany those undertakings of parochial or municipal enterprise which must finally be ratified in London before they can be put into local commission. In the West especially distressing and degrading social ulcers of a character unknown in England still receive no amelioration, and Moscow works her will and spreads her poisonous doctrines. Moreover, in this region the vendettas of Sinn Fein and Ulster have been imported, with the most deplorable results. Now the sinister shadow of unrest is spreading to the East, with what consequences of irritation daily conversations and the correspondence columns of the more popular journals bear striking witness.

Perhaps in no country in Europe does such conflict of social and political opinion at present exist as in Scotland. There the upper classes in the cities are segregated from the mass of the people

almost as sharply as they were in Tsarist Russia. They are politically opposed to them, they speak what is in reality a different tongue, they can scarcely be described as Scottish, although they might resent any other description. The aristocracy and landed gentry, on the other hand, possess a much livelier sense of nationality and progressiveness than the urban well-to-do, but, genuine as it is, it is nevertheless limited. The professional classes are occupied with practically the same problems of survival as at present confront their English fellows. Among the great middle and official classes there is noticeable a real and sometimes more than modestly expressed desire for the separate treatment of Scottish affairs in a home Parliament, although this is assuredly tempered by the dread of Clydeside Communism. The Scottish working man is usually a strong Nationalist, although Imperialist loyalties among this far-travelled class are not unknown, but his national sentiment is frequently accompanied by a more or less extremist attitude in politics, the younger generation of toilers being Socialist or Communist almost to a man. In the agricultural districts a virile Radicalism is still the generally accepted creed, but this frequently shades off into Socialism, although patches of Conservative colour sprinkle the political map.

The major question which at present most nearly concerns and agitates Scotsmen of patriotic tendencies is connected with the extraordinary exodus which has of late years been setting from her shores—an exodus which may be described not so much as emigration, but as a genuine race movement, threatening the ultimate depopulation of her agricultural centres. The great mass of land workers in the midland and northern counties are in the grip of a conviction that the country is 'done,' and that nothing remains for them but the hope of settlement in Canada or the United States. This notion is, of course, sedulously fostered by emigration agents employed by the Colonies and steamship lines, with the result that swarms of skilled and hardy agriculturists and artisans, the very sap and sinew of the race, are weekly fleeing the land as from an environment accursed. Last year witnessed the exodus of ever 80,000 of these from the Clyde ports alone, or more than three times the number of those who emigrated from England, and it seems not improbable that during the next decade nearly a million farm workers and tradesmen of excellent stamp, or one-fifth of the population of Scotland, will have left her shores for the Colonies. During the decade 1901–11 Scotland's total loss from emigration was 342,241, or 1 in 10 of the population, or 54,689 more than that of Ireland during the same period. Thus Scotland is being more depleted by emigration than any of the other nations of the British Islands. As many as 1600 persons sail from the Clyde ports alone every week.

There are to-day seventeen counties in Scotland with a population less than it was fifty years ago, eleven counties with less than in 1821, and five with a population smaller than in 1801. Over-population is certainly a problem in England, but it is not so in Scotland, where the reverse is the case, and therefore it seems unwise that those propagandist efforts which are properly enough directed to the relief of English congestion by emigration should be applied so ardently to Scotland.

In the minds of those Scotsmen who naturally desire that their country should retain its racial character the results which have followed upon the activities of these depopulating agencies have given rise to the most serious alarm, especially when the great influx of persons of a wholly different type falls to be taken into account. They do not hesitate to voice their suspicions that these agencies are inspired by influential forces whose desire is to extend sporting areas in Scotland by the wholesale withdrawal of her agricultural population, and point to the circumstance that the propaganda of emigration is more busily employed in Scotland than in England. But unhappily they reckon without the susceptibilities of the people. So powerful a hold has the idea of emigration, especially to Canada or the United States, upon the mind of the Scottish farm labourer, artisan or miner, that were he enabled in all cases to quit the country, it is safe to say that at least one-half of the native labouring population would at once embrace the opportunity.

The wretched conditions obtaining in agricultural life before the war, and now but little ameliorated, and the impossibility of that personal betterment so dear to the Scotsman of all classes in an agricultural environment are the chief causes of rural decay in Scotland. In the Lowland villages the absence of adult men excites general remark among strangers and visitors. Save in the mining communities, the very young and the aged chiefly inhabit the comatose villages of Lowland Scotland. In the Highlands anything of the nature of a settled community dependent otherwise than upon a summer tourist season is rare. In 1883 the collective area of the deer forests was 1,709,892 acres. In 1912 it had increased to 3,599,744, or by 1,889,852 acres in thirty years, or more than its original area; and it goes on increasing. It is possible to travel from the Kyle of Tongue on the coast of Sutherland nearly to Loch Lomond across deer forests all the way. Much of this land is, of course, of little or no use except for sporting purposes, but large tracts of what is at present deer forest were once cultivated, and could readily be cultivated again. The Royal Commission on the Highlands and Islands which investigated the whole question in 1892–95 reported that of the land devoted to sporting and grazing purposes in the seven crofting counties

1,782,785 acres were suitable for new holdings or for the enlargement of existing new holdings. This was considered by many a very cautious estimate. The minority report of the Game and Heather-burning Committee of 1921 observes that

> The constant loss which the forests are to agriculture has become a national concern. The waste of land by being converted into 'great tracts of wilderness,' the waste of pastures on which cattle and sheep were formerly grazed, the destruction (by deer) of crops such as turnips, potatoes and corn, the lasting injury to grazings, the waste of Indian corn, maize and other feeding-stuffs employed in hand-feeding deer, constitute a heavy toll upon national food resources which the country simply cannot longer tolerate.

Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, himself a deer forest proprietor, wrote in the *Estate Magazine* for September 1913:

> It may be true, I believe it often is, that a deer forest employs more people than the same area under sheep. It certainly brings in a larger rent. From a purely parochial point of view it may therefore claim to be economically sound; but from no other. It provides a healthy existence for a small group of people, but it produces nothing except a small quantity of venison, for which there is no demand. It causes money to change hands. A pack of cards can do that. I doubt whether it could be said of a single deer forest, however barren and remote, that it could serve no better purpose.

One of the possible cures for unnecessary emigration advanced by Lord Lovat and other experts is afforestation. The Royal Commission on Coast Erosion and Afforestation reported in 1909 that about 6,000,000 acres of Scottish soil could profitably be afforested. In 1918 the Forestry Sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee reported that there were not less than 3,000,000 and probably more than 5,000,000 acres of land utilised for rough grazing capable of growing first-class timber of the same quality as that imported. The continued neglect of an opportunity which would assuredly result in the rise of an industry of great national importance is tragically short-sighted. The Forestry Act of 1919 was certainly a mistake in that it established a single forestry authority for the whole of the United Kingdom, thus making for neglect and delay in the urgent measures associated with Scottish forestry, and ignoring the fact that Scotland has an afforested area more than four times larger than that of England.

Nor does the manner in which the Land Act (Scotland), 1919, is being administered call for anything but condemnation. The intention of this Act was the settlement upon small holdings purchased by Government of those demobilised service men and others who were fitted to become small holders. During the six years in which the measure has been in force over 24,000 applications have been made to the authorities for settlement, but so far

only about 3000 claimants have had holdings allotted to them. So prolix has been the administration of the Act that many claimants either died or emigrated before their claims received consideration. In view of the circumstance that suitable and readily obtainable land abounds for the purpose, the suspicions of the crofter class that settlement is being withheld or delayed in order to cause them to emigrate appears as a probable conclusion for the disappointed to arrive at.

Little need be said of the appalling housing conditions which obtain in the Scottish cities. Of the entire population of the country more than 45 per cent., representing over two million persons, live more than two in a room. This means that on the average at least five people exist and sleep in a room-and-kitchen house. The great majority of these houses cannot be described otherwise than as rookeries, and English visitors on beholding them are usually moved to a pitiful disgust. It is not generally known that the refusal of the tenants at Clydebank to pay increased rental originated with the English families who had settled there during the war, and who indignantly refused to pay the statutory increase for such 'accommodation' as they found in the burgh. Any Englishman, whatever his political creed may be, on inspecting the hovels of Glasgow or Edinburgh, must give thanks that, although he has his own housing problem, such festering slums are uncommon in his country. The effect upon public health is deplorable. Rickets, phthisis, and general physical degeneration are the fruits of the neglect of Scottish housing. The municipality of Glasgow is now entering upon a heroic effort to remove the most noisome of the ruins within its radius. This, it is estimated, will entail the expenditure of many millions, and as the entire annual grant at the disposal of corporations in Scotland for the removal of slum property amounts to only 30,000*l.*, and Glasgow's share of this amounts to about 8000*l.*, the inadequacy of the present assistance received from Government is obvious, especially when it is borne in mind that the buildings to be demolished are of stone, not of brick. A recent report on the slums of the considerable industrial centre of Falkirk states that the majority of the inhabited dwellings which it is now found necessary to demolish were constructed *in the sixteenth century*.

The analogy between Scottish and Irish slums is unfair. For years Ireland contributed nothing whatever to the Imperial Exchequer, whereas, according to the last available separate returns (1921), Scotland's contribution was 119,750,000*l.*, or, roughly, 24*l.* per head of the population, the highest *per capita* taxation in Europe, considerably higher in this respect than England's contribution. Bad housing is, indeed, the root-cause of the discontent in the Clyde area, and the sheer insanity of neglecting it

can only result in conditions of such menace as no municipality can hope to cope with by police aid alone. The picture, in this respect, could not possibly be darker. Were Dante enabled to walk the slums of Glasgow to-day, inhabited by the besotted and the bare-footed, clad in fluttering rags, wild-eyed, haggard and desperate, he would discover there more than sufficient material for a second *Inferno*.

At the time of writing the Secretary for Scotland at a general meeting of housing committees in Edinburgh has in the strongest terms laid the blame for the lack of new houses in Scotland at the door of the municipal authorities, stating that the shortage of accommodation is owing to their want of enterprise and general supineness. Last year 9000 houses were built where 100,000 were required, and Sir John Gilmour laid stress upon the need for some other solution of the problem than that envisaged through the medium of stone and lime, urging upon those present the claims of the new steel house. But two outstanding barriers to such a solution of the difficulty occur to an unbiassed critic. In the first place the steel house has certainly not received the imprimatur of Scottish technical opinion, which believes it to be unsuited to the rigours of a Caledonian winter, and secondly it is obvious that the Secretary has not reckoned with the fact that the great body of small house owners and builders in Scotland are of the lower middle class, whose rapacity (there is no other word for it) reacts on their municipal friends and representatives, and prevents by every means the adoption of alternative methods of building and the consequent destruction of the greatly inflated returns they at present enjoy from rentals and the sale of indifferent brick and harled houses constructed to secure a ready and lucrative sale. Nor, perhaps, has he accurately gauged the unexampled dourness of the building trade operative, who rejoices in ca' canny. The writer has frequently watched these men at 'work,' and has marvelled that any houses ever get built at all

It may emerge as a fact calculated to startle most English readers that from 1889 to the present time no less than eighteen Bills and motions in favour of Scottish Home Rule have been introduced in the House of Commons. The modern movement for Scottish Home Rule began in the 'eighties of last century, before Mr. Gladstone introduced the Irish Home Rule Bill of 1886, so that the movement in Scotland has actually the sanction of priority over the Irish movement. Each of those Bills and motions, with the exception of the first, has been supported by a majority of the Scottish members in the House. In April 1894 a motion for Scottish Home Rule was actually carried, and this was followed by similar successful motions in March 1895, February 1912, and June 1919. More significant still, the first readings of Scottish

Home Rule Bills were carried in May 1908 by 257 votes to 102, in August 1911 by 172 to 73 votes, in July 1912 by 264 to 212 votes, and in May 1913 the second reading of such a Bill was carried by 204 to 159 votes. Since then other Bills have been closured or counted out on their second reading.

It seems clear that this result was not in any sense due to hostility on the part of the English members of Parliament to such a measure, but to the fears or jealousies of party. If Conservatives were responsible for certain of the closures mentioned, Liberals and Labourists have been even more closely concerned in the defeat of these recurring measures. It is well known that they were actuated by the fear that the withdrawal of the Scottish members in their ranks might so deplete them as greatly to minimise their voting power. On the defeat of one of the Bills Scottish Liberals were consoled by the statement that 'we cannot do without your glorious Scottish Liberalism.' That the defeat of the last Scottish Home Rule Bill was due to the personal efforts of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then Premier, and himself a Scotsman, is no secret. The success of such a measure would, of course, have wrecked Labour representation in the House almost beyond repair.

The present writer must here regard the whole question of Scottish Home Rule from a purely academic standpoint. The stock arguments in Scotland for and against any species of devolved government are, as becomes the Scottish mentality, severely practical, and have little or nothing to do with sentiment. The antagonists of the movement suggest that Home Rule would establish a Government in Scotland of such progressive tendencies that it would shortly become intolerant of an Imperial Government the personnel of which, through the withdrawal of the Scottish members, would be preponderatingly Conservative. They believe, too, that the numerous commercial and industrial affiliations between the English and Scottish people might suffer dislocation. Moreover, they appear to think that Scotsmen in England and the Colonies would be individually prejudiced, and that the institution of a Scots Parliament would give colour to the belief abroad that the Empire was on the eve of dissolution. This notion, they say, might encourage separatist tendencies throughout the Dominions, and in the end lead to a rupture between England and Scotland as complete as that between Norway and Sweden. Perhaps the most general argument advanced against Home Rule is that Scotland would find herself comparatively neglected in a military and naval sense, and would be open to foreign attacks more readily than heretofore.

The protagonists of Home Rule point to the extraordinary taxation which Scotland has at present to support. They enlarge

upon the grievous delays in Scottish business of the first importance in the House of Commons, to the lack of time devoted to it (some seven hours in a session), and to the want of sympathy it receives both there and in the departments. They also lay stress upon the undoubted evils attending the present system of emigration, and to the agricultural situation, which is at once the cause and the result of this, to the existence of enormous and growing tracts of deer forest, and to the extraordinary influx of persons of non-Scottish birth. As regards the question of military protection, they point to the notorious fact that during the war Scotland was left almost ungarrisoned in many places, and that on April 2, 1917, when Edinburgh was raided from the air, and when the most serious damage was done, not a single anti-aircraft gun was available for her defence. But their chief arguments are based upon the fundamental psychological differences between the English and Scottish people in laws, customs, and modes of thought, and on their dissimilarity in general outlook and attitude to social questions.

Are the differences in question so fundamental as to lead to the conclusion that separate administration is essential to the best interests of Scotland? The critics of Scottish Home Rule point to the fact that for more than 150 years the relationship between the countries has been of the most harmonious description. The population of Scotland, they indicate, is less than that of Lancashire or London, and they conclude on this basis that she has no actual right to claim more in the way of separate treatment than these very important English areas. But they have entirely lost sight of the fact that, whereas neither Lancashire nor London ever possessed or laid claim to national status, Scotland only 200 years ago had a well-defined position as a nation, and is still as keenly conscious of national individuality as Ireland or Finland. They forget, too, the provisions of the Union, which was a pact between nations, and the abrogation of which, according to international law, presupposes the resumption of sovereign status on the part of the Scottish Commonwealth.

In private conversation the great majority of Scotsmen profess an adherence to the tradition and reality of Scottish nationality, but the will publicly to assert this is certainly not apparent. It remains, then, to say that if Scotsmen are behindhand in preferring their claims to separate administration they have only themselves to blame if these are not recognised. Anything in the nature of a combined and vigorous demand for a Scottish Parliament could not fail to eventuate in its establishment. Unless a community is vocal it is negligible, and Scotland is not vocal partly because she is apathetic, partly because she is fearful that self-government would rob her of those advantages she presently enjoys by close

association with her more wealthy partner. If that is her attitude —and it would seem to be—there is manifestly no more to be said, and her people must resign themselves to the slow but certain obliteration of national landmarks. It is evident in any case that the same desire and passionate intention to retain her national individuality has not been so apparent in the case of Scotland as in that of Ireland, whether from reasons of satisfaction with her lot, because of commercial interest, or through the natural supineness of her people, or because of a sedulous education in Imperial loyalties which is ardently fostered in her schools, the impartial critic must himself conclude.

Ardent Scottish patriots claim that the most extraordinary efforts have been made to quench the spirit of Scottish nationality by every possible means, especially by the stress undoubtedly laid in Scottish schools on the benefits which have accrued to the Union of 1707, by the steady introduction of English customs and habits of thought, by the influence of the overwhelmingly Conservative Scottish Press, through the media of the theatre and music-hall, and the ubiquity of English journals and literary mediums. They appeal to the youth of the country to peruse the older historians of more patriotic tendency, and to turn to the older models in Scottish literature. But it does not seem to have occurred to them that if the national spirit is to be conserved it must also be modernised. The Scot values Burns, Scott, and Hume as the Englishman values Shakespeare, Thackeray, and Bacon. But the latter does not believe that because England produced Shakespeare and Thackeray her literary invention should therefore cease.

The slowly arising consciousness of the failure of Scottish national literary inspiration has given impetus to a movement which styles itself the Scottish Renaissance. This, though presently in the chrysalis stage, is steadily approaching a more advanced evolutionary form. Scotland of the last Victorian phase was more or less a breeding-ground for the raising of Imperial officials and 'heads of departments,' journalists who aspired to the honours of Fleet Street, engineers and craftsmen with Indian or Transatlantic ambitions, and agriculturists with eyes on colonial holdings. Lads o' pairts seldom remained beneath the roof tree. But although the lure and desire of these things is by no means quenched, there has arisen a strange new generation which essays to make the best of things at home. Scotland, indeed, has been rediscovered by her own sons. The greatly enhanced rewards in the teaching profession, the almost official status of the medical practitioner, and increased opportunities in the Civil Service have created a stay-at-home class which has not failed to seize the novel opportunities presented to it, and it is largely owing to this class,

recruited mostly from the middle orders, that a consciousness of something approaching the national as opposed to the provincial spirit is slowly asserting itself in politics and literature.

The manifestations of this 'Renaissance' are almost wholly cultural and æsthetic, although they are not without points of contact with politics where the need for increased local powers and facilities are indicated. Nor, on the other hand, have they as yet any actual affiliations with the economic rancours of the Clyde. The movement is a thing purely Scottish, groping, if not timid, and desirous of finding a novel orientation for Scottish opinion in a new Europe. Its genius is, at present, characteristically literary—poetic, polemic, and somewhat scathingly contemptuous of the great and accepted names in Caledonian literature. It regards the cult of Burns as the worship of a Druidism outworn, the novels of Scott as excellent reading matter for the fifth standard, and for Stevenson and Barrie it has such an amused patronage as might be accorded by the commander of a submarine to the skipper of a 'wind-jammer.'

If it is a little deedless, if it possesses no illustrious names, it is still most gallant in effort and most grandly serious. By the rapid and frequent demise of its organs of opinion and expression it is undaunted, and the failure of one of its journals is almost instantly redeemed by the appearance of another. Anthologies and broadsheets pour from its presses. Its weakness is owing more to the lack of distinction in creative effort, to the absence of high imaginative capacity in its ranks, rather than to lack of general excellence or earnest endeavour. It needs a Mistral, a D'Annunzio, one of those flashing figures, half-poet, half-politician, who, like a sun of culture, render more orderly and acceptable the processes and gyrations of lesser planets around its central fire. Its leader, Mr. C. M. Grieve, is, indeed, a man of great literary resource and high enthusiasms.

But from this movement proceeds little hope of more than literary rebirth. It is not concerned so much with reform as with national literary expression. In this it resembles not at all the menacing social movement in the West, at present a cauldron of unrest, an urn of black prophecies.

The question of Western politics in Scotland is highly involved. It is impossible to say how closely the forces of Communism and Hibernianism have approached each other in the seething industrial region in and around Glasgow, but that they make common cause at election times is certain. At the time of writing the Scottish newspapers are giving considerable space to the account of a 'battle' which has taken place between the members of a great Orange procession and demonstration and the Catholic Irish in Glasgow. In the *melée* more than a hundred persons were

wounded and one was shot, and the menace to the peace of Scotland's greatest city is dilated on in anxious leading articles, which, however, offer no remedy for a situation which is coming to be regarded by Scotsmen with growing anger and resentment.

The Irish—immigrants and Scottish-born—in the West of Scotland now number more than three-quarters of a million, or about one-seventh of the population of the country. They have few native apologists save those who cherish Celtic or Catholic sentiments, and the Presbyterian ecclesiastical authorities regard their growing numbers with the liveliest alarm, the Western presbyteries issuing at intervals manifestoes drawing attention to their steady increase and the detrimental effect they must inevitably have on Scottish Protestant institutions. Moreover, their comparative poverty and the casual nature of their employment frequently render them a charge on the local rates, and parish and municipal authorities groan beneath the upkeep of their aged and their invalid poor. It is matter of common knowledge that the charitable institutions of Glasgow are filled with persons of Irish origin, and police authorities throughout the country usually make it abundantly plain in their annual reports that at least 60 per cent. of the crime in Scotland is due to persons of Irish origin. Moreover, it is frequently stated that the Irish fraternal societies and brotherhoods employ all possible influence to secure municipal and other positions for their members, and that even the meanest Hibernian coming to Scotland can be certain of employment. This policy, it is widely believed, is resulting in the unemployment of Scottish natives, who are thus forced to seek relief in emigration.

No less disturbing to the law-abiding citizen is the growing power of Communism in the far-flung area of greater Glasgow and its environs. This takes the form of the Bolshevism of Moscow, tempered and reinforced by the unrelenting dourness and savage resentment towards 'respectability' which characterise the labourer and working man of the West. The leaders of this movement are for the most part men of lop-sided education, skilled in the sophistries of Marx and Kropotkin, but extraordinarily deficient in larger view and general culture, inspired with all the arrogance and snobbery of a class prejudice which revels in dislike of the other sections of society. If revolution raises its head in Britain the Clyde will witness its prologue. The apologists of this organised hooliganism—for it lacks the refinements and vision of Fabianism—profess to discern in it the last of many social movements which Clydeside has given to Scotland throughout the centuries, but the real lover of his country will not confound this weed of barbarism with the nobler plant of Scottish independence. It has, indeed, nothing in common with

the chivalrous endeavour of William Wallace or the spirituality of Covenanting doctrine. This is no flower of native growth, but a noxious nettle, blown to the fertile soil of the Glasgow slums from Continental ghettoes and the social deserts of Muscovy, whose worst spawn are harboured in these gloomy and festering wynds. The cancer has taken such deep root that good authorities are of the opinion that nothing short of the most relentless surgery will excise it. But wisdom would suggest the immediate application of the balsams of social betterment to this sore, and only folly would seek to effect its removal by drastic operation.

The growing menace of Bolshevism—it is weakness to call it by any other name—in the West of Scotland demands the most careful and urgent consideration of Parliament. To blink its menace is to court irreparable disaster. Not a man in Scotland but is aware of this, and a Scottish Parliament would long ago have approached the serious problem of a West in tentative revolt. If Parliament does not recognise the menace of the plague and seek to ameliorate the conditions which have brought it into being, let it prepare in no far distant year for an upheaval of such magnitude as will shake the British State to its foundations. To Imperial neglect of domestic problems, and to that alone, to the policy which nurses the suburbs of Empire to the starvation of its heart, the introduction and spread of the Russian virus is due. The sudden rise of a Soviet republic in the West of Scotland is, to those who know it, by no means the dream of the alarmist or the visionary. The 'cabinet' of this organisation is already in being, its departments are mapped out in skeleton. Its first growth might well be checked, though not easily; but the example to other areas of unrest would be certain to entail consequences of the gravest character, and in any case the price to be paid would include not only the ruin of the whole industrial region of the Clyde, but the contagion of its doctrines of perversion and hate to localities at present less infected with the vindictive spleen which inspires its ignorant and almost barbarous proletariat. The continued neglect of he social problems of Clydeside must eventuate in the most widespread disasters to British commerce and prestige, and one cannot think of any insular and domestic question which would better repay the most thorough and sympathetic examination by the responsible authorities.

To approach with some relief lesser grievances, only a large optimism could flatter the policy of the amalgamation of the Scottish railways and banks with those of England. The unification of the railway systems has been productive of very considerable irritation owing to the withdrawal of the high-power locomotives which formerly plied on the Scottish local lines being removed to similar English lines and their places being filled by

engines of obsolete type. The policy, too, of withdrawing the railway repairing centres from Inverness and elsewhere to England has also given rise to a great deal of heartburning, as has the loss of the large railway printing orders to Edinburgh and Glasgow firms. The fact that the London and North-Eastern Railway now extends to Caithness and runs through Dornoch, Thurso, and the Kyle of Lochalsh may seem merely amusing to anyone with a sense of the proprieties of locality and nomenclature, but among the natives of these regions and to the Scottish railwaymen who must perforce sport the initials L.N.E.R. on their caps it is by no means regarded with humour.

But if the amalgamation of the railways has aroused keen popular regret, that of the banks has awakened a sense of injustice more immediate because it touches the Scotsman in what is perhaps his most vulnerable point—his pocket. By the union of the banks more than 15 millions of Scottish money was at a stroke withdrawn to the new London headquarters. It gave the great London financial corporations a grip of business all over Scotland. But from the popular point of view a grievance more acute is the discontinuance of the ready credit for minor amounts given by the old Scottish branches to the small tradesman. No longer can the small farmer or the fisherman betake himself to his branch in the certainty that by virtue of his own recognisances and record he will secure the accommodation formerly granted to him. His claim, once readily acceded to because of long experience of his *bona fides*, must now be forwarded to London, which regards its modest appeal as scarcely worthy of consideration. It is unnecessary to remark that such a policy must in the long run prove subversive of much local effort and enterprise of the kind which cannot thrive without ready and occasional financial assistance.

Furthermore, the announcement that the Admiralty, in pursuance of its intention to economise, has resolved to close Rosyth Dockyard, keeping it in working order by a 'care and maintenance party,' has agitated Scotland as probably nothing in British politics has done for thirty years. When Rosyth became the most important naval base in Britain and the natural strategic centre for naval operations against Germany, extraordinary efforts were made to adapt the locality to Admiralty requirements. At the request of the Admiralty, the neighbouring township of Dunfermline entered into large obligations, totalling financially over 300,000*l.*, expended in road-making, the laying of new drainage, and the expansion of the burgh boundaries. A strong limited company, with a capital of nearly 2,000,000*l.*, embarked on a large scheme of domestic building in the neighbourhood of Rosyth, and presently a considerable town appeared as the result of its labours, the houses of which were specially adapted to the

requirements of the many English dockyard employees drafted to Rosyth from Plymouth and Devonport. Large businesses sprang up in the neighbourhood, and as the Admiralty had guaranteed the permanency of a dockyard on which at least 11,000,000*l*. had been expended, local capital flowed freely into all schemes connected with the civil side of its expansion.

It is thus only natural that the announcement that Rosyth is practically to be abandoned in favour of Sheerness and Chatham has aroused the greatest indignation and dismay throughout Scotland. The Scottish Press of all shades of opinion universally condemns the decision of the Admiralty, and caustically describes its statement that Rosyth no longer commands that position from which a naval attack might be looked for as merely an excuse to employ these dockyards which happen to be nearer to London. Nor have the wounded feelings of Scotsmen been solaced by the ill-timed Admiralty gibe that 'the Celt does not like the sea,' a statement which has aroused the strongest resentment and indignation, when the work of the Scottish mine-sweepers during the war and the ubiquity of the Scottish marine engineer is recalled. At the time of writing, a large and representative national deputation is being arranged to protest against the decision of the Admiralty and attempt its reversal.

Should the Admiralty decision be enforced, it will work havoc indeed. The 160,000*l*. which the Admiralty claim will be annually saved by the shutting down of Rosyth will scarcely be offset by the evacuation of an entire township, residence in which is unsuitable to people not employed at Rosyth, the ruin of many flourishing businesses, and the unemployment of 3000 men. Above all, rightly or wrongly, the incident has greatly heightened the growing suspicion that Scotland is not justly or adequately treated as regards the allocation of those Imperial schemes through which she might benefit, and it is doubtful if the English Press and public have correctly estimated the widespread feeling of injury and irritation which the proposal of the Admiralty has induced.

The present condition of Scotland demands at least equal consideration with that which is being lavished on the mining industry. That a Royal Commission on Scottish affairs should be set up and convened at as early a date as is consistent with national and official convenience appears to the writer as essential if grave future difficulties are to be avoided. Not only should the terms of reference of such a body be of the widest possible scope, but those called upon to give evidence should be drawn from every section of Scottish life and opinion.

LEWIS SPENCE.

A POLICY OF IMPERIAL MIGRATION

Few people are aware that since the end of the war three hundred millions of pounds have been spent in supporting men who cannot or will not support themselves. If this portentous sum had been spent in establishing homes for our people in the rich lands of the Dominions, how much more hopeful would be the condition of our Empire to-day. It has been wasted and worse than wasted; it has been used to a large extent in demoralising and degrading our people. At a crowded public meeting once held in Ireland a speaker solemnly asked, 'Do you want to hear the real truth?' Thereupon the entire audience sprang to their feet and shouted, 'No.' It is said by some that at present the British people do not want to hear the truth. If this is so, there can be no more terrible symptom of degeneracy. But it is not so—this nation has not lost its courage and its virility. When we remember the grim steadfastness it showed from the beginning of the war to the end—receiving daily news of terrible losses by land and sea—we are assured that no race at any time showed itself possessed of more resolution. From every disaster it rose sternly determined on ultimate victory. '*Merses profundo pulchrior evenit.*'

There have been endless debates in the House of Commons on unemployment, maintained with ability and sincerity by members on all sides. What has come of them? You cannot draw solid results from mere words. The remedy appears to be beyond human ken. The stark truth must be told at last. There is no reasonable prospect whatever of a substantial revival of our basic industries. In respect of coal, shipbuilding, steel, cotton, wool, engineering, linen and leather, the prospect is dismal indeed. But Oxford Street, Bond Street and the banking business are all flourishing. How long can this go on if the staple industries continue to decline? Only for a very short time. Our expenditure goes on as if we were at the very height of prosperity. The awful weight of the American debt is round our necks. The facts must be faced—we are now at the cross-roads. It depends on ourselves to determine whether we are to sink into the abyss of decadence and misery or by self-sacrifice and noble endeavour to ascend to a prosperity higher and greater than we have ever

reached before. There is nothing that a virile nation like our cannot accomplish when it knows the worst and sets its teeth What is before us ?—starvation, nothing less. An industria people with no adequate agriculture, when its markets are gone when its credit staggers into ruin, has nothing to expect excep famine. Does any sane man believe that there is work enough in these islands to go round ? There is not, and probably neve can be again. We are a wonderful race for rising to emergencies When our backs are against the wall, then our great qualitie appear. We have always muddled through. But there ar quicksands before us now through which no art or skill can bring us to safety. In war, no matter how desperate our case has been the energy and courage of the race, assisted by good fortune has always enabled us to survive. But the dangers and horror before us now cannot be surmounted by any impromptu efforts Nothing is more misleading than war-analogy, or rather war terminology. There are things we cannot muddle through. We can only be saved by coolly contemplating our exact condition and by looking far ahead for the remedy, if such can be found. About a century ago, in the years following the end of the Napoleonic wars, we were in a very serious condition, but things were not so hopeless as at present. What saved us then ? Our railway enterprise and the inventive genius of our engineers, who surpassed all others. Nothing of that kind can be hoped for now Our population—the increase representing the excess of births over deaths—is increasing with alarming rapidity. Further we have now more than a million and a quarter of unemployed and there is no reasonable hope of a diminution ; on the contrary, it is clear that the number must increase. The latest blow is to find that our shipbuilding industry, in which we were predominant, is departing to Continental yards. Our agriculture is failing every day. The farmers are losing heart and are inclined to give up the hopeless battle. The unemployed—many of whom never seek employment now—are losing the industrial habit, and some of them are not ashamed to maintain themselves and their families on the demoralising dole. This dole is in part supplied out of the tax on the tea, tobacco, and sugar of the agricultural labourer, who is paid at the rate of about 30s. a week. If by some miracle trade were to revive again and work could be found for every one of those now unemployed, in a few months we should see a large number of the rising generation demanding their right to work and receive pay. Every day more than a thousand young people leave school and seek for employment. The increase from Great Britain and Northern Ireland amounts to a quarter of a million in the year. With a dense population and with diminished opportunities of employment, our condition is a

few years' time will be desperate indeed. And yet no nation in the world is so well equipped for dealing with this problem as we are. The enterprise and courage of our ancestors have won for us and for our children a heritage of unlimited extent and value. What will be thought in future ages if our overflowing populations are so poor-spirited and cowardly that they will not enter on the rich lands that await their coming? Canada is destined to become one of the most prosperous countries in the world, and yet its population barely exceeds 9 millions. It is well known that there are 300 million acres suitable for cultivation and that less than 70 millions are occupied. When an immigration rush takes place, it is always followed by an immense increase in national wealth. Canada is believed to be one of the greatest mining countries in the world, and the expert geologists tell us that the surface of the deposits has been little more than scratched. In the development of hydro-electric power her prospects are boundless. All this means in the near future such an extension of commerce as will put her in the forefront of producing nations. It is unpleasant to find that, while there has been considerable immigration into West Canada during recent years, the majority of the immigrants have not been British but have come from Central or Eastern Europe.

The still greater territories of Australia lie comparatively idle and uncultivated, and her mineral wealth is but little exploited. That immense continent might support 200 million people, but the population is only about 5 millions. There is danger here—other races are increasing more rapidly than our people. In no very long time all habitable portions of the earth's surface will be congested. Will these other races be content to starve within their own boundaries? Will they not of necessity swarm out with irresistible might to take possession of the wealthy heritage we have neglected? It is not possible to say at present when or from what quarter the danger will come, but in the very nature of things come it will from some quarter and at some time. It is in vain to ask, How will the invaders get there? There is no limit to what science can do in devising methods of transporting masses of people to a distant country. The young men and women of our more wealthy classes have the pioneering spirit in their blood; they are always ready to embark on adventure to lands beyond the sea. Many of the labouring classes, however, are deluded into the belief that under Socialist schemes they can all live prosperously in these islands.

If wealth were distributed they think there would be enough for all, but when the promised distribution would take place, the addition to the family revenue would not exceed 3s. a week, and the diminution in capital would lead to unprecedented

unemployment, so that their last state would be infinitely worse than their first. The cult of the slacker is, it is to be feared, daily gaining ground. The degradation of pauperism now inspires but little feeling of shame. Some men who are employed at high wages for part of the week are in the habit of claiming the dole for the rest of it. Waiters and maids in season hotels, when the season is over, no longer trouble themselves to look out for another job, but quietly draw the dole till another season returns. This simply cannot continue; the end is in sight, and the end is bankruptcy, misery, and the ruin of all classes. Great efforts are being made by all parties to provide housing for the people. Our slums must at all costs be got rid of; but where is the wisdom of providing houses for people who may never be able to pay the rents? We must take care that we are not building houses in the wrong hemisphere. In ancient days, when the population of a Greek State became excessive, a colony was organised by the leading men in the community. Its departure was attended with much formality and religious ceremonies, and it was always led by representatives of the old families. It was not entirely composed of young agriculturists: a substantial portion of the people, old and young, of all classes, embarked on the adventure. In our own country there have been similar movements. It was not always by reason of overcrowding that great migrations took place. The Pilgrim Fathers went to America for the sake of religious liberty. A great migration of Ulstermen occurred in the end of the eighteenth century on account of the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity by the Anglican episcopate. More than 100,000 of them went to America and were located on the Indian frontier; there, with the wonderful tenacity of their race, they maintained themselves notwithstanding the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the savage. Ultimately they made good their position, and were able to live in tranquillity and peace when the Red Indians had been driven west. How do we stand to-day? We must do anything rather than allow decent British citizens to degenerate into parasites and loafers. We require missioners to go among them and rouse them to live in a way worthy of their race. They have all the qualities necessary for success. Their courage, their endurance and their willing sacrifice in the war were past all expectation. They are yet on the whole in no way degenerate, and when they see their way clearly are capable of great endeavour. The first obstacle in the way is expense—where is the money to come from? We are an impoverished race and our financial resources are running low. But we are not powerless, and when once a great project is taken up with enthusiasm it is wonderful what support it will obtain. A new community beyond the sea

would soon be buying British manufactures in return for food and produce supplied by them. The money spent on a great migration would not be lost. It would be supplemented by the contributions of the Dominions in which the migrants settle. In twenty years the territory developed could easily begin to pay off a mortgage effected to cover the initial cost of the settlement. Emigration is now looked on as a bitter experience—it means a lifelong severance from relatives and friends; the young depart and leave behind the middle-aged and the old. Very different would it be if a substantial portion of a district or of a countryside, of all classes and of all ages, were transplanted. Of course, it is not to be expected that everybody would care to go—some would be too comfortable and some too spiritless; but a substantial portion, and that the best portion, would be eager to go. There are now everywhere a considerable number of retired civil servants, of naval and military officers. Most of these men are trained, disciplined and efficient. They are full of energy and love of work, and yet have to live a boring life of killing time—playing golf, playing bridge, and such-like. The prospect of getting employment for their sons and daughters here is very small, but when once they are in a Dominion settlement they are certain to be able to find employment for their children, and they can educate them accordingly. They are nearly all patriotic men and full of the traditional British spirit. What sinful waste to allow such material to moulder into decay! As a rule they have not much capital, but they are in receipt of pensions, which would go far in a Dominion country. This is the class that admirable organisation the Empire Community Settlement proposes to serve. Its scheme can be easily worked in as part of a larger scheme. How would the majority support themselves? Their principal occupation must be agriculture of some kind. This may be unsuited to city dwellers, but it is wonderful how we find a hereditary aptitude for agriculture in nearly all our race. When sailors are landed for coastguard service, how rapidly and successfully they take to the cultivation of gardens. In the allotment system which sprang up in war-time, and is now extending, we see that the inherent capability for agriculture is not atrophied. How are we to set about a great migration project? In the first place, suitable territory must be selected and reported on. Then pioneers must be sent to make preparation for those who are to follow—such preparation as takes place continually in the United States before a new city for a mining or agricultural community comes into existence. Then the real immigration begins in instalments. It is not possible within the limits of this article to go into particulars. The settlement must consist of all classes—the rich are not to stay behind while the poor depart.

There must be farmers, labourers, artisans, shopkeepers, teachers, doctors, lawyers and clergymen. That for some time there may be discomfort it is impossible to deny, but it will be manfully endured when the settlers reflect that the alternative is bankruptcy and starvation at home. The hardships will be small when compared with the sufferings and dangers borne by our pioneers in former times, who had to cross the seas in little ships and enter on their enterprise under much more unfavourable conditions. The time is now come, if we are not to go down into the depths, when great efforts in the direction indicated must be undertaken. Every Government has done its best with this terrible problem, and all in vain. There is before us the dismal prospect of a class war which will result in misery abject and universal. Lazarus hates Dives, who lives in comfort while he lives in bitter poverty. Dives points out truthfully that the demand of Lazarus for big wages and shorter hours makes it impossible to compete with Continental peoples. We must bestir ourselves before the physique of the nation further deteriorates, as it is beginning to do, and before our moral standards are fatally lowered. It is possible to foresee great advantages that will accrue through the association of the immigrants with men of their own race who may have been born in the new country. The former will most certainly gain in mental and physical robustness; while the culture of both is likely to progress by reason of their association and interchange of ideas.

To the Dominions and dependencies the policy advocated is of momentous importance. They stand to gain as much as we do. There has never been an immigration that has not been followed by a vast development of national wealth. There is something even more important still than wealth—there is safety and national existence.

If this country is allowed to drift into bankruptcy, the loss of credit means the loss of everything. Great Britain would be powerless to protect her daughter States or even herself; every one of our Dominions would at once be brought into a situation of deadly peril. With their immense possibilities of wealth and small population, if the arm of the Mother Country became paralysed, they would become the objects of unceasing attack on the part of hostile Powers. The Dominion statesmen are not the kind of people who would be content to live in a fool's Paradise. Every nerve would be strained to obtain security: the expenses of armaments and defensive preparations would leave nothing for development, and their progress, which has up to the present been wonderful, would come to an end. In point of far-seeing statesmanship every one of our Dominions is a long way ahead of us. They know the importance of a sound constitution and

have equipped themselves with suitable governmental systems and adequate Second Chambers. Our own poor country, though in deadly need of an efficient Second Chamber, has waited in indecision till the danger is at her very door. The statesmen of the Dominions can be relied on to grasp the vital importance of settling men of their own race on their territories. No doubt there has been considerable opposition in several of them to the immigration of labourers, whose presence might affect industrial conditions. But in the species of migration advocated, no class will have anything to fear, and all will have everything to hope for. Every scheme of settlement must be made with the co-operation of the Dominion affected and its states. Furthermore, in the promised reconstruction of our own Second Chamber it is imperative that the Dominions and dependencies should be adequately represented by their own nominees constantly in touch with the home Government and with each other. They can no longer be denied their place in the Imperial economy. In every recent war they have shed their best blood in our service—they are truly bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. When they are no longer obliged to sit on the door-mat of the Colonial Office and take their rightful place at the very heart of government, we shall at last have realised the great concept of an Imperial Council. Their statesmen have never failed in vision and will no doubt be ready to grasp the opportunity, which may never come again, of settling the Empire on sure and stable foundations.

The Empire Settlement Act is an important indication on the part of the Legislature that something in the direction indicated is an imperative necessity of the time. Under the Act the British Government offered to spend up to three millions each year in co-operation with the Dominion Governments on a pound for pound basis. An enthusiastic reception was given to this plan both in this country and in the Dominions, but so far it has not been a success. The trouble in Australia has not been with the Commonwealth Government, but with the States, which own all the Crown lands. Some of them have already given the plan their approval, but the New South Wales Labour Government is still considering the matter.

There are difficulties in Canada over conflicting schemes of settlement. It is now evident that a vastly greater scheme is called for—one that will appeal to the imagination of this country and the Dominions. The existing schemes, such as the Kingsley Farm School in Australia, the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association in South Africa, the Hebridean Colonists in Canada, and others, can all be worked in.

The so-called upper classes must be called on to take their proper share in the great work. We know how nobly they led

the way during the critical days at the commencement of the war. When an appeal is made to their patriotism and sense of duty in time of peace there is no reason to think that they will be less ready. The time is come for some great project that will captivate the imagination of the younger generation. We are all puzzled at the mental attitude of our undergraduates, both male and female. The Press was lately full of the subject. They seem to be hostile to all the ordinary proposals of the Government. They are said to be disillusioned, and look with cold apathy on Ministerial plans On the other hand, the Socialist trumpet is blown in their ears in vain. To any other than half-baked minds Marxism is a demonstrable imposture. They have no desire for class warfare or Fascism. There has never been a time when their friendly feeling toward the working classes was stronger, and they know that the friendly feeling is not all on one side. Let no one think that they are not required. In furtherance of this movement youthful energy, idealism and indomitable courage are called for. When the trumpet sounds our young men and young women will not be slow to step into the ranks.

The opportunity for this great movement is now come, and it may never come again Up to the present the British Empire represents the greatest achievement in history, but to the eyes of those who have faith in the destinies of our people the vision of a far greater Empire will soon present itself, a power that will bring about a world peace and confer a happiness on the races of men hitherto unforeseen and undreamed of.

JOHN ROSS.

CHAOS IN INDUSTRY

Where there is no vision the people perish.
PROVERBS OF KING SOLOMON

BIG events mature in the womb of time before they take their places in the drama of a nation's history, but to contemporaries they often appear unexpectedly, as unrelated and mysterious facts. The surprise is due, however, to the ignorance of the observer, for politics is one of the exact sciences, and to the statesman history owes nothing to chance, and develops as a natural outcome of heredity, experience and environment. It necessarily follows that the true statesman and genuine politician is distinguished from the spurious by his power to foretell the development of events. In such a matter as the advent of the Great War this is not difficult, and for a generation before it actually came every thinking man who had acquired enough political knowledge to form an opinion was aware of its approach. The industrial crisis which is close upon us, though less easy to apprehend, can be accurately foreknown by analysis of the symptoms of the prevailing unrest and a real knowledge of English history. That there should be such a crisis is due to the custom of putting power into the hands of men of all parties who are totally ignorant of politics.

Years are but moments in the life of a nation, and in those which immediately precede a great political crisis observers who are conscious of the approaching calamity are kept on a strain of expectation till the final act of the tragedy is heralded by an accident which takes everyone by surprise. Such an event, following years of apprehensive anxiety, was the outrage at Sarajevo. Now, again, we know that circumstances have arisen which might have caused just such an accident in the sphere of industry, and that for the moment a crisis has been averted and the trouble has passed off like the ominous incident of Agadir. We have by a costly experiment secured a respite. It is only a respite, and within a few months we shall be faced with a situation which, as far as parliamentary government is concerned, will prove to be an *impasse*. The crisis will be more severe than it need have been

because it is about twenty years overdue and no preparations have been made to meet it. It has been postponed by schemes of legislative robbery, inaugurated by Mr. Lloyd George as a kind of Danegeld or sop to revolution, and by the social and economic upheaval caused by the war. Now that both of these barriers have been passed, it is unlikely that anything else for long can hold up the swollen flood of vital forces. To get a correct view of what is about to occur we must call to mind the main aspects of our polity, and we shall inevitably find a solution if we have the courage and faith to apply sound principles.

The most distinguished feature of the English system was its unique development of the law of private property. The reforms of the Norman kings resulted in the development of a civilisation far superior to that of any of the countries under the Roman system. Englishmen of every class, owing to the genius of the law, gained greater personal freedom and more power and wealth than the people of other European races. While these results of the system inspired reverence for the rights of property because they had been produced by the law protecting private ownership, even lawyers appear to have forgotten exactly how they were produced, and it seems to have escaped the attention of men of learning—Maitland alone excepted—that the English law of private property was not devised for the enjoyment of wealth by individual owners In fact it was a *highly decentralised form of personal government*. The King in Parliament made the laws, and the calling together of representatives no doubt allowed the law to develop consistently throughout the country in accordance with experience, without involving parliamentary government in the modern sense. The King kept personal control over the country by the feudal system of private ownership, and every field was tilled, every child educated, and every trade carried on under the stimulus of private enterprise and hereditary interest. Seeing the result in liberty, wealth and happiness, the superficial observer has believed that the law was concerned to protect the right of enjoyment of property. Enjoyment was a result, a by-product, not an object, of the system. English law knew nothing of the rights of enjoyment, or of any individual rights, and in this respect differed profoundly from the Roman law. It enforced services, and threw on every owner a duty to his immediate lord, and so on to the King. What modern men call 'rights of property' were in fact droits, duties, powers and privileges granted to enable the owner to administer so that he could perform his services. The King and the law were not concerned with matters of enjoyment. It was necessary by insistence on services to see that there was a supply of food and other necessaries to support the population, and in particular to supply the King

with a territorial force sufficient to defend the country from invasion.

The control exercised by the King and his tenants-in-chief was an essential element in the feudal conception of private property. Private property was not something a man could do anything he liked with. On the contrary, it was a privilege and power which the law gave him so long, and so long *only*, as he used it to perform services. Land and agriculture were controlled through the services exacted from the landlords, whose servants were bound to them by a personal nexus. Trade and industry were controlled through guilds and companies, which maintained standards and prices. By means of authority delegated to private owners, the King's hand controlled every activity in the common interest. It had all the advantages which Communists and Socialists seek, but feudalism was a practical working system with not only the control, but strong personal relationships, and, above all, the incentive supplied by the sense of proprietorship. The modern Socialist sees the necessity for control, but forgets the personal touch, the essential element of character, and the incentive to action. The Liberal repudiates the idea of control as he repudiates Protection, because he represents the moneyed interests and so desires cheap goods and cheap labour.

From earliest times there were of course owners who sought to evade control and service, and to use their property solely for their own enjoyment. The system of allowing composition for services started the nucleus of a class of *nouveaux riches*. The successful business man always hankered after the prestige of land ownership, without the capacity or desire to shoulder those responsibilities which account for the prestige. It was convenient for the Government to take money instead of services from people too ignorant of military and agricultural relationships to render the essential services. It was a simple method of providing revenue by taxing surplus wealth. Then the profiteer in trade who found trade regulations irksome set himself to gain political influence, and so, long before the Tudors, we get the beginnings of two political parties, the one based on the national principle of service and regulation, and the other striving in the interests of individuals to free property from all control. The former party developed into the Royalist, Agricultural, and Tory Party. The other became the Whigs, and afterwards the Radical Capitalist Party and the Manchester school of politicians.

These parties have borne different names at different periods, but the split has always been between Tories and traders. The traders first gained the upper hand under Henry VIII., whose principal work was to break down all the regulations which maintained high standards of living and labour and limited the activities

of the moneyed interests. For as Lord Milner has pointed out, 'Just as the Productive Industry welcomes rising prices, the Moneyed Interests must always be in favour of falling prices—because they render its own wares—money—more valuable.' (Posthumous papers published in *The Times*, July 29, 1925.)

It is in the reign of Henry VIII. that we find the beginnings of those tendencies which are now the cause of a counter-revolution. Mr. Ludovici in the *Defence of Aristocracy* has traced the course of the struggle and has described how Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. all strove to control industrialism. The struggle ended in a disastrous compromise, and since the Restoration the Tory or National Party, beaten at home, found consolation in becoming an Imperial party. *Laissez-faire* became the national policy with regard to property and industry, and for three centuries we have remodelled our laws to suit the convenience of the uncontrolled moneyed interests. When Socialists attack 'Capitalism' they are, in effect, opposing the autocratic, uncontrolled policy of the moneyed interests which first gained power in the reign of Henry VIII, the policy which has abolished all standards of work, wages and living, and aims only at individual profit regardless of patriotism. It is the policy of free competition and the right of the individual to use his power in any way he pleases. It is the policy of reducing wages by flooding the labour market with aliens and inferior types. It is the policy which depends on the Poor Law to support a mass of surplus and unemployed labour. The Poor Law was called into existence immediately the effect of Henry VIII.'s policy of decontrol of capital was perfected. The feudal system had kept every individual in a personal relationship to his manor or guild. The individual, as such, had no place in the body politic. He was either a serving member of some institution which was responsible for his welfare, or he was a vagrant and outlaw, without rights, and subject to pains and penalties; for the feudal unit was not an individual, but an institution. The deliberate creation of a surplus of wage-earners for exploitation by the unregulated moneyed interests first gave rise to the problem of the unattached individual. Formerly the unemployed were a charge on their landlords, and particularly on the monasteries. With the realisation that money could be used not only as a means of exchange, but as a commodity to be traded in—a view condemned by every religion and all permanent civilisations—it was also realised that the money market could be exploited only if labour was also treated as a mere commodity. There was seen to be an advantage in a constant supply of surplus labour, which could be used in trade booms and need not be retained as an overhead cost during slumps. Moreover, a constant supply created the competition

necessary to reduce wages. The feudal system had known nothing of wages in the proper sense. Every labourer and apprentice and soldier was supplied with all necessaries, whatever the market price, and the wages we read of were a cash payment over and above the subsistence allowance, like soldiers' pay in the Army to-day. When wages were introduced there was no guarantee that they would keep above the level of a bare subsistence allowance. In fact they often sank below it, until in 1912 the wages paid to the whole wage-earning population fell short by 100,000,000*l.* to 150,000,000*l.* per annum of the amount necessary to keep the population supplied with the bare necessaries of existence. The balance—far greater to-day—is made up, not by the capitalist employer, who alone benefits by the system, but by private charity and State grants paid for by the taxpayer. The Tudors made constant appeals to private charity before finally instituting the Poor Law, which became an essential adjunct of the industrial system. Immediately before the war there were 900 charities distributing food and clothing in London alone, and by their means the employer has impressed numbers of the well-to-do into his service to pay what ought to be part of the overhead charges of his business. The Poor Law has extended the principle of State aid, not only to provide in old age for the people who are worn out in the service of private employers, but actually for a steadily increasing proportion of the necessaries of life. It not only gives the employer the advantage of free education to make the wage-earner fit for exploitation and amenable to discipline, but it secures the wage-earner against unemployment, largely at the expense of the taxpayer. The result is that the whole community is now living under an economic system where landowners and the professional and middle classes and the wage-earners are all taxed to provide a means of exploitation by the moneyed interests, who, as a class, number about 3 per cent. of the population, a class which generally succeeds in avoiding the burden of taxation and even, by the medium of life insurance, succeeds in making money out of income tax and death duties.

Now it must be abundantly clear to anyone who fairly studies these things that the real cause of social trouble is the breakdown of the institution of private property. We know that there are two essential elements in the institution—first, the personal nexus, and, secondly, the control exercised in the interest of the whole body politic. It is the Socialists' demand for the latter that we must now consider.

A state of affairs in which everyone does what is right in his own eyes is chaotic. Nowadays there is no control and no national policy for the administration of power and wealth or the development of scientific knowledge. These things are left

entirely to the individual to decide in his own interests. Take as a glaring example the condition of the English canals. The whole community is suffering from the lack of the use of our canals, a system which could be the best in the world. They are not used because it pays certain private interests to keep them unused. The interests of agriculture, still our greatest industry, and of the consumer are entirely ignored. We run trams *at a loss to the ratepayer* to provide cheap fares to get the labourer to his work in the interests, not of the labourer, but of the employer, who thus saves on his wage bill We must eat tinned and preserved foods, not because we want to or because they are in any way good for us, but because these are supplied by somebody at a profit to himself. Instances can be multiplied to cover the whole daily experience of any middle-class or wage-earning man. Now we approach the crisis with a population feeling that they have already lost everything that Englishmen value. They are forced to see their children sent to school too young, and taught in a manner that is wholly evil. They may neither select their food or drink, nor may they even decide for themselves the time of day when they will have a glass of beer Their wages have sunk to a point below the level of bare subsistence. Contrary to the principle of the Truck Acts, they must spend part of their wages in the manner laid down by the law. They are regimented and documented like Germans, and in their work they are irritated by factory regulations, generally of a useless, ignorant and wasteful description. It is in the frame of mind caused by a lifetime of such experience that the mass of the population, feeling they have nothing to lose, is about to enter a period of industrial crisis What is likely to happen ? Investigators often mistake cause and effect. No doubt money and doctrine imported from Moscow have a good deal of influence in such circumstances, but the prevalence of Russian views is not the cause of the unrest—it is merely an effect. What we ought really to deplore is that the English race has lost its vitality to such an extent that it is too apathetic and listless to revolt and is taking industrial conditions lying down. Every Conservative should co-operate with the Socialist who demands rational control of capital, for chaos is with us now. Internecine struggles will come later as consequences and efforts at restoration. The chaos itself is just what we see around us in English life to-day. When we see that it is chaos we shall be on the road to recovery or else to final doom.

It is the experience of mankind that ordered society depends for its permanence on the maintenance of the family and private property. In this respect the English feudal system was the most successful we have known because it was consistent throughout. Consistent application of principle without compromise is a poli-

tical necessity of conservative politics. All other philosophies depend for practical application on compromise with Conservatism. Individualism achieved a revolution, and at once had to compromise, and this brought about reactions of State Socialism made up of elements of Conservatism. The Socialist is a partial and incomplete Tory, desiring control but lacking all knowledge of the personal relationships which bind together the various members of the body politic and provide the incentive to co-operative effort. Compromise is essential to individualism, but it is fatal to sound politics.

Socialism consists, in fact, of legitimate aspirations to achieve certain conservative objects, including control of power and wealth and regulation of competition in the interests of the body politic. Communism has come to mean something quite different, and the small minority of Communists simply desire an upheaval in the belief that disorder may provide opportunities for plunder. Examination of our present industrial plight will show that Socialist aspirations are legitimate within their limits. Socialists are incomplete and wrong-headed people, but they are people of much sounder ideals than individualists. The whole truth is contained in feudal philosophy. This statement does not imply either the desire or the ability to revive old forms. The forms have gone for ever and new forms are needed for a new age. In the new feudalism there must be a revival, not of form which is ephemeral, but of faith and of those unseen things which are eternal.

These matters are having a dramatic outcome in the coal trade now that the National Wages Agreement of 1924 is being reconsidered. The condition of the coal trade is such as would in previous centuries have caused a general rising of the population. The English are always the most turbulent people, prone to rebellion wherever their privileges are invaded and their standards of living menaced. Those who are not conversant with the decline in physical vigour brought about by centuries of bad food and inferior beer must wonder at the apathy now apparent throughout the country, for the position is really desperate. The so-called prosperity of the nation has depended very largely on the export of coal. The prosperity and the policy were always open to grave doubt. Both have now come to an end. France, Germany, Italy, and Russia have ceased to purchase our coal, and are being supplied by Germany. Scandinavia, formerly a large purchaser of coal, is using water-power. Our own Navy no longer requires coal, but uses oil. The result is that our coalfields are capitalised and organised for production in excess of demand. In so far as the export demand is irrecoverable, there must be a withdrawal of capital and labour from the coal industry, unless the one is to be lost and the other to starve. As we have

neglected to protect our trade, the necessity has arisen for a masterly retreat. Haphazard action now will inevitably bring disaster to both capital and labour. What is wanted is unification of control—not control by officials involving the evils of State Socialism, but control by the united action of all private interests concerned, to see, first, that there is a plentiful supply of coal for the nation at a proper price; secondly, that the necessary amount of capital is safely withdrawn; thirdly, that the mining population is properly treated; and fourthly, that an alternative occupation is found for the miners thrown out of work. The urgent need for such control is illustrated by considering the first point. At a time of over-production, when men are unemployed and capital is being lost, one would expect coal to be cheap to the consumer. In October 1924 the average price of coal as sold at the pithead was 20s. 6*d* a ton. At the same time inquiry was made as to the average cost to the consumer at Newcastle, Swansea, Glasgow, and several other centres. This inquiry resulted in showing an average retail price of 50s.: so that the middleman's charges were about one and a half times as much as the cost of production. This shows either bad organisation or deliberate exploitation If the consumer pays 50s. a ton, at least two-thirds should go to production. There is a good deal of curiosity in the trade unions as to who these middlemen may be who are making such an enormous profit. Neither the royalties, nor the profits to the mine-owners, nor the wages of the miners are accountable for the high price. No doubt cost of transport partly accounts for the inflated price, and this could be considerably reduced. The fundamental question is whether the control shall be in the hands of the producer or the moneyed interest which now controls distribution and has, as Lord Milner says, no regard for patriotism. If the control of distribution were put in the hands of a guild composed of masters and men and run for reasonable profit, the public interest would be served and the profits would help to solve the problems of the withdrawal. It should be illegal for anyone to sell coal except under the regulations of such a guild. It is clearly in this direction, and in this only, that we can look for a solution of the financial difficulty and a return to the sound principle that every worker, and his family, shall be a charge on the industry he serves. The idea that the State shall subsidise wages, which has been growing steadily, means the State ownership of labour. It is an idea fatal to English ideas of a body politic.

Unity of command is necessary to secure the economic working of coal seams throughout the country. An 18-inch seam is obviously more costly to work than a 3-foot or 4-foot seam. It is bad for the industry and bad for the country that coal from

the better seams should be put on the market at too low a price, while it may be politic to work more expensive seams but impossible to do so in competition with the coal from better seams. An adjusted price should be fixed and the costs apportioned so that the whole of the coalfields can be worked at a steady level profit.

Without some such policy it is impossible to face with any hope of success the problems of the next few months. The miner's wage has gone up from 7*s.* to 10*s.* 4*d.*—that is to say, 100 has risen to 133·3. The cost of living has, however, risen from 100 to 177 in the same period, so that the miner's position, none too good before the war, is now deplorable, and he is asked to come down another 20 per cent. In the face of this proposition the whole mining population is adopting a calm and reasonable attitude. Every man recognises that he cannot get more pay than the industry can earn, but he wants to know whether the amount paid by the consumer is being fairly apportioned. The masters have behaved fairly and have frankly disclosed their figures. There remains the unexplained profit of the moneyed interest (not the mine-owner) and the enormous cost of transport caused by the neglect of the facilities for water transport. In tackling the latter problem we shall find an alternative occupation for a large number of miners thrown out of work as well as a means of reducing the National Debt.

Let us suppose that the directors and shareholders of the railway companies put all their money into motor cars and suddenly one day stopped all trains and told the public to travel by road. In such circumstances politicians of every shade of opinion would agree that Parliament must intervene and set the railways running again in the public interest. Now the canal system has in fact been put out of action by the railway companies in their own interest so as to compel all goods to be carried more expensively by rail. Of the 4000 miles of English canals and canalised rivers the railway companies have acquired 1300 miles by purchase. This holding has enabled them to stop the working of the whole system, and has been one of the principal causes of agricultural decline and high prices. It is high time the Conservative Government insisted on the canals being put into commission again. If they now hold their hands, they can never defend private property in principle again; they will have no answer to the 'Reds,' because the only real defence of the institution is that private property has the best results for the body politic. No such argument can be sustained without the exercise of an overriding control to protect the public from such abuse. Here is a clear point of principle, and if acted on it will reduce debt and unemployment. The canals should be reorganised so as to

provide revenue to reduce debt, transport to revive agriculture ind reduce the price of non-perishable goods, and employment or men withdrawn from the mines.

The case for regulation of competition and unification of :ontrol is not hard to establish. Where we quarrel with the Socialist is in his demand for control by State officials. The mly effective control will come, not by nationalisation, but by a evival of the responsibilities of management and the application f the true principles of private property ; not by violent upheaval, ut by the sane limitation of competition.

There is really only one economic problem with which our tatesmen need concern themselves, and that is the protection of roductive industry. It is menaced not only by foreign competi- ion, but by the control exercised by the moneyed interests hrough the machinery of distribution. Since Tudor times the lominating problem in English domestic politics has been how to mancipate productive industry from the influence of the moneyed nterests, which, as Lord Milner has pointed out, are always inpatriotic. They invest where returns are highest, regardless f national or race interests.

The moneyed interests which exist by controlling markets nd distribution are quite different from the 'capitalist' who wns the plant and machinery, which is as much part of pro- uctive industry as labour, and which suffers equally with labour om control by the middleman. The moneyed interests often ake enormous profits when both capital and labour employed in roduction are insufficiently remunerated. The moneyed interests end to drive the cost of production down and the price to the onsumer up, to the detriment of producer and consumer alike. n order that productive industry should be adequately re- iunerated, it is necessary that it should keep control of dis- ibution. If our statesmen would concentrate their attention pon this problem, we should not have to ask them for social eform or doles or subsidies. The problem was successfully ickled in Ireland, when Plunkett and 'A. E.' emancipated the irmer from the gombeen man by putting the farmer in control f the market. The same method could be employed in the coal ade, and the productive interests could protect themselves by eeping distribution in their own hands so that the whole gross rofits (instead of as at present only two-fifths of the selling price) ould be divided among owners and miners. The fact that the ine-owner has not been alive to this solution of the difficulty in hich productive industry now finds itself is perhaps the cause of ie suspicion which undoubtedly exists in the trade unions that e masters have not been relying solely upon production for their ofits, but have identified their interests with the distributors.

Assuming that no such connection exists, there is obviously no reason why the profits of distribution should not be appropriated in the joint interests of the mine-owners and men without intervention by Parliament, and without causing any loss of capital to any interest. If this plan were adopted instead of the 15*s*. or 20*s*. now divided between capital and labour, there would be available 40*s*. to 50*s*. per ton for division, less the actual cost of transport and such reduction of price as was found to be desirable. The whole of our industrial history leads us to suppose that this is the only practical solution.

WILLIAM SANDERSON.

PROTECTION

Some very serious developments in the history of that age-long controversy, introduced to the notice of the British electorate by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain over twenty years ago, have taken place recently. Perhaps the most striking has been the new attitude of the Labour Party. It can only be described as a phenomenon. Probably the real cause of this development is that the party organisers see the electoral disadvantage of demanding higher wages and shorter hours for British workers, while at the same time allowing the unimpeded importation into this country of goods which are made under conditions which the trade unions would not allow here. It is true that the report of the Committee of Socialist parliamentarians, under the chairmanship of that unwavering doctrinaire Cobdenite Mr. Philip Snowden, once again reaffirms the party's opposition to the imposition of tariffs. But the main fact is that the Labour Party recognises that the problem of 'sweated' imports is one which it must face, and proceeds, therefore, to put forward its proposals.

Briefly, these proposals are that sweated imports shall be prohibited when they come from a country which has not ratified, or is not carrying out, the proposals of the Washington Convention. It would be easy to hold this proposal up to ridicule. I see that Mr. Harold Cox, one of the most stubborn defenders of Cobdenite principles, in a recent article attacks these proposals with great vigour. With many of Mr. Cox's arguments I am in accord, but the main thing which should be emphasised is that the Labour Party is progressing in its ideas upon this subject, and has at last acknowledged that there is a problem to be solved. This would no doubt have pleased Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as it was well known that he was bitterly disappointed in 1903 not to be able to attach any leading trade unionists to his campaign.

It is of course quite impossible that the Socialist proposals could be put into a workable scheme, and I still think that the tariff remedy is the only way by which this problem can be solved. But in any case we in the House of Commons have been watching the development of thought among members of the Labour Party for some time with great interest. We heard a remarkable

speech last year from that extreme 'Red' politician Mr. Purcell demanding the continuation of the McKenna Duties, with an eagle eye, doubtless, upon the votes of the workers in the Coventry motor-car industries. This year we had Mr. Hayday and Mr. Spencer breaking away from their party whips on the imposition of duties on imported lace. Again there was large Labour defection, led by Dr. Haden Guest and Mr. David Kirkwood, in favour of Imperial Preference. In fact the two speeches of these members were among the most impressive made during the session just concluded.

There have also been many other signs of substantial progress along the road to Protection on the part of the Labour Party. During the debate on March 17 on a motion introduced by Sir N. Grattan Doyle, Sir Frederick Hall challenged Mr. Sexton, the member for St. Helens. In an interruption the latter gentleman made the definite statement that he was in favour of stopping 'sweated' imports coming into this country. Yet only a month earlier, on February 19, the leader of the Labour Party moved a resolution against the Safeguarding of Industries Act, which is designed to remedy the very abuses which so many of his followers have condemned.

The phenomenon is not, however, confined to the Socialists. The Conservative Party provides an even more inexplicable position. Here we have in the House of Commons a majority of at least 100 convinced, full-blooded Protectionists over all other members of the House, including all Liberal and all Labour members and those few Conservatives who are Free Traders. I am sure that it would be quite easy to carry through the present House of Commons any proposal for Protection, however drastic, that the Cabinet put forward. I know that I shall be met at once with the answer that any drastic scheme of Protection would not be honest in view of the Prime Minister's election pledges, and I am fully in agreement with that view. Yet it must be pointed out that the Prime Minister also gave very clear and explicit pledges that he would apply to the full the machinery of the Safeguarding of Industries Act.

Here is my complaint. The attitude of the Cabinet seems so far to have been to impose as few duties as they possibly could while keeping within their pledges. The vast majority of their supporters in the House and in the country would have preferred much more vigorous action. Instead of putting innumerable difficulties in the way of application for safeguarding, the Government should have made it as easy as possible, and should have given every assistance to the traders who are suffering. With the evidence I have already quoted as to the attitude of the Labour Party, unless we act quickly, during the life of the present Parlia-

ment, we may find that another party has done what we have talked about doing. It may be a similar story to that which was told of Disraeli, that he found his opponents bathing and stole their clothes.

There is also another aspect of this question. The proposals of the Socialists would be exceedingly dangerous to our trade on account of their crudeness. Mr. Harold Cox made mincemeat of them, and his conclusions were mainly right. Any system of prohibition, as we found to our cost during the war and since, is most difficult to administer. Furthermore, we would have to set up very expensive machinery to control the importation. And what is still more important, we would gain no revenue whatever This is the most important factor of all. It has always been a favourite argument with Free Traders that you cannot obtain revenue from a tariff and at the same time protect an industry The story of tariffs abroad always shows that a protective duty produces revenue, and we have also sufficient evidence of this in our own country.

Mr. Churchill's Silk Duties have a very distinct protective flavour. My own calculation is that there is an advantage to the home producer of approximately 20 per cent. These duties are already having a most advantageous effect in my own constituency. Whereas before the imposition of the Silk Duties there was considerable unemployment among the silk workers and almost despair among the silk manufacturers, what do we find to-day? There is practically no unemployment among the silk workers and every manufacturer is full of orders for several months ahead, several large extensions of existing silk mills are in process of erection, and six large foreign manufacturers are to-day building factories in this country to manufacture with British labour goods which were previously made abroad with foreign labour. Such are the results of the protective flavour of Mr. Churchill's Silk Duties. Yet in spite of this protective flavour these duties are producing revenue, and in a full year will produce 10,000,000*l.* for the Exchequer.

It seems to me that here we have the real solution of our troubles. If we were to impose more of these revenue duties with a protective flavour, we should be able to reduce our income tax, which is unquestionably the real burden which is depressing trade. There is after all nothing new in such duties. The taxes on sugar and tobacco imposed by Mr. Gladstone are on the same lines. It is worthy of comment that our tobacco manufacturers, jam manufacturers, and biscuit manufacturers, all of whom have benefited from the protective flavour of these duties, are among the most prosperous in our land even during this time of depression.

It cannot be too often emphasised that under our past fiscal

policy the full dead weight of taxation fell upon protective industry. Direct taxation is like a load on a horse's back which prevents the animal from travelling too fast, and, if heavy enough, from travelling at all. In days gone by it seemed to be our fixed intention that any tax should be designed to do injury to our trade. My view is that all taxes being vicious, we should at least impose them in such a way as will do as little harm as possible.

A most interesting point may here be mentioned which has recently come to my notice. The Michelin tyres, which enjoy a large sale in this country, are manufactured in France. The price of these tyres is considerably higher in England than in France. If, therefore, a duty was placed on motor tyres it would be certain that in this case the whole tax would be paid by the foreigner. At the moment these tyres are invoiced at the higher price from the French company to the British company. No profit is therefore made in England and no British income tax received. If a duty were imposed, the tax would be levied on the Customs declaration, and if the higher price were still disclosed they would pay the duty on that value. If, however, as is probable, the lower value were declared, the British company would become liable for income tax. Probably Michelin tyres would still be sold in this country, and if a duty were imposed we should obtain revenue without any cost to the British user.

I have had some figures drawn up showing the bearing direct taxation has on unemployment, which are very interesting. It has always been my view that the Government's financial policy has a very direct bearing on unemployment, and these figures seem to prove this contention. In 1921, when Mr Austen Chamberlain abolished the Excess Profits Duty, the unemployment figures were 2,246,082. By April 1922 the figures had fallen to 1,712,051, and when Sir Robert Horne reduced income tax by 1s. in the pound in the Budget of 1922 the figures of the registered unemployed still further fell to 1,436,100 by the end of June 1922. When Mr. Baldwin in 1923 reduced the income tax by a further 6*d.* the figures had already fallen to 1,248,724, and they were still further reduced by June 1923 to 1,223,152. When Mr. Snowden opened his Budget in April 1923 the unemployment figures stood at the substantially reduced figure of 1,047,780, thanks to Conservative policy of reducing direct taxation.

Then came a change of financial policy. Instead of using his surplus as his predecessors had done to reduce income tax, Mr. Snowden devoted practically the whole to the reduction of the indirect taxes on tea and sugar. When we examine the unemployment figures again, we find that unemployment continued to diminish until the end of June 1924, when the figures stood at 1,009,444, the lowest ebb of unemployment in the period under

consideration; but by the time Mr. Churchill introduced his Budget at the end of April 1925, when the full effect of Mr. Snowden's financial policy had been felt, the unemployment figures had risen to 1,187,068. Mr. Churchill, as is known, reverted to the old policy of progressive income tax reduction. However, the unemployment figures continued to increase, and at the end of June were 1,304,243. Here it is important to notice that in no instance during the past four years has the effect of the financial policy as shown in the Budget been felt by industry until about two or three months after the opening of the Budget.

The lesson to be learned from these figures surely is, first, that income tax reductions have a material effect in relieving unemployment, and, second, that the full effect of the Government's financial policy is not felt until two or three months after the Budget has been opened. We see this again this year as in the past. The fall in unemployment following a reduction of income tax started in the fourth week in June, two months after the Budget opening.

It is significant to note that in July there was a steady reduction in the unemployment figures. During that month there was an aggregate reduction in the numbers registered at the Labour Exchanges of 100,000. Probably owing to the disturbance in the coal industry there has been a rise in the figures during August. However, I have no hesitation in prophesying that when the coal trouble has blown over the steady reduction in unemployment will follow the economic course which previous experience leads us to expect. When Mr. Churchill stands at the Treasury Box next April, in all probability the unemployment figures will have been substantially reduced.

Is it not, therefore, obvious that if we could raise as an alternative revenue something like 100,000,000*l.* from indirect taxation on goods of a sumptuary nature, like silk, and by that means reduce our income tax to, say, 2*s.* in the pound, we could probably reduce our unemployment figures to vanishing point? When we remember that we import as much as 350,000,000*l.* worth of manufactured goods annually, this policy of indirect taxation, together with rigid economy in our spending departments, should make the task easy.

We have still fresh in our minds the recent coal crisis. Here we have our great basic industry, upon which every man and woman depends for industrial existence, unable to pay a living wage to its workers and at the same time make profits for the owners. When an industry like coal requires a subsidy to keep it going, surely something is wrong. I wonder what would have happened if a general tariff had been in existence? I am informed that in steel alone 2,500,000 tons were imported last year, and this represents 7,500,000 tons of coal. It would be interesting to know

how many tons of coal are represented by the 350,000,000*l.* worth of manufactured goods imported into this country last year. An informant has calculated for me that if all these goods had been made in the United Kingdom, there would have been an additional demand on our collieries for 100,000,000 tons. Surely a demand such as this would have had some beneficial result on our home coal trade.

Personally I lose patience with some of our doctrinaire Cobdenites. In my opinion it is nothing short of lunacy to be importing this vast quantity of manufactured goods when so many of our people are suffering under the scourge of unemployment. Some of our Free Trade friends seem to think that our agriculturists are to produce food for them at a loss, and our mining industry is to suffer privation in order that they themselves can grow rich selling cotton abroad. That is a selfish, miserable policy, which, thank Heaven, is only subscribed to by a small section of our politicians.

The basic principle which prompted Richard Cobden was that Free Trade meant low wages, and it is significant that under Free Trade to-day all the quarrels between employers and workers are upon the question of reductions in wages. If there are to be quarrels, which of course we should all like to see entirely eliminated, I should like the basis of these quarrels to be increasing wages and giving increased prosperity to the workers. That can only come when the electorate realise the wisdom of the tariff policy.

There are some people who seem to think that it is a good thing for this country when the world price of coal is cheap. But it should be emphasised that we are not buyers of coal, but sellers. We produce so much coal that we are able to export our surplus production. Coal is in quite a different category from cotton. We are importers of cotton, and therefore want to buy as cheaply as possible. Though here we must bear in mind that if we buy cheaply every one of our competitors is also able to buy as cheaply in the world market.

My experience of business is that markets are always depressed when we have falling markets, and that they are always brisk when markets are rising. This generalisation is true of the market in every commodity. The explanation is easy. When markets are falling, every sensible trader only covers his requirements from day to day, and even from hour to hour. When markets are rising, he covers his requirements as far ahead as possible. We have a very good example of this in the story of rubber during the last few years. When rubber was falling, no one could do any business anywhere. Now that we have restriction of output, rubber prices are rising, trade is booming, and it is stated on credible authority

that we are paying our American debt out of the profits made by British interests in Empire-grown rubber.

Finally we can safely say that those of us who have been fighting the battle of tariffs so long can look forward to the future with optimism as to ultimate success. After all, what has happened in the ranks of the Labour Party is only what could have been expected Labour parties abroad are all frankly Protectionist. Whether we look at Australia, South Africa, France or Germany, in no case can we find a Cobdenite Labour Party. Our Socialists may be somewhat misguided, but they are learning their lesson. In the House of Commons there is far more bitterness between the Socialists and the Liberals than between the Socialists and the Government supporters. The Liberals go to the country stating that there is more affinity between them and the Socialists than there is between them and the Conservatives. I do not think that the Liberal Party has any affinity with anyone, and certainly not with any large section of the electorate. They are the sole exponents of the '*laissez faire*' policy, the policy of sitting still and doing nothing while our people starve.

I do not know whether there is a great deal of affinity between the Conservatives and the Socialists. We are certainly strongly opposed to Nationalisation and the Capital Levy, but we have quite as strong leanings towards the social betterment of the people as the Socialists.

The main conclusion we have now arrived at is that only some forty members of the present House of Commons subscribe to the pure milk of Cobdenism. Even some of those forty are prepared to walk a long way on our fiscal path. We can see that the Conservative and Labour Parties are agreed that there is a problem to be solved. My word to the Labour Party is that they will lose nothing by admitting their past mistakes; and why should they search around for a new untried remedy, when they have at hand a remedy which has been tried and proved efficacious in every country in the world?

It will be argued by some economists that the form of taxation I am advocating will increase the cost of production. My answer is that all taxes increase cost of production, and income tax more than any other. The taxes upon imports may in some part never be felt by our industries at all, but income tax falls like a dead hand on every worker in the land. The workers may not feel the burden directly, but the burden is there all the same, stifling their existence and reducing their standard of living.

JOHN R. REMER.

THE MEANING OF THE GOLD STANDARD

ONE of the by-products of the war has been a revival of public interest in problems of economics generally and with special reference to those concerned with currency and exchange. Prior to 1914 these issues were regarded even by professed economists as virtually settled, and certainly by the 'man in the street' with supreme indifference. But ever since 1918 this attitude of mind has changed. Heavy taxation, depressed markets and fluctuating foreign exchanges have awakened the public from their apathy. These circumstances, coupled with a natural inclination to attribute all our misfortunes to any cause, however bizarre, rather than to our own shortcomings, have afforded a unique opportunity to a limited number of 'experts' to exploit intellectually a mentally ill-equipped public with seductive schemes of currency and credit reform, each and all guaranteed to cure every ill that economic flesh is heir to. All these schemes have one element in common—inflation, open or disguised—and a liberal use of the printing press and the machinery of credit. In the attempt to justify these expedients almost every argumentative artifice has been employed, and every false analogy has been worn threadbare. We have been inundated with schemes of currency based upon national credit on the one hand and interest-free credit on the other, and the dictionary has been ransacked for phrases of adjectival abuse of the present economic and currency systems. An ignorant and impressionable public have been fed upon such phrases as 'the bankers' monopoly,' 'the monetary octopus,' 'the stranglehold of finance,' 'money power' and 'credit power,' and last, but not least, *A Fraudulent Standard*, which is the title of a work by Mr. Arthur Kitson and the basis of an article by the same writer, entitled 'The Gold Standard Experiment,' in the September issue of *The Nineteenth Century*. It is somewhat surprising that the word 'experiment' should have been used in this connection. Surely it is common knowledge that the metallic standard, gold or silver, has been the settled policy of this and most of the civilised countries of the world for generations, and that 'paper money' was merely a regrettable expedient of the last few years, adopted as a means of overcoming the reluctance of mankind

to face facts and inevitable taxation necessitated by the war. It may seem somewhat trivial to emphasise at this early stage the misuse of a single word in the title of an article, but I have done so, as it is typical of the tendencious use of suggestion as a means of attack in default of more serious criticism.

A careful examination of Mr. Kitson's article, which we may take as the most effective indictment of the gold standard which has recently appeared, reveals three distinct phases: first, a phase of vigorous condemnation and suggestion of incompetence on the part of all who venture to disagree with him, with an added emphasis on 'bankers', secondly, an exposition of certain crudities of view on currency matters expressed in a speech by Sir Robert Peel about a century ago, which no modern economists attempt to justify; and thirdly, an exaggerated attack upon certain minor and admitted imperfections of the gold standard. Throughout the entire article there is scarcely an allusion to any alternative scheme, and no reference is made to the grave political and economic disabilities of all systems of 'managed' currencies. Mr. Kitson is destructive, but not constructive; he is a great housebreaker, but an indifferent architect.

As an illustration of the first phase let me take the opening paragraphs of the article in question We are told that the Gold Standard Bill of May 1925 was based upon the recommendation of the Cunliffe Commission That is only partly correct, since the Government's views were reinforced by the unanimous reports of the Brussels Conference and the International Economic Conference at Geneva, together with the support of leading European economists such as Professor Charles Gide, Gustav Cassel and A. C. Pigou. However, 'bankers' are Mr. Kitson's *bêtes noirs*, and it would have been a pity to have weakened the attack by other references. Mr. Kitson goes on to say that 'if the deflation policy had been at all likely to affect bank shares and profits, this policy would never have been recommended.' The members of the Cunliffe Commission included such honoured names as Lord Cunliffe, Sir Charles Addis, Lord Inchcape and Professor A. C. Pigou, and we are asked to believe that they and many others subordinated the welfare of the nation to their private interests as bankers and shareholders. In harmony with this attitude, the author proceeds to attack the 'competence' of the Commission, and he quotes with approval a *dictum* of Mr. Henry Ford that 'the last man he would consult on business affairs is a banker.' That view may or may not be correct, but Mr. Kitson lays himself open to the obvious retort that the last person one would consult on theoretical economics is a business man.

Perhaps I have devoted too much space to Mr. Kitson's first phase; after all, hard words break no bones, and it is with some

relief that one turns to more serious aspects of the controversy. The classical 'tag' of the Roman emperor that he knew what 'time' was if he were not asked applies with equal force to 'money.' The proverbial relation of time and money might perhaps help, but where so many have failed in definition I shall not venture. Still I imagine that the average man, without giving the subject much thought, would indorse Sir Robert Peel's celebrated definition of a 'pound,' to which Mr. Kitson devotes so much of his power of denunciation. When Peel said that a 'pound' was just a definite quantity of gold with a mark upon it to determine its weight and fineness, there is no doubt that he merely regarded a 'pound' from the purely material point of view, and all other considerations, such as its function as money of account and questions affecting monetary values apart from commodity value, made no appeal to his robust, but somewhat limited, point of view. 'A violet on the river's brim, a simple violet was to him, and nothing more.' In this connection let me quote Mr. R. G. Hawtrey from his standard work on *Currency and Credit*:

> The general acceptance of this doctrine [Peel's view] has greatly contributed to our freedom from currency troubles and to our pre-eminent international credit position. But undoubtedly Peel and the supporters of the classical theory missed a part of the truth. They missed the conception of a money of account as something distinct from the legal tender money.

After describing how the money of account provides the unit in which debts are legally expressed, he goes on to say:

> But, owing to the natural instability of credit, this cannot be relied on. Therefore the expedient has been adopted of *fixing the price of one commodity*. But this plan of making debts payable in gold is merely a device for keeping the variations of the monetary unit within bounds. But convenience alone has been the ground of this choice. To say that the monetary unit of account has no *meaning* but the precise weight of gold or silver which it represents at the coinage price is flagrantly untrue.

So far, therefore, I have no quarrel with those who repudiate the gold standard theory, if—and it is an important 'if'—the gold standard must necessarily stand or fall on Peel's interpretation. And here let me make a somewhat revolutionary observation: *There is no such thing as a gold standard in the sense of opposition to a 'paper standard'* In both cases the unit of value is a 'pound,' but in one case the 'pound' is related to a definite weight of metal, and in the other case it is related to—Heaven knows what. In view of this difficulty, a good many theorists have evolved schemes for relating the 'paper' pound to some index number representing the average value and price of certain essential commodities—wheat, clothing, house rent, etc.—instead of gold, bearing in mind

the modern uneconomic claim for a 'standard of living' irrespective of variations in the supply of these essentials. This plan has not found acceptance, partly on the ground of the instability of the 'standard' itself and also because the supply at a price is so largely in the hands of those (the workers) who control the supply. For some time after the war the 'pound' was related to nothing in particular, and then for a year or two it was arranged that the *actual* maximum issue of pounds of the previous year should be the legal maximum of the next. This, of course, was a purely arbitrary arrangement, and could not be continued indefinitely. As a matter of fact, I believe that the issue of cash was exceeded, but by some technical arrangement between the two branches of the Bank of England we were able to save 'face' and obey the letter of the law. At this stage a good many people realised that this particular method of controlling the issue of currency was so obviously crude and artificial that a school of writers and advocates arose under the leadership and inspiration of Mr. J. M. Keynes. This became known as the 'managed' currency school. Under this scheme the issue of 'pounds' was to be governed by one consideration only, namely the stability of internal prices No matter what happened to foreign prices, our internal price level was to be kept at one uniform figure, and this was advocated partly on the grounds of industrial peace, but mainly because our internal trade was larger than our export trade and therefore more important Foreign exchanges, as I believe Mr. Keynes wrote, were to be allowed to 'go hang.' So long as some accidental price level of some particular year was maintained, the fact that this country lives by its exports was considered immaterial; stability of the internal price level was the chief thing that mattered. This stability was to be achieved by the mechanism of index numbers. Apart from the unreliability of index figures and the fact that an 'average' is the most soul-destroying thing with which to govern human activities, let us consider the effects of allowing the foreign exchanges 'go hang.' At the present moment we have returned to gold, and it is claimed that our internal price level is 10 per cent. too high in relation to the price level of other gold standard countries, this being one of the reasons why our coal export industry is unusually depressed. I do not accept this explanation, and some great authorities deny the existence of any 10 per cent. discrepancy whatsoever. One could advance a dozen reasons for the coal depression, all infinitely more important, but for the purposes of the argument let us accept the explanation of price level discrepancy. Under a gold standard which is working properly average prices will either fall, or individual prices say of coal and wages must necessarily be reduced. Failing that, 'labour' will leave an uneconomic industry and be

absorbed, or should be absorbed, in the sheltered trades, say house-building. Under the 'managed' currency scheme no such remedy is available. The price level being sacrosanct, what can be done? As far as one can see, nothing. Not only that, but if 'labour,' more sensible than the currency experts, insisted on meeting competition, we should somehow or other be compelled to raise our prices in order to maintain our 'stability.' There is something else to be said against this cult of stability.

I will not enlarge upon the mysteries of index numbers, which, as a great banker has recently remarked, 'are never accurate in their decimals and rarely in their units'; but I would make this point: High wheat prices and low steel prices give exactly the same index number as medium wheat prices and medium steel prices. It follows from this that any 'management' of a currency would give no indication of what was wrong with industry, and if at any time it became necessary to reduce currency and credit in order to bring down the index number, we should in all probability be inflicting an unmerited injury on the low-priced production, despite the fact that credits should really have been withdrawn from the high-priced commodities. It may be said that this is equally true of the gold standard, and I agree, but there is this important distinction, that under the gold standard the superfluous credit would never have been granted, for the reason that there is an automatic check or warning imposed upon credit inflation, namely through the export of gold, which operates far more effectively than any check which depends upon disputed index numbers essentially liable to misinterpretation. Under a gold standard the check to inflation operates automatically; under a managed currency it operates in all probability when the damage is done.

Although I have deprecated, and the country has not seen fit to adopt, Mr. Keynes' 'managed' currency, there is this point to be noted: In a slightly different sense, all currencies, whether of gold or 'paper,' *are* 'managed.' This follows from the previous analysis and Mr. Hawtrey's comments on Peel's standpoint. But the essential difference between the two systems of management is this: Mr. Keynes' 'management' is in relation to internal stability of the price level; the 'management' of a gold standard is governed by the world's price level in relation to our international trade.

Mr. Kitson devotes the latter part of his article to denouncing any control of credit by bankers: 'A further, and perhaps the most serious, objection to the gold standard is the power which this system gives to financiers to influence and control the economic and industrial conditions of the world. And this means that a few men are able through the control of gold to control the world's

credit.' Let me make two observations in this regard. Firstly, no one controls the output of gold, least of all bankers; secondly, the business of bankers is to use gold as the basis of credit. Bankers live by the issue of credit and not by its withdrawal. Mr. Kitson goes on to say: 'Since economic power controls political power, it is possible for a group of irresponsible individuals, by means of credit control, to enslave the world.' If this tirade means anything at all except the outpourings of an overheated imagination, it means that, instead of leaving the control of prices and credits to the automatic and neutral working of the gold standard, credits should be a function of our political representatives, doled out as it suits the whims and socialistic objectives of whatever group of 'reformers' has managed for a time to control the political machine. This holds out a policy of a 'managed' currency which leaves me breathless and inarticulate. Evidently Mr. Kitson does not want the 'managed' currency of Mr. Keynes, and we are left wondering what he really does want. I have already referred to the fact that in the whole of his article there is not a single concrete suggestion of any alternative scheme. He was so occupied in denouncing 'bankers' and all their works and painting a lurid picture of the 'hardships and losses to an extent which is almost incalculable' produced by the gold standard that he has not thought it worth while to discuss an alternative One begins to doubt if he has one.

As a final illustration of Mr. Kitson's methods, let me refer readers to Paragraph IV. of his article: 'The fundamental objection to our gold standard is that it places an artificial restriction upon production: first, in limiting the demand and consumption by making money scarce and dear, and secondly, by placing an unnecessary burden upon production, *i.e.*, increasing costs.' As this is a 'fundamental' objection, one would have thought that Mr. Kitson would have enlarged upon it. Perhaps he thought it was so obvious as to render elaboration needless. Let me supply the deficiency. 'Limiting demand and consumption'—what does that mean? It is not in the power of men to limit demand and consumption providing the demand is 'effective' and the products are available. By 'effective' we mean available money. It follows from this, according to Mr. Kitson, either that the real trouble at the present time is that there is not enough 'money' or that bankers of set purpose refuse to deal in their own commodities. Apparently 'money' must be supplied in unlimited quantities to whomsoever asks for it and, let us hope, can offer some security. That is inflation with a vengeance. 'An unnecessary burden upon production,' *i.e.*, increasing costs—what does that imply? It means that Mr. Kitson has become a convert to Sir Oswald Stoll and his interest-free credit scheme elaborated

every week in the columns of the *Referee.* No one has yet explained why money should be interest-free, except in Utopia, where men work and save for the benefit of humanity and slackers. ' Money ' is purchasing power and has a value, and, like everything else, a price and a rental value. Goods are the ' price ' of money, and interest is the ' rent ' of money. Prices and rents are regulated by supply and demand, but Sir Oswald Stoll, and inferentially Mr. Kitson, propose to alter fundamental conclusions of economic science and incidentally human nature.

Now let me summarise my conclusions · firstly, that the search for an ideal currency of absolute stability is an idle dream ; secondly, that gold offers us the most stable unit of value, providing its adoption is universal ; thirdly, that the gold standard maintains automatically the *equality* of international price levels ; fourthly, that ' paper ' money regulated by index numbers is unreliable in itself and non-international in practice : finally, for good or evil, we are committed to the gold standard, and it is an ill service to a distracted world, peculiarly susceptible to suggestion, to withdraw men's minds from the only things that really matter—work, wages and production. We are being assailed in all directions by plausible schemes for living on other people's earnings and savings, and I can imagine nothing more likely to assist subversive propaganda than to tell the workers that they are being exploited by a ' fraudulent standard.' The statement is not only untrue, but essentially mischievous.

FRANK MORRIS.

AL AZHAR UNIVERSITY

THE Egyptian Government has planned to inaugurate, in October 1925, a new Royal Egyptian University which will consolidate all of the existing local schools of higher education except Al Azhar and the other *Madrassa* of Egypt. This means that European culture should receive a new impetus in the land of the Pharaohs And yet the world owes so much to Islam that many sincere friends of Egypt will regret that this awakening has overlooked Al Azhar. Egypt is essentially a Muhammadan country. Al Azhar represents the crystallisation of Muslim thought. It is in giving vitality to the intellectual development of Islamic orthodoxy that would seem to lie the hope for the future. It is largely because the new University may serve to blaze the way for this achievement that its advent should be applauded as an auspicious event.

I

'When Islam was in its infancy, and when Baghdad, Cordoba, Cairouan, Basra, and Coufa were enjoying a prosperity as brilliant as it was ephemeral, science flourished in all of these cities. To-day it is only at Cairo that it is cultivated.' Thus wrote Ibn Khaldoun[1] in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. From the Muslim point of view his statement is as true now as it was 700 years ago. But if at the present moment Al Azhar is the only collegiate mosque at Cairo, for many years it was merely the oldest and most important *Madrassa* of Egypt. In other words, the modern Egyptians have completely reversed the procedure followed by their forebears The Arab conquerors founded at their Egyptian capital but one great mosque, where all of the faithful assembled at the hour of prayer on Fridays within an immense inclosure. When the population outgrew the Mosque of Amrou, Ahmad ibn Touloun in A.D. 877 built at the other extremity of the city the enormous edifice which still bears his name. Innumerable houses of prayer or chapels, as well as *khanka* (or Muhammadan monasteries) and colleges, however, sprang up on every side. An old writer, Ibn Batoutah, in setting forth his experiences, says that

[1] *Prolegomenon*, translated by Slane, II., 449.

these monasteries were most numerous because the amirs of Cairo sought to outdo one another in the construction of such edifices. 'As to colleges,' he adds, 'no one can estimate their number, so great is it.' [2]

Al Azhar came into being in March 970 as one of the largest and most pretentious of these houses of prayer. It was not until five years later that the first lessons were given in this chapel. Makrizi [3] writes that this inauguration was carried out with great pomp and in the presence of a large attendance. The Fatimites, who were then in the ascendency, bestowed special favours upon Al Azhar. They made of it one of the main centres for carrying on their campaign against the Sunnites, who were their religious and political adversaries. Special attention was therefore given to concentrating in its precincts the very best available brains. It thus came to pass that 'the flourishing mosque,' from almost its first day, assumed an exceptional position in Islam. Khalif Al Aziz Billat, son of Moaz, endowed the *Madrassa* with an excellent library. He also assured liberal pensions to the professorial staff of the college. History looks upon him as the founder of the school. His son, Hakim biamr Allah, was even more munificent in his generosity. Thanks to his liberality, the University was assured of ample funds.

When Saladin dethroned the Fatimites and led Egypt into the ranks of orthodoxy, Al Azhar suffered a long eclipse. For practically an entire century no prayers were said there on Fridays. The Mosque of Hakim, situated at the other extremity of Cairo, became the favourite *Madrassa* of the official world. It was not until A.D. 1268 that Al Azhar re-entered upon its mission as a collegiate mosque. But its curriculum was no longer that of yore. It had ceased to be a Fatimite citadel. It was converted into an orthodox stronghold. Each of the four Sunnite rites sent their very best professors to make of 'the flourishing mosque' once again a pillar of Islam. Thus re-established in favour, Al Azhar had long years of prosperity. It grew in riches, power, and fame. Sultans and amirs vied with one another in lavishing money upon it. One example will suffice to illustrate this. In A.D. 1302 a violent earthquake destroyed the main public buildings of Cairo. The amirs divided among themselves the expense of restoring them. When one of them, named Salar, learned that the reconstruction of Al Azhar had been allotted to him he was delighted. He acquitted himself of his task with zeal and with munificence.

But as the years rolled on the other Cairene mosques disappeared one by one, after having found their prestige com-

[2] Ibn Batoutah, *Travels*, pp. 70–71.
[3] *Makrizi* (Boulac edition), vol. I., p. 455.

pletely obliterated by the all-absorbing fame of Al Azhar. This concentration of the entire scholastic life of Cairo in one centre added greatly to the political power of the favoured corporation. Its sheiks became factors in government circles. They constituted a solid block. They were able to evolve a programme, and, what is more important, to act in unison in making it effective. It was they who in A.D. 1501 formed the nucleus of the movement which made Kansou-al-Ghoury Sultan of Egypt. When Bonaparte entered Cairo, July 22, 1798, he dealt with the Grand Sheik of Al Azhar. The constituted authorities of the land had vanished. The Corsican therefore turned towards the head of the University as towards one whose standing made of him a mandatory of the people of the conquered city. In May 1805 Al Azhar applied the lesson thus learned. It deposed Omar Makram and made Muhammad Aly Pasha of Egypt. But now the clock has moved forward To-day there is no outward evidence that this dictatorial power exists except in a nebulous, inchoate, and fluid state. The hand which formerly smote with telling force is now palsied. But this does not imply that it is incapable of a supreme effort if opportunity should come its way

II

If Al Azhar is many decades older than the most venerable university of Christendom, it must not be inferred that the creation of collegiate mosques followed in the immediate wake of the victorious armies of the True Believers. On the contrary, it was not until long after Islam had spread far and wide that Muslim universities sprang into being The earlier successors of the Prophet had before them so absorbing a task in the organisation of the new State that they thought little of doctrinal niceties. Their creed was essentially simple. Their rallying cry was the unity of the Godhead and the Divine mission of Muhammad. Their rugged minds cared naught for theological dissertations. They were soldiers, not doctors of divinity. Monasteries and colleges were a product of later years. Islam had to a certain extent slackened its forward march when they appeared upon the scene. At first, however, these colleges were merely houses of prayer, where those who loved dissertations found congenial souls with whom they could argue. In time more and more men congregated in these chapels for the purpose of expounding their knowledge. And little by little others came to pick up crums of wisdom. But many years seem to have elapsed before a teaching staff was officially organised with the set mission of training young men and carrying them through a defined curriculum.

. Many Arab historians consider that the first *Madrassa* organised as such, and having as its official objective the education of youth, was founded at Baghdad *circa* A.D. 1066 by Nizam al Mulk. This evolution of a debating club into a university was bitterly condemned by the intellectual *élite* of that period. It is reported that the scholars of Transoxania were shocked when they heard that such an institution had been founded. They buried science in effigy and wore mourning to lament its demise.

> Science [they said, writes Hadji Haifa[4]] should be studied only by noble and disinterested minds prepared to find their sole recompense in study. Now that this work is to be paid for, vile and vulgar minds, inspired by a love of lucre, will apply themselves to such an avocation. Such men will lower the dignity of science without raising their own Look at medicine. This science goes back to the days of the Prophets As soon as the Jews took to medicine it lost all of its glory—and yet it has conferred none on them.

It is difficult to say just when Al Azhar became a school where young men were trained to become *ulema* (singular *alim*) as opposed to a forum where Islamic sects defended their principles. It is more than probable that before the days of Saladin this collegiate mosque had followed the example of Baghdad and had become predominantly a school. It, however, still preserved its original character. Even to-day it stands forth as a body which defends the traditions of Islam and expounds its doctrines. There are formed those Muslim theologians who are also jurisconsults, and who are recognised as the champions of Muhammadan orthodoxy and as the personification of the genius of the religion of the Prophet. To make clear why these learned men thus stand forth as the incarnation of the civilisation of the Crescent necessitates at least a rapid survey of certain phases of Muhammadanism.

III

Islam is a layman's religion conducted by laymen for laymen. It has no priests. It knows of no mediator between Heaven and earth. And yet it is in many respects an extremely complicated institution. It is at one and the same time a religious doctrine, the supreme law of the land and a rule of conduct which regulates with the most minute particularisation both the most insignificant acts of man and the most intimate relationships of life. The Koran is not merely the Bible of Islam, it is also the basis of its law. The doings and sayings of the Prophet constitute the common law which is enforced in the ordinary courts. This implies that while Muhammadanism has no ministers of the Gospel, as the

[4] Hadji Haifa, *Lexicon* (Fluegel edition), p. 53.

West understands the term, it nevertheless has its theologians. It makes everything revolve around the word of God or around the person of Muhammad. Theology and law are therefore the pivots of Muslim civilisation.

A work of such engrossing magnitude cannot be mastered overnight. Its study requires the greatest diligence, training and concentration. It is to this task that Al Azhar and the *Madrassa* of Islam devote their efforts. The men who leave their portals become the living depositaries of Muhammadan lore, the exemplars of Islamic moral authority, and the custodians of Muslim traditions They do not wield the sceptre; they do not command armies; they do not marshal the intriguing forces of diplomacy. Such powers may be vested in other hands: but in their domain they are supreme. Within their province their fiat is law No one may validly impinge upon their preserves; No Haroun al Raschid may lawfully curtail their monopolistic rights. Their authority, however, does not spring from the purity or austerity of their lives. On the contrary, while the overwhelming majority of them are men of exemplary morals, their dictatorial attributes, within the limits of their jurisdiction, flow solely from the fact that the essence of Islamic life is concentrated in their profound knowledge of Muslim lore.

But if the *ulema* of Islam have so much power and are presumed to be so erudite it must not be forgotten that they are specialists. Their intellectual horizon is as broad as their outlook upon life. They consider all culture that does not directly appertain to their avocation as being unworthy of consideration; their scholastic vision is astigmatic; they see clearly everything that relates to Islam. Nothing else comes within their focus.

The Al Azhar of to-day is not so much a Muhammadan foundation or an Oriental institution as it is a product of the twelfth or of the thirteenth century of the Christian era It is a fossil; it is as out of place in the bustling, changing, progressive world of to-day as would be the presence at Westminster of a twelfth century school of old London—if such a body had been kept alive by artificial means and maintained exactly as it was 100 years before Edward I. was born. It is difficult for men and women of the present decade to visualise a college applying a curriculum which was antiquated when Oxford was a struggling infant. It is this lapse of time which dulls one's vision, not the barrier between East and West. Universities have often been compared to bicycles: they must either go forwards, or backwards, or down; they cannot remain stationary and continue to be institutions of learning. Al Azhar has attempted the impossible. It is for this reason that it is incomprehensible to the Occident.

IV

A product of bygone age, Al Azhar divides all science into 'final sciences' and 'instrumental sciences.' The first category covers ethics, theology, Koranic jurisprudence and allied subjects. The second applies to grammatical inflection, syntax, rhetoric, versification and elementary arithmetic.

But to enter this temple of learning the requirements are of the most elementary character. A Khedivial decree, dated May 13, 1911, and still in force, reads as follows (Article 60):

> All candidates for admission to the University of the Mosque of Al Azhar must fulfill the following conditions:
>
> They must—
>
> (1) have attained the age of ten and be not more than seventeen;
> (2) know how to read and write sufficiently to study books;
> (3) have memorised at least one half of the Koran,
> (4) be of sound health and free of bodily ailments; and
> (5) present a certificate of character if the applicant be fourteen years of age.

These regulations give the key to the whole problem of education as understood at Al Azhar. They show that mathematics are treated with disdain; they indicate that even the two other 'R's' play but a secondary part; they prove that a good memory and a *verbatim* knowledge of the Koran are considered to be matters of primary importance. To appreciate, however, the meaning of the course of study carried out at this *Madrassa* it is well to recall that the orthodox Muhammadan doctrine which is there taught is presented to the student body as the incarnation of truth. The lecturer submits his thesis as the concrete expression of an infallible dogma. He does not endeavour to prove his point. He simply confines himself to explaining in vernacular, but withal elegant Arabic, the meaning of the *Matn*, which is the text for the day and which is written in classical Arabic—that is to say, in a language which soars above the heads of those not initiated into its mysteries. His discourse finished, the master furnishes his class with a copy of this *Matn*. Many of his hearers proceed to commit it to memory.

No home study is required of the students. It is true that many of them are vitally interested in their work, and even interrupt their master to ask him more or less pertinent questions. Groups get together and discuss what they have heard in the class-room, not to question the doctrine propounded, but to ascertain whether they have caught the meaning intended to be conveyed. Others during the latter stages of their undergraduate course read commentaries bearing upon the syllabuses under discussion. But at no time and in no manner are the students taught to become self-reliant. No problems are given them with instruc-

tions to work out a solution. Knowledge is handed to them on a platter. It is their duty to partake of the wisdom thus proffered and to digest it.

These *Matn* before referred to are a syllabus of a commentary upon a commentary worked into their present shape not later than the thirteenth or fourteenth century of the Christian era and representing the wisdom of a still earlier epoch. During the first four years of study all undergraduates must confine their operations to working at these *Matn*. At the expiration of this period they are authorised to consult 'explanatory works.' These latter authorities are all, however, based upon the glorification of the past. The net result is that the harder a man applies himself and the more faithfully he respects the rules of the University the more inextricably does he bury himself in the past.

It must not be inferred that Al Azhar professors are ignorant men. they are not; they are encyclopædic in their knowledge of what pertains to their work. They live in the Middle Ages. Their knowledge is archaic, antiquated, antediluvian, and, from the utilitarian standpoint of the modern world, of very little practical value; but it is thorough. Besides, they are devoted to their work: they are indefatigable; and it is their example as much as their precept which inspires their students to labour with a persistency and a perseverance worthy of admiration.

V

The construction of the Mosque of Al Azhar goes back practically to the foundation of mediæval Cairo. Though completed A.D. 970, it has been restored so frequently that nothing may be said to date from this early period except the central part of the building with its cupolas. Everything else is of a later period.

The sanctuary now forms the principal hall of instruction. In this section there are 140 marble columns: it covers 4000 square yards. In the centre of the building is a large open court. On three sides are *riwaks*, or porticoes, each of which is reserved for the use of the natives of a particular foreign country or province of Egypt. On the fourth side, that towards Mecca, is the main place of prayer.

The teaching staff consists of 280 professors. The latest published figures fix the number of students at 5611. Their ages vary from ten to forty; they come from all over the Muhammadan world. Before the war there was hardly a single Islamic State that did not have a representative at Al Azhar. The war and the subsequent unrest have tended to cut down this foreign

element. The Egyptian students are largely drawn from the peasant class. The best blood of Egypt has not in recent years sent its sons to collegiate mosques. What is more ominous is that Al Azhar professors rarely allow their sons to follow in their footsteps.

The enrolment just given does not include the hundreds of boys who attend the *kuttab*, or elementary school, attached to the *Madrassa*. These children run about here, there, and everywhere. So do pedlars, who offer for sale all kinds of mysterious non-alcoholic beverages. And tourists come here too, generally led by ignorant and loquacious dragomen. No desks are seen anywhere. An occasional chair is reserved for such masters as may care to make use of it. The students sit on grass mats in a circle around their professors, many of whom also prefer this recumbent posture. Some fifty or sixty classes go on at one time in the same immense assembly hall. Each group pays attention to its own lecturer, who usually speaks in a low but carefully modulated voice.

VI

It was not until 1895 that the rulers of modern Egypt took a hand in elaborating plans for the internal management of Al Azhar. In that year a Khedivial decree appointed a Commission of five *ulema*, who were charged with the duty of preparing such rules as would foster the prosperity and the improvement of the collegiate mosque. The report took the form of law in July 1896. The regulations read quite well in print. But Al Azhar is too old an institution for governmental red tape to mean a great deal, unless public opinion is at the back to give it driving power and meaning. These bye-laws were amended and further elaborated in 1911. They, however, have neither affected, nor sought to affect, the general features of the old mediæval curriculum. They have left Al Azhar substantially as it was in the days of Saladin the Great, when Richard Cœur de Lion ruled England. The veneer of modernism has, in a word, been confined to attempting to apply certain bureaucratic principles to the administration of the University as opposed to the direction of its pedagogic work.

A further modification submitted to the jurisdiction of Al Azhar the School of Kadis, or training college for Sharia judges. This work constitutes a separate department. It in no sense interferes with the general course of studies followed by those undergraduates not matriculated in this particular section.

When all is said and done, the one and only sign of a vitalising influence enveloping Al Azhar comes from without, and not from within. Around the collegiate mosque, and in the centres where its students congregate, Government schools have been opened

where French and history and geography and like subjects are taught.

Considering the large enrolment of Al Azhar, the numbers who attend these classes are relatively small. The very fact, however, that these students, who have such an engrossing task and practically no leisure, still find time to work at modern subjects means a great deal. It clearly demonstrates that with the slightest encouragement their minds could be directed into productive channels and provide a new and elevating leadership for Islam.

As things stand now the plight of the average Al Azhar *alim* is a sorry one. A few decades ago Egypt was an Islamic State, not only in the sense that the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants followed the religion of the Prophet, but also because the whole form of its body politic was Muhammadan. To-day all this has changed the government is conducted along Occidental lines. Outside of the *Makhama Sharia* and allied courts the judicial organisation of the country is fashioned according to Western standards. The modern *avocat* has practically replaced the Muslim jurisconsult. At all events, the earning capacity of the latter has been reduced within negligible limits.

It has already been explained that Islam has no priests or ministers of the Gospel, as the Christian world understands the word. The result both of this evolution and of this fundamental principle of Muhammadanism is that with each succeeding year the lot of an *alim* is becoming more and more precarious. Therein lies a great source of danger to the peace and quiet of Islam if nothing is done to arrest the present drift. These men who have devoted long years of study to acquire a knowledge which gives them great prestige among their fellows are not going to sit idly by and see themselves brushed aside. Something must be done.

The world owes a debt of gratitude to the religion of the Prophet. To-day it is carrying on in the wilderness the most successful of battles against the forces of paganism. No other creed makes so many converts. It is impossible to gauge the amount of good which would accrue to mankind in general, and to Africa and Asia in particular, were Egypt to utilise in a practical and creative manner the doctrinal erudition and well-trained minds of the sheiks of Al Azhar. Not only do they thoroughly understand their religion, but they have mastered in a way unknown to Europeanised Egyptians the intricacies and beauties of Arabic. This means that they hold in their hands the key to the soul of the East. It would be relatively easy for them to extend their field of endeavour. They could, without interfering with the substantial part of their programme, find time to bring themselves into touch with present-day knowledge.

Under conditions now obtaining, many of the best potential

benefactors of the East are changed into elements which arrest the march of progress. The work which is now going on in the neighbourhood of Al Azhar shows that these minds are hungering for knowledge of a substantial and utilitarian character. The great risk is that these men may in time desert the old collegiate mosques or remain there to nurse a grievance. They may learn to compare the practical value of one form of teaching with that of the other and be led to abandon their old love or to imbibe from its fountain the poison of hatred. Herein lies the danger. The modern world has not invaded the citadel of Al Azhar, but it is menacing its sentries and is taking the bread out of the mouth of its sons. There need be no warfare between the twentieth century and the Middle Ages. There is plenty of room in Al Azhar for it to absorb much that is good and serviceable in the culture of to-day. It is big enough to do so. When it does, Islam will take on new vitality and the world will be happier and better. In a word, the great problem of the East centres on education. This means that an ounce of productive energy applied to Al Azhar will be worth many pounds of similar force distributed elsewhere.

PIERRE ARMINJON.
PIERRE CRABITÈS.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN NIGERIA

THERE are in Nigeria many different sorts of Christian missionaries: the Church Mission Society and the Cambridge University Mission, which are of the Church of England; the Sudan United Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission, which are Nonconformist; the Mennonite Brethren and the Plymouth Brethren and the Seventh Day Adventists, which are what they are; various other 'bodies,' all of the Dissenter type, and the Roman Catholics.

The Anglican missionaries are recruited from the British Isles; the Nonconformist missionaries draw from a wider area, and include in their numbers Americans, Danes, Canadians, South African Dutch, and others: the Roman Catholics, commonly known as 'the fathers,' are mostly French and Italian, with a number of Irishmen

Generally speaking the personnel of the British Administration in Nigeria are not sympathetic towards the missions. There are exceptions, of course here and there you will find an individual official who is friendly and helpful to the missions.

The Government policy was to arrange for each denomination to have its own bit of territory to work in its own way, other denominations being excluded therefrom. Whether this was a sound policy or not does not matter at all, because it was an unworkable policy.

Certainly there are many disadvantages attaching to a state of affairs in which there are two or three or more different sets of missionaries competing for converts in the one area. In one district of which I was in charge, by no means large, there were seven different sorts of Protestant missionaries busily at work The result was anything but happy, and edification was entirely to seek. Still, that is the position as it exists, and it has to be faced.

It is the fashion, it is indeed a fetich, throughout the official community to laud 'the fathers.' You seldom hear them spoken of otherwise than in the most friendly way, whereas the references to the Protestant missionaries are not infrequently of a critical character. It is true that I never observed that people who spoke in the highest terms of the Catholic missions and in quite

other terms of the Protestant did much to help either, or knew anything much about their work, or were interested in it. They were simply complying with the convention, the local rule.

A view that you hear expressed often by these people goes something like this: 'Christianity does the native no good. Muhammadanism is the faith for him. The Christianised native simply sheds his primitive virtues, takes on all the more obvious vices of civilisation, and is in every way less admirable than his pagan and Muslim fellows.'

That is the sort of stuff you hear the old hands getting off to the new arrivals in the official world. I do not suggest that all the old hands talk so, but a great many of them do. As it stands, that short statement is as cheap, as compact of inaccuracy, as a statement of the size could well be, based upon assumptions which are erroneous, leading up to conclusions which cannot be maintained. Yet it has been going the rounds, with the other *clichés*, for a good many years, and is to-day as active and as agile as ever it was.

And that brings me to this, which is of importance. The Muhammadan is, throughout the greater part of Nigeria, just as much a missionary as is the Christian, in that, the bulk of the people being pagans, he offers them an alien faith.

The Muhammadan missionary is very happily placed. He has advantages almost incalculable over his Christian analogues. He is a native of Africa; he knows his brother African as no European can ever know him, and this without any sort of effort on his part, as against years of toil that the Christian missionary must give to the attempt to 'think African.'

One wonderful man, the late R. E. Dennett, perhaps did get to 'think African.' He wrote a book *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, which, if only other Europeans could understand it, could discover what it means, might enable them also to 'think African.' But I have not met a European who could make head or tail of the work, though many have done their best. I had many talks with Mr. Dennett, the gentlest, kindliest, saintliest, most laborious of men, and my own conviction is that he did know what his writing meant, but he could not succeed in getting that meaning across to *nous autres*.

Besides this enormous initial advantage the Muhammadan missionary has many others. The whole country is open to him. The *Pax Britannica* makes it possible for him to avail himself of its being open. Until that Pax was established the vast pagan areas of the country were closed to him, unless he went armed and in sufficient strength to achieve his then purposes of robbery and enslaving. To-day, incredible as it seems, it is none the less the fact that whilst the Muhammadan missionary can go and does

go any and everywhere throughout Nigeria on his proselytising errand, the Christian missionary is excluded by Government order from certain areas. We are doing our utmost to make Nigeria solid for Islam.

Generally, the Christian missionary is allowed to enter and work in pagan districts, and is forbidden to do the like in the Muhammadan emirates. The effect of this action of the Government is that whilst Islam is protected in its own territories it enjoys complete free trade in all other territories. And Government itself is a very potent helper of Islam In the eyes of the natives, Government is identified with Islam In its Northern Provinces practically all the natives whom Government honours, whom Government associates with itself in the work of administration, are Muhammadans.

Islam is much more a social and administrative system than it is a religion. Government has little use for the naked pagan. The unclothed, masterless, undisciplined man is, in its eyes, vastly improved by getting into a turban and a gown and baggy trousers, by learning to lord it over everybody that he judges it safe not to grovel to, by willingness to accept Government pay for looking after his fellows, by a firm adherence to the rule of never answering back. This view being constantly advertised throughout the territory no native with eyes and ears can possibly stay ignorant of it. It and the effect given to it aid the apostolate of Islam to such an extent that in a very few years there will be no pagans left in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria.

Christian missionaries therefore are faced by an exceedingly tough proposition. What are they doing about it ? In the light of nearly twenty years' experience as a political officer in Nigeria, I venture to offer some observations on the position. It is only fair to say that I do so from the standpoint that the African has the right to have Christianity put before him, and that a Christian Power has no right to say to any of its wards ' Muhammadanism is better for you than is Christianity.'

Not all men are fitted to be missionaries The thing is a vocation—a man has it, or he has not. The work demands intelligence, devotion, labour, sympathy, and patience—immense patience. Nothing good ever results from a Christian missionary of one denomination ' calling down ' to natives the teachings of his brother of another denomination. Judgment is essential to the missionary, and capacity to take the long view.

Discipline there must be, charity also, and knowledge. A man, even a missionary, needs to know Christianity before he can usefully essay to teach the African anything of either. Christianity must be studied, understood, as well as felt. Therefore, those responsible for sending out missionaries ought to have

it in their especial care to make sure that the men know their subject.

Intimately connected with this is the matter of native assistants for the missionaries. These, if they are to do anything but harm, must be picked men, proved, discreet, well instructed. And they must be supervised. Otherwise they will do endless damage.

I had an immense amount of trouble in one district owing to the presence in it of a dozen of these—'teachers,' they called themselves. They were persons of the clerk (*babu*) type, speaking English of sorts, dressing in the European manner more or less, and they represented six or seven different brands of Christianity. The missionaries employing them got together and decided that it would be better if these native evangelists stopped wearing bowler hats and coats and trousers and dressed in native fashion. Whereupon the evangelists went on strike, and stayed on strike, until their employers rescinded this sartorial regulation.

These teachers were not badly paid, but rather less than similar men employed in Government offices They were not supervised at all. They sat down in the towns and villages that were remote and their job was to gather converts. They were themselves not at all well instructed, and the ambition of each of them was to be able to write off to the distant European missionary, his chief, reporting an accession of converts. The scramble for adherents led to a most disedifying state of affairs.

If one teacher was reported to be doing well in a town, an opposition teacher would invade it and seek to inveigle the first man's following into another creed. The measure of his success in this enterprise was the amount of feeling that developed. Thus if I heard that a church had been burned down and a teacher hammered at X, I knew that a lot of, say, Church Mission Society Christians had been moved to change over and become, say, Sudan Interior Christians, or *vice versâ*. The tragedy of the whole business was that, generally speaking, neither the teachers nor their followings were Christians at all, as we reckon Christians.

In a town called Mopa I was invited to arbitrate between two lots of Christians, so called. The parties attended before me, to the number of some hundreds, and sat down on the ground facing each other. There did not seem to be any women, or householders, amongst them, but all the young fellows of the place "followed" one or other of the teachers and were present. Inquiry disclosing that teacher B. was the senior, I asked him to speak first.

He spoke quite a lot, and there was much warmth in what he said. As he proceeded the other teacher got angrier and angrier, and his interruptions louder and more frequent. We managed

to keep the peace, and when the speaker had repeated himself not less than three times I asked him to sit down and let the other teacher talk a bit.

He did his turn exactly as the first had done, and in due course was asked to be quiet. I spoke then with various of the two followings, satisfied myself that less than 5 per cent. had been baptised, and that of Christianity, apart from certain hymn and psalm singing, they knew little or nothing. They all used the word 'heathen' very freely to describe their pagan and Moslem brothers.

I said to teacher A . 'And how many wives have you got, my friend?' Quite simply he answered: 'Three, sah, and one young girl for concubine.'

To the like question teacher B. replied with equal candour: 'Four, sah.'

And there you are, there they were, and there I was.

I told the gathering that, in my opinion, whatever they might elect to call themselves, they had no sort of right to call themselves Christians. I added that in any case they were subject to the same law and sanctions as all other persons, and that brawling and fighting and burning down each other's places of worship, even when done in the cause of religion, would land them in the court.

This incident, so far from being exceptional, was, unhappily, typical in that district at that time.

The Government requires all its African citizens to assist in the making and maintenance of roads and bridges, in the transport of seed cotton to the ginnery, and in other works. The labour is paid, but it is not paid much, and is not voluntary. Left to themselves, the people would not do it. Consequently they avail themselves of any and every way of dodging it. A very popular method was to join one of the Christian 'bodies.' Doing this did not involve any change in their mode of life, and it gave them a champion, many champions, against their chiefs and headmen and against the Government.

So that in the village Tup, for instance, when the headman ordered all the able-bodied men to turn out for a week's work on the road, or to tote seed cotton sixty miles in to the ginnery, some or all of those so called upon were pretty sure to claim exemption on the ground that obedience to the order meant their being absent from home and so from service on Sunday, or because it involved working on the Sabbath, which things, as Christians, they regarded as sinful.

The teachers, only too anxious to reinforce the claims of their followers, threatened the headman with written complaints about him to the distant European missionary and to the Government

itself. The headman, usually aged, always illiterate, was scared to death. If he replied that he had the District Commissioner's orders to get the work done, the teachers told him that the District Commissioner was not everybody, and that they would report that officer to the head of the mission, to the lawyers in Lagos, and so forth.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that there was a great flow of converts into the various 'bodies,' and that the making and mending of the roads, etc., were accomplished with difficulty. It got to be so that only pagans and Moslems did any public work at all, and that was not fair.

I toured every inch of the district and was constantly on the move, and everywhere I addressed the people, emphasising that the obligation to help in the work of developing the country—their country—rested equally upon all, Muhammadans, pagans, Christians; that whilst every man was entitled to practise the form of religion he preferred, and would be protected in doing so, there could be no question of a man's getting out of his work obligation by pleading that he was a Christian. To the Christians I pointed out that their faith laid upon them the duty to suffer for it if necessary, and that it was utterly incompatible with the Christian ideal that men should accept it merely in order to gain material advantage.

I was able to arrange that Christians and others shared alike in the work, and this led to all manner of complaints against me, addressed by the teachers to various authorities, from the Governor downwards. Once the people appreciated that when a man's turn came to go and work on the road he just had to go and work on the road, be he Christian or pagan or Muhammadan, the converts began to lapse, and all the teachers chorused that I was a man who persecuted the Christians.

The headquarters of the missions in England and America and elsewhere are tremendously keen on visible results. They publish reports of the numbers of converts gained in the previous year and so forth, and they collect subscriptions. There is unfortunately a demand on the part of the subscribers for reports showing that progress is considerable and constant: they like to read that in the course of the year under review the work has been carried into forty new villages, that the number of adherents has risen by so many thousands.

The European missionaries in the field, over-worked, few in numbers, unable themselves to cover the ground, naturally incline to accept what their teachers report to them, rejoicing at the apparent advance of the cause. And, knowing that generally the Government is something less than sympathetic to them and to their work, they incline also to assume the rectitude and

probity of their teachers in cases where these gentry come into conflict with the Administration.

The remedy of course is not less Christianity, but more. The missions might, I think, consider whether it is not better to have ten *practising* Christians in place of some thousands who, apart from the label, are no more Christian than the jackal is. And this from no fault of their own, Christianity having been presented to them in so many cases merely as a convenient method of cheaply acquiring valuable immunities, as a society membership of which constitutes them a protected, privileged class. Of the theory and practice of Christianity they know little indeed, the vast majority of them never having had any adequate instruction.

It was notable that amongst the thousands of Christians in my district there were no women or heads of households and all were young men. I talked with hundreds of the elders, and found them, without exception, bitterly hostile to Christianity as they saw it. They said that it made the young men idle and impudent and undisciplined, that mere children detailed to go and scare birds off the growing crops, for instance, went to meeting instead, staying there all day, and then, if correction was proposed, called in the teacher, who threatened the head of the house with the usual written complaint to somebody or other. In a community of illiterates, who have no English, the power that resides in any native, however insignificant, who can babble a little pidgin English and scrawl a few words of it on paper must be seen to be believed. The teachers had all the headmen scared stiff.

That there were no women amongst our local Christians did not surprise me Even the youngest men held the view that woman ought to be subject and do as she was bid : her place the home, no room for her in the movement, no dodging of chores by *her* on the ground that she had to go to meeting.

I took it upon myself to explain the Christian ideal to many hundreds of chiefs and elders—self-sacrifice; turning the other cheek; subjection to parents; honest, cheerful toil; putting in eighteenpence and taking out a shilling, and so forth; and the elders and chiefs said that they would welcome a system of that sort, but could not, on the evidence before them, identify it, even remotely, with Christianity.

The remedy for this deplorable state of affairs would seem to be in the concentration of missionary effort, Better a dozen practising Christians than a thousand others: the dozen will be a leaven, and Rome was not built in a day. Unless and until instructed and devout men are available, native teachers should not be employed. The plan of covering the country with ignorant persons of the *babu* type should be at once abandoned :

it has already worked grave injury. Christianity should aim, surely, at making better citizens, and, given a chance, Christianity will do this. If the menace of Islam is or ever becomes a fact, Christianity is and will be the bulwark and defence against it.

There is an institution calling itself the African Church. It was started by a number of apostate native Christians who came to the conclusion that they knew better than the European missionaries the sort of Christianity that suited their fellows. This Church advocates polygamy, and its members practise polygamy. The result is that the African Church is making great headway, is fast increasing in numbers, and is getting its converts mainly from the various Christian ' bodies.'

Polygamy has always been a rock, the wrecking rock, in the path of Christianity's advance amongst the native races in Africa. The pagans are polygamous, the Muhammadans are polygamous, everybody accepts polygamy, indorses polygamy, practises polygamy—everybody, that is, except the Christians. The native Christians generally grant themselves a dispensation in this matter; still, there was always the fact that officially the Christian could have only the one wife, and if his domestic arrangements included more than one, well, that was against the rules and had to be kept decently hidden.

But now the African Church comes along and says, ' Oh, yes. Have as many wives as you like; be neither ashamed nor frightened. Take them to church with you. You will not be, because of your many wives, any the less Christians—in fact, the best Christian teaching is that you should have several wives apiece: the European missionaries deny this, but their teaching is false. You can continue with the services and the preaching and the hymn-singing and so on, and you are the real Christians; the European missionaries are all wrong.'

The women themselves, even if Christian, do not seem to have any prejudice against polygamy—rather the reverse. In the home, it appears to be thought, many wives make light work. Be that as it may, the fact is as stated: the African, with thousands of years of polygamy behind him, himself born and brought up in a polygamous society, living to-day with the system operating all round him, finds monogamy a very hard gospel—if, indeed, it is not an all but impossible state for him.

I have met in Nigeria Africans who were in every way most exemplary Christians—there are not a great many of them; but their influence and their example are invaluable, and cannot fail to produce an effect. I suggest that missionary effort should be directed to increasing the number of such people. Socially and economically monogamy is infinitely the better system, indeed under any other real progress is impossible. Christianity can win

out in the fight against polygamy and if its effort is properly directed, it will win.

A word may perhaps be said on the point whether Christianity is better served by its European missionaries being married or unmarried. Most of the Protestant missionaries are married, and man and wife engage in the work together. 'The fathers,' and the nuns of course, are celibate.

The married missionary, some people think, is, with the help of his wife, able to get more easily and more quickly into touch with the people in their homes than is the celibate. On the other hand, he is very much more expensive. There are two salaries to be paid, one to the husband and another to the wife, two passages out and home again, money allowances for each child, passages for the children, better housing than is necessary for a man living alone Also, the married missionary in a climate like the Nigerian finds a good deal of his time occupied in tending his wife.

Then he is tied to one place, has not the freedom of movement that a single man has If children come, their arrival means interruption of his work, and necessarily, after their arrival, much of his time is given to them. It used to be said that Kitchener, when he was Sirdar, always picked single men for the hardest jobs. Certainly, on the grounds of expense and efficiency, it would appear that the celibate missionary is better value. 'The fathers' and the nuns stay out in Nigeria for ten, twelve, fifteen and more years on end, the married missionaries do not as a rule accomplish tours of anything like that length, two to three years being, I think, the average.

Another side to this matter is the welfare of the children arriving into the world in a place like Nigeria. A good many of them do not long survive birth. The mother has a much worse time than she would have in her own country. And the life of her child in Nigeria is a most miserable business. The poor mite has to be protected from flies by day and from mosquitoes by night: it cannot move out of doors without a sun helmet; it gets boils and sores; its poor little tummy is always out of order--it is an unhappy, pasty-faced, anæmic little creature. Time and again my heart has bled at the sight of wretched little babies that ought to have been at ease in England instead of suffering in West Africa.

It is impossible to withhold admiration from the heroic European women who face the pains and terrors of childbirth in Nigeria—impossible to deny faith and courage to their men who help them through, agonising with anxiety the while. And when it is a question of tending the little one, which of us has not been stung into feeling mean and selfish before the loving care which

the devoted parents lavish upon it? . . . But is it wise, is it right, to try to raise a family in such conditions?

Lastly, this is always to be borne in mind—that the climate of Western Africa is quite definitely the worst in the world, the most trying, the most demoralising. Europeans subjected to it inevitably live most uncomfortable lives, they are normally out of sorts, and they deteriorate mentally and physically. The deterioration is sensible, constant, and rapid. To many of them the climate is death-dealing: to the best and bravest and strongest it means a 50 per cent. reduction in expectation of life. It is important, as it is only just, to remember these things when forming, and much more when giving expression to, a judgment on missionaries, and on the quality and amount and value of their work in Nigeria.

J. F. J. FITZPATRICK.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

I. Christian Science Healing

The subject of what is generally known as faith or spiritual healing is attracting the attention of thinkers throughout the world to an extent hitherto unprecedented. Why? Because, after thousands of years of an ineffectual search for health through material methods, humanity is still crying out for a scientific, and therefore sure, remedy for its sickness and sin. Practically every known substance in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms has, at some time, been employed as a curative agent; but can a single one of these be pointed to as an infallible remedy in every case? The answer is an emphatic No.

Material medicine varies as a fashion. That which claims to cure to-day is found useless to-morrow, and is discarded for something else. It is so with all material methods, for the only seeming benefit they manifest is the result of the belief the human mind places in them. What does this reveal? Only that the remedial effect of material medicine depends on the belief in it, not on any curative quality of the medicine itself. The human or carnal mind loses faith in its own beliefs; hence the constant changes in every branch of its thinking. It works from an ever-changing basis, for all its conclusions are derived from empirical evidence, that is, evidence based on trial or experiment. It is obvious that new discoveries will always affect the latest conclusions and necessitate a change in the text-books. At the present rate of development text-books become unreliable and obsolete in a few years, and have to be replaced by those more up-to-date. What are termed the exact sciences of harmony and mathematics, however, starting from a principle which never varies, are followed by constant results when the principle and rules are correctly applied. Many mistakes may be made in the attempt to demonstrate the principle of mathematics, and many discords expressed in the endeavour to demonstrate the principle of harmony, but these can be corrected through gaining more understanding of the principle in both cases. Now it may be asked, is there no unfailing Principle which, when correctly applied, will govern man and his affairs harmoniously?

Two thousand years ago Christ Jesus appeared upon the earth demonstrating a scientific knowledge which healed all disease, destroyed sin, raised the dead, set aside the so-called law of gravitation, stilled the tempest, and multiplied loaves and fishes—all in opposition to the accepted beliefs of the age. Not only did Christ Jesus perform these wonderful works, but he declared that anyone who believed on him, that is, understood his teaching, would be able to do the same works, and greater. It is evident from this that he meant his followers to understand and prove his teachings and thereby carry on his work. It is an historical fact that for about 300 years after the ascension the healing of the sick without material means, and in some cases even the raising of the dead, was a recognised accompaniment of true Christianity. It is also interesting that the works which were so perfectly performed by Christ Jesus had been done, in some measure, in earlier times by the prophets and by spiritually minded persons. The translation of Enoch, the healing of leprosy by Moses, the raising of the dead by Elijah, the dividing of the waters of the Red Sea and of the Jordan, and many other works which are considered miraculous are instances of this. These events covered a period of some thousands of years, so that it cannot be said that the power necessary to perform such works was intended for a select number at a given time. For centuries it has been believed that the healing wrought by Christ Jesus could never be emulated by others, but, as has been shown, his whole ministry proves that there is no warrant for such a position. He taught his immediate disciples, and many others who are unknown to us by name, the nature of God, Spirit, thereby enabling them, in proportion to their understanding, to perform the works he did. It is obvious that such works could only be performed by those who were spiritually minded, or, in other words, had in some degree the Mind of Christ, the works being the proof or the 'signs following.' Gradually, however, as materialism entered the Christian Church, through pagan and other influences, the 'signs' began to disappear until they practically ceased. Even throughout the intervening centuries, however, individuals arose whose faith in God's goodness and power was sufficient to enable them to heal. The impossible never happens. Therefore that which was once possible is always possible under the same conditions. The question then is, what are these conditions?

All words and deeds are the outcome of thought. Through the gradual development of thought, civilisation has advanced to its present stage, and it will continue to advance with the unfoldment of new ideas. The greatest record of the unfoldment of right thought to the human consciousness is contained in the Bible. It records the development of the consciousness of good,

which culminated in the great figure of our Master. All Christians will admit that Christ Jesus was the most wonderful character in history, but possibly not all will realise that he was the greatest and most correct thinker in history. Although his recorded ministry lasted but three years, and 2000 years have elapsed since he healed and taught in Palestine, yet to-day we find his teaching more and more acknowledged and more and more advocated as the solution of every modern problem. There is a reason for this, and it is to be found in the method of his thinking, which was necessarily expressed through his works. When John the Baptist sent his disciples to ask him if he were the Christ for whom the world was waiting, Jesus gave no long verbal explanation of his mission; he simply pointed to the works which he was daily performing. 'Go,' he said, 'and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.' It is evident from this that Christ Jesus expected his followers to understand his mission by means of his works. The question then may be asked, 'What enabled Christ Jesus to do these works so perfectly?'

Let us imagine ourselves for a moment back in Palestine, walking with Jesus of Nazareth. We go with him into the Temple, and amongst the crowd we see a man with a withered hand. Our first thoughts about the man might be speculation as to whether his infirmity was the result of an accident, or of some inharmonious physical condition. Such a process of thinking would not heal a withered hand. Now what did Jesus do? He looked at the man and simply said, 'Stretch forth thy hand. And he did so: and his hand was restored whole as the other.' What was Jesus thinking, and what gave him conscious authority in making such a statement?

Again, let us suppose we are with the disciples on the Sea of Galilee in the midst of the storm, and see Jesus walking on the water. The disciples are afraid, but Jesus, seeing their fear, calls out, 'Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid.' Peter answers, 'Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. And He said, Come.' He did so, but seeing the wind and waves boisterous, he became afraid and immediately began to sink. Jesus stretched out his hand, caught him and said, 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?' What was it that enabled Jesus to walk with safety on the water, and what made Peter sink? Does not the explanation lie in the different way they were thinking? Christ Jesus put the reason very clearly when he called it doubt and lack of faith on the part of Peter, both wrong mental conditions.

What a contrast between Jesus' method of thinking and that of those around him! The distinction lay in the fact that Christ Jesus expressed the thoughts of the divine Mind, whereas those to whom he spoke were thinking with the so-called carnal or human mind, which St. Paul termed 'enmity against God.' For this reason Paul declared, 'Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus'; in other words, 'Think as Jesus thought.' Surely this is the condition which must be fulfilled in order that the mighty works performed by the Master and, in a lesser degree, by a few spiritually minded men and women who preceded and followed him, may be repeated in our age.

Towards the middle of last century there appeared in New England a woman whose one desire, from her childhood, was to know and understand God. Mary Baker Eddy, prior to her discovery of Christian Science in 1866, had discerned that everything must have a mental cause. Her instantaneous recovery from the effects of a severe accident, which neither medicine nor surgery could reach, following her reading of the account of the healing of the man sick of the palsy, led her to the realisation that God was not the author of sin, disease and death, but, as the Psalmist says, is the healer of all our diseases and sins. The spiritual light which dawned in her consciousness through this healing enabled her to discern that there must be a divine Principle which could be understood and utilised in human experience, and for the next three years she set herself to study the Bible, recognising that in the spiritual understanding of it alone lay the solution of the problem. Gradually she apprehended that God, Life, Truth and Love, is the divine Principle of all true existence, and that, since divine Principle must be omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, nothing can really exist but God and His ideas. The realisation of the truth of this revealed to her the unreality of evil. She then began to prove this by the overcoming of sin and disease, the evidences of the truth of her discovery quickly multiplying in the healing and regeneration of those who sought her aid. After nine years of accumulating proof she published the Christian Science text-book *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*. In this way the great movement of Christian Science originated.

From this brief explanation it will be seen that Christian Science is Christian, and is the return to primitive Christianity. It fulfils all the requirements which Christ Jesus demanded of those who professed to be his followers. Christian Science is also scientific, because it is systematised Christian knowledge, capable of proof.

It will be acknowledged that Christ Jesus was the greatest healer of sin and disease the world has ever known. From the

scientifically certain nature of the results it is obvious that his method must have been based upon divine Principle and governed by spiritual law. The argument has occasionally been advanced that he may have healed through some process of suggestion, but it is quite evident from the study of his life-work that this was not so. He himself declared that he cast out devils and healed the sick by 'the Spirit of God,' which is certainly not suggestion or any method of the so-called human or carnal mind. That Christ Jesus knew that the human or carnal mind claimed to heal the sick is evident from his careful discrimination between his method and all other so-called mental methods. He declared that when he cast out devils by the 'Spirit of God,' the 'kingdom of God' came to the consciousness of those healed and they thereby gained spiritual understanding. On the other hand, when he described the attempt of the human mind to heal the ills of its own making, he declared that the last state of the patient was worse than the first, inasmuch as the patient's thought had been left empty and therefore more liable to receive many other wrong suggestions.

There is nothing supernatural in spiritual healing. It is simply the manifestation of Immanuel, or 'God with us.' Man in the image and likeness of God, expresses God's nature, and for God to sustain the spiritual nature of His own image and likeness cannot be a supernatural act. All spiritual healing must emanate from God, divine Mind, and therefore must be spiritually mental. It can never be aided by material ways and means. It is always the result of spiritual understanding or knowledge of God. This was plainly stated by Christ Jesus when he said, 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' To what truth did he refer? To the truth that the real man is spiritual, the image and likeness of God, incapable of sin, disease and death.

From the foregoing it will be seen that healing through Christian Science is entirely different from any other method. It is not what is commonly called 'faith healing,' inasmuch as it demands scientific knowledge and proof in place of blind belief. Recognising the mental nature of all phenomena, it detects the cause of all discord in wrong thinking, and shows that the cure for wrong thinking must be right thinking. Now the human mind itself cannot be the source of right thinking, as it is termed by St. Paul the 'carnal mind,' which is 'enmity against God.' Therefore the divine Mind must be gained and the thoughts of that Mind reflected before right thinking can be manifested. Hence the necessity of gaining the Mind of Christ, or of being 'transformed by the renewing of (the) mind,' to quote St. Paul again.

Since our Master has given us a scientific method of healing, of which he was the perfect demonstrator, why should humanity

desire or seek any other? In her discovery of Christian Science Mary Baker Eddy has given again to suffering humanity this method. On page 150 of *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, she writes:

> To-day the healing power of Truth is widely demonstrated as an immanent, eternal Science, instead of a phenomenal exhibition. Its appearing is the coming anew of the gospel of 'on earth peace, good-will toward men.' This coming, as was promised by the Master, is for its establishment as a permanent dispensation among men; but the mission of Christian Science now, as in the time of its earlier demonstration, is not primarily one of physical healing. Now, as then, signs and wonders are wrought in the metaphysical healing of physical disease; but these signs are only to demonstrate its divine origin,—to attest the reality of the higher mission of the Christ-power to take away the sins of the world.

CHARLES W. J. TENNANT.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

II. Mens Sana in Corpore Sano

The Roman Satirist's conclusion that a healthy mind in a healthy body is the greatest of all earthly blessings has been endorsed by the verdict of subsequent generations The importance of the health of the *mind*, as an influence on the well-being of the body, has become more emphasised in the last twenty years. The causes of this are well set forth in the Report of the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops and published in the Encyclical Letter of 1920, No. VII., p. 116.

> It has been our task [says the Report] to consider the relation of the Christian faith and the duty of the Church towards those movements of thought and practice which are associated at the present time with Spiritualism, Christian Science and Theosophy All three protest against materialism
>
> *First* As in previous periods of human thought, so now, the protest is a natural outcome of an epoch of ferment and unrest, and of immense material expansion accompanied by increasing facilities of communication and the rapid dissemination of ideas The wonderful discoveries of the nineteenth century tended to promote the material conveniences of existence, and to encourage the belief that all the mysteries of life were discoverable, and could be explained by theories derived from and verified by sense observation Then followed inevitably a sense of dissatisfaction, of recognising the reality of the unseen, and a deep longing for some revelation of it Upon all this has come the catastrophe and shock of the war, and the desolating, bewildering questions which such an experience raises. It is easy to understand the appeal which the Spiritualist, the Christian Scientist and the Theosophist make to those who have been indifferent to the spiritual claim of religion or absorbed in material interests.
>
> *Secondly*, all three movements draw much of their strength from a new knowledge of the extent of psychic powers in human nature. Indiscriminate use of them is often just as fatal to the individual and to society as the uncontrolled use of physical powers
>
> *Thirdly*, each of the three movements claims to supply something which the teaching and practice of the Church have failed to give . . . and thus appeals to dissatisfied members of the Church
>
> *Fourthly*, it is not difficult to recognise in these movements a revival of the doctrines of the Gnostics and Neo-Platonists with the same developments of spiritualistic practice and the same distortions of it by the ignorant or the unscrupulous.

Fifthly, no one of these movements finds its centre in the central revelation of the Christian faith. Christian Science seems to allegorise it, or allow it to fade into a false mysticism.

It is of Christian Science chiefly that I wish to speak in this article, and to show its inability to produce a really healthy mind, although it claims to produce a healthy body, and the mischievous results of its doctrine on society and on individuals.

The difficulty of realising exactly what is meant by the definitions of Christian Science as set forth in *Science and Health,* the text-book by Mrs. Eddy, the founder, can scarcely be described. The definitions themselves are often involved, and the explanation sometimes accompanying them only makes for greater confusion. Thus (page 469):

> What is mind? The only exterminator of error is the great truth that God, good, is the only Mind . We can have but one mind if that one is infinite . . . Man is the expression of God's being. If ever there was a moment when man expressed not this perfection, he could not have expressed God, and there would have been a time when Deity was unexpressed, without entity If man has lost perfection, he has lost his perfect Principle, the Divine Mind The Science of Mind disposes of all evil . . . sin, sickness and death are to be classified as results of error.

Again (page 475):

> What is man? Man is not matter—made up of brains, blood, bones and other material elements . Man is spiritual and perfect . . man is incapable of sin, sickness and death, inasmuch as he derives his essence from God, and possesses not a single, original or underived power . Man is not mortal nor material—man is not a material habitation for Spirit; he is himself spiritual. Soul, being Spirit, is seen in nothing imperfect or material.

The following lines are from a Christian Science hymn entitled *Our God:*

> I am the Father's perfect child,
> Pure and good and undefiled

It is most perplexing to know where to begin in the criticism of such statements as

> The human brain of substance and material is unreal. The human mind does not exist in each individual person,

and

> Spirit acts through the science of mind, never causing man to till the ground, but making him superior to it

If man were not to till the ground, we should have no food, and human life would be impossible.

Science and Faith, page 286:

> Sin, sickness and death are comprised in human material belief, and belong not to Divine Mind. They are without a real origin or existence.

Again (page 287):

> Error is false, mortal belief: it is illusion without spiritual identity or foundation and has no real existence. The supposition that life, substance and intelligence are *in* matter or *of* it is an error.

Again (page 393):

> Man is never sick, for mind is not sick, and matter cannot be.

Again (page 397):

> When an accident happens you think or exclaim, 'I am hurt' Your thought is more powerful than your words, more powerful than the accident itself to make the injury real Now reverse the process. Declare you are not hurt, and understand the reason why, and you will find the ensuing good effects to be in exact proportion to your disbelief in physics, and your fidelity to divine Metaphysics.

A limerick has been written on this point of view:

> There was a mind-healer of Deal
> Who said, 'Although pain is not real,
> When I sit on a pin
> And it punctures my skin
> I dislike what I fancy I feel.'

With regard to the use of medicine it is said, page 143:

> It is plain that God does not employ drugs or hygiene, nor provide them for human use

It does not follow because our Lord wrought works of healing without the employment of drugs and medical appliances that the latter are not to be employed in these days. We believe that He had powers which were superhuman. He could still the tempest, walk on the water as on dry land. In His first miracle recorded by St John He turned the water into wine at the marriage feast. In other words, He carried out instantaneously a change which ordinarily required the addition of the juice of the grape and certain preparation.

In some cases He did employ outward appliances, as when He made clay with saliva and anointed the eyes of the blind man (John ix. 6) and told him to go and wash in the pool of Siloam. Similar means were employed in the case of the deaf mute, recorded by St. Mark (vii 33), and of the blind man (St. Mark viii. 23). He also said, 'They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.'

The Report of the Lambeth Conference quoted above devotes a special section to the discussion of Christian Science. It begins by deprecating the distinction between spiritual and physical means of healing—a distinction which, when wrongly made, is fatal to truth. It claims, as the operation of the Divine Spirit, all the advances made in medical research, surgery, nursing, hygiene and sanitation, as well as the great progress in psycho-

therapeutics. These three departments of healing, viz., physical science, psychology and religion, correspond to the threefold division of man's nature into body, mind, and spirit. The Report goes on to warn against the danger of over-emphasising one branch of healing to the disparagement of the others. It records with penitence the neglect of the Church in not bringing forward into greater prominence the doctrine of God's loving care of body, as well as of soul, as revealed by Christ. This neglect has led to an inevitable reaction. Christian Science has undoubtedly helped to call attention to the spiritual forces in the work of healing and in the promotion of happiness and general well-being. The movement has, however, tended, often with grave results, to belittle all physical methods of healing and God's gift of scientific research. Some of the doctrines developed are then mentioned, which appear to be in direct opposition to the Christian faith :

> The oneness of God and of the Universe savours of Pantheism Personal terms used of God are at the same time declared to be synonymous with impersonal Principle [1]

Let me deal first with Mrs. Eddy's interpretation of the Godhead. According to Christian Scientists, who claim to pay greater honour to the Christian Deity than all other forms of religion, God is not cognisant of pain, error, or disease. As God is identical with Truth and Goodness, these hindrances in our present life are unknown to God, and are therefore unreal and non-existing. They are apparently the creation of the mortal mind, which is the source of all error. This certainly is limiting the power of the Deity whom Mrs. Eddy professes to honour, who is surely omniscient as well as omnipotent and omnipresent.

Then Christian Science denies the personality of God :

> God is infinite mind There can be but one mind, because there is but one God. Prayer to a personal God is a hindrance.

This abolishes in effect the Christian doctrine that God is Love. Love is essentially the attribute of a personal being. Without personality love is meaningless Love is at once the central doctrine of the Christian religion, the motive of its worship, the ultimate source of all Christian service. Even before the dawn of the Christian era this doctrine is found partially adumbrated in the ' Wisdom ' literature :

> For thou lovest all things that are,
> And abhorrest none of the things which thou didst make,
> For never wouldest thou have formed anything if thou didst hate it.
>
> . . . . .
>
> But thou sparest all things because they are thine,
> O Sovereign Lord, thou lover of men's lives
>
> Wisdom, xi 24, 26 (Rev Ver.)

[1] Report of Lambeth Conference.

Although Christian Science professes to preach the fulness of Divine Love, it denies the very attributes which make love Divine, viz., forgiveness of injury and sin, and sympathy with suffering.

The New Testament, of course, is full of this teaching. St. John's writings, both the Gospel and Epistles, are brimming over with it. 'Greater love hath no man than this: that a man lay down his life for his friends.' 'Love one another as I have loved you.' 'The life that I now live in the flesh I live in faith—the faith of the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me.' Page 29:

Again, speaking of Jesus Christ, Mrs. Eddy says (page 29):

> The virgin mother conceived this idea of God and gave to her ideal the name Jesus. Jesus was the offspring of Mary's self-conscious communion with God
>
> To accommodate himself to immature ideas of spiritual power Jesus called the body flesh and bones. These utterances show the concession He was willing to make to popular ignorances.
>
> Jesus Christ is not God.
> Christ is a divine ideal
> Jesus as material manhood was not Christ
> Hence the duality of Jesus the Christ

It is impossible to avoid making quotations from the text-book *Science and Health.* These extracts show conclusively that the belief advocated is certainly not Christian. St. Paul says (Gal. iv. 4): 'When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law.'

> Jesus stands for the highest corporeal concept of the divine idea, rebuking and destroying error, and bringing to light man's immortality. Page 589

> Christ the divine manifestation of God which comes to the flesh to destroy incarnate error. Page 583

Jesus Christ, then, is apparently not one, but two entities. He was not a person, never really lived and died on the earth. This theory destroys the whole fabric of the Christian faith. What is there in the elusive and scarcely comprehensible definitions of Christian Science, on which anyone can fasten any belief, which contains any attractiveness for its votaries, any ideal which can be imitated, any source of inspiration or strength? It is all so vague that it baffles the understanding and mystifies the intelligence and fails to supply any incentive to unselfish endeavour or self-sacrifice in conduct.

These are further statements of Christian Science:

> Jesus sent forth seventy students at one time, but only eleven left a desirable historic record. Page 27.

The disciples' desertion of their Master in His last earthly struggle was punished; each one came to a violent death, except St. John, of whose death we have no record. Page 47

Yet persecution and martyrdom were foretold as their privilege as true followers of their Lord, and not their punishment.

About Lazarus:

Jesus restored Lazarus by the understanding that he had never died.

As Mrs. Eddy denies the reality of death, and also God's knowledge of sin and suffering, how does she reconcile this with the above assertion that the ten disciples *were punished with a violent death?*

Of the Holy Spirit she says:

The Comforter spoken of by John, I understand to be divine science. Page 55.

If this implies, as is presumably meant, the system and pronouncements of Christian Science, it must be accounted strange that the apostles, who were the recipients of the gift conferred on Christ's Church, did not formulate any system or preach such doctrines as are found strewn promiscuously through the pages of *Key to the Scriptures*. Pages 501–599.

In *Key to the Scriptures* Mrs. Eddy takes a few passages from Genesis and from the Revelation of St. John, the first and the last books in the Bible, and gives them mystical and fanciful interpretations, *e g*, pages 524, 525.

Does Spirit enter dust, and lose therein the Divine Nature and omnipotence? Does Mind, God, enter matter to become there a mortal sinner animated by the breath of God?

Man represents God, mankind represents the Adamic race, and is a human, not a divine, Creation

But on page 69:

Mortals can never understand God's Creation while believing that man is a creator.

Sin, sickness and death must be deemed as devoid of reality as they are of truth

Page 514:

The animals created by God are not carnivorous, as witness the millennial estate pictured by Isaiah, 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb.' . . . All the creatures of God are harmless, useful, indestructible, moving in the harmony of science.

Page 533:

Truth, cross-questioning man as to his knowledge of error, finds woman the first to confess her fault She says, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat'; as much as to say in meek penitence, Neither man nor God shall

father my fault. She has already learned this, that corporeal sense is the serpent. Hence she is the first to abandon the belief in the material origin of man, and to discern spiritual Creation. This hereafter enables woman to be the Mother of Jesus, and to behold at the sepulchre the risen Saviour—soon to manifest the deathless man of God's creating This enables woman to be first to interpret the Scriptures in their true sense, which reveals the spiritual origin of man.

How does this agree with what is said to the woman by way of sentence for her disobedience: 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children and thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee'?

The woman referred to as being the 'first to interpret the Scriptures in their true sense' is obviously meant to refer to Mrs. Eddy herself. Indeed, she looks upon the parable of The Leaven hid in three measures of meal as a direct prophecy of her 'revelation' of Christian Science (page 118). But she goes further than this and proclaims herself Christ Incarnate the second time She says (p. 565):

Herod decreed the death of every male child, in order that the man Jesus (the masculine representative of the spiritual idea) might never hold sway, and deprive Herod of his crown The impersonation of the spiritual idea had a brief history in the earthly life of our Master, but 'of his kingdom there shall be no end,' for Christ, God's idea, will eventually rule all nations and peoples—imperatively absolutely, finally—with divine Science. This immaculate idea, *represented first by man and last by woman*, according to the Revelator, will baptise with fire, etc (The italics are mine)

The following quotations are from the Glossary in *Science and Health*—which undertakes to explain some of the Scriptural terms mentioned:

Adam[3] = Error, a falsity, the belief in 'original sin,' sickness and death, the opposite of good, God and His creation

Believing (page 582) —(1) Firmness and constancy: not a faltering or blind faith, but the perception of spiritual Truth.

(2) Mortal thoughts, illusion

Death = an illusion, the lie of life in matter, the unreal and untrue, the opposite of life

Firmament = spiritual understanding, the scientific line of demarcation between truth and error, between Spirit and so-called matter.

Gihon (river) —The rights of woman acknowledged morally, civilly and socially.

Hiddekel —Divine Science, understood and acknowledged.

In.—A term obsolete in Science if used in reference to spirit or deity.

[3] The following conception of Adam is an example of Mrs. Eddy's philosophy. See page 338, *Science and Health*: 'Divide the name Adam into two syllables and it reads *a dam*, or obstruction. . . . Here a dam is not a mere play upon words, for it means much. It illustrates the separation of man from God, and the obstacle the serpent, sin, would impose between man and his Creator.'

Mind.—The only I or Us—the one God, not that which is in man but the divine Principle or God, of whom man is the full and perfect expression—Deity which outlines but is not outlined.

Flesh.—An error of physical belief: a supposition that life, substance and intelligence are in matter, an illusion, a belief that matter has sensation.

I or *Ego*—Divine Principle, spirit soul, incorporeal unerring, immortal or eternal Mind.

There is but one I or Us, but one divine principle of Mind, governing all existence. . . . All the objects of God's Creation reflect one Mind; and whatever reflects not this One Mind is false and erroneous, even the belief that life, substance and intelligence are both mental and material.

Jerusalem—Mortal belief and knowledge obtained from the five corporeal senses: the pride of power, and the power of pride, sensuality, envy, oppression, tyranny Home, heaven

Life (pages 468, 469) is neither in nor of matter What is termed matter is unknown to Spirit, which involves in itself all substance and is Life Eternal. Matter is a human concept. Life is a Divine Mind. Life is not limited. Death and finiteness are unknown to Life. If Life ever had a beginning, it would also have an ending.

Mortal Mind.—Nothing claiming to be something, for mind is immortal. mythology.

River—Channel of thought When smooth and unobstructed, it typifies the Course of Truth, but muddy, foaming and dashing, it is a type of error.

Mother—God, divine and eternal principle, Life, Truth, Love

Father.—Eternal Life, the One Mind, the divine Principle, commonly called God

Bride.—Purity and Innocence conceiving man in the idea of God, a sense of Soul, which has spiritual bliss, and enjoys but cannot suffer

Bridegroom—Spiritual understanding the pure Consciousness God, the divine Principle, creates man as His own spiritual idea, and is the only creative power.

Children—Life, Truth, and Love's spiritual thoughts and representatives Sensual and mortal beliefs, counterfeits of creation, whose better originals are God's thoughts not in embryo, but in maturity, material suppositions of life, substance and intelligence opposed to the science of being

Objection to Mrs. Eddy's method of dealing with the Scriptures may be taken in that she takes texts irrespective of their context and twists their evident meaning to suit one of her irresponsible statements, *e.g.*, page 474:

Now Jesus came to destroy sin, sickness and death, yet the Scriptures aver, 'I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.' Is it possible, then, to believe that the evils which he lived to destroy are real?

This text occurs in our Lord's Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 17): 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.' It is the *law* and the *prophets* of whom our Lord is distinctly speaking—not of sin, sickness and death. Doubtless the conquest over and ulti-

mate destruction of the latter were the objects of our Lord's advent, but to argue that they are not real because He came not to destroy but to fulfil the *law* and the *prophets* is a hopeless form of argument, and will make the reader scrutinise carefully all quotations from Holy Writ, to see if they are similarly travestied.

There is another text on which Christian Science builds much of its teaching, and one which, when taken with its context, is at least capable of a different meaning. A great deal is made of the words 'The kingdom of God is *within* you' (Luke xvii. 21). These words were spoken expressly to the Pharisees, and it is this fact which makes it extremely doubtful whether the translation of the Greek word ἐντός, which may mean *within* or *among*, has the former signification in this passage. It is true that ἐντός in other places in the New Testament is 'within,' but there are good instances in classical Greek writers for the rendering '*among*.' The Pharisees would be the last people to have their hearts sanctified by the Divine indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The marginal rendering '*among*' is upheld by many scholars and theologians, and has the support of Plummer's commentary on St. Luke's Gospel which is one of the best for English readers. If it is so taken here, the text would mean the bodily presence of Christ Himself. In support of this rendering, we may notice (Luke x 9) in the commission to the seventy sent two and two before our Lord: 'Heal the sick that are in the cities to which you go, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.' Again (Matt xxi 43): 'Therefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.' Again (John i 26): 'In the midst of you standeth one whom ye know not, even he that cometh after me.' St. John the Baptist's message as recorded by St. Matthew (iii. 2): 'Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. For this is he that was spoken of by Isaiah the prophet.' Our Lord's own proclamation (Mark i. 15): 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand.' The question must be left to the intelligence and perception of the reader, but, in any case, the meaning of the passage is too ambiguous to let it form the corner-stone of any argument, or creed.

Besides this, in the Glossary of *Science and Health*, page 588, 'In' is defined as 'a term obsolete in science if used in reference to spirit or deity.' How, then, can the kingdom of God be with*in* you? How can God be described as All *in* all? (page 468).

A careful study of the pages of *Science and Health* shows that it is the avowed teaching of Christian Science to ignore all forms

of trouble. Every votary asserts that he is perfect. This is surely the essence of Egoism and is diametrically opposed to St. Paul's humble estimate of himself as 'the chief of sinners.' Such a view must produce a tendency to profound selfishness.

This view is evidently acknowledged by Mrs. Eddy from her choice of the following lines as a motto for her book:

> I, I, I, I itself, I,
> The inside and outside, the what and the why,
> The when and the where, the low and the high,
> All I, I, I itself, I

It is difficult to find out what benefits, if any, Christian Science has conferred on the poor, the humble and the outcast. This was the Charter of the Gospel put forth by its Founder. It was the text of His first address in the synagogue at Nazareth: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor: He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised' (Luke iv. 18).

There is a strong tendency in human nature to ignore and despise the 'little ones,' as they are called by Christ. These words do not apply only, or mainly, to children. The little ones are the lowly, the humble, the poor, the suffering, the unnoticed. The disciples and followers of our Lord were rebuked more than once for this contemptuous attitude. When the mothers brought their young children for our Lord to touch them, we are told the disciples rebuked them. 'But when Jesus saw it, he was moved with indignation, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me; forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God (Mark x. 13, 14). When the Syrophœnician woman came and besought our Lord to cast the devil out of her daughter, the disciples said, 'Send her away; for she crieth after us.' Our Lord, after testing her faith, acceded to her request (Matt. xv. 28). When Christ was entering Jericho, towards the end of His ministry, a blind beggar seated by the wayside implored His pity. 'And they that went before rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried out the more a great deal, "Thou son of David, have mercy on me"' (Luke xviii. 39). And Jesus stood and commanded him to be brought, and, after asking him what he wanted, He restored his sight.

It is so natural to admire and to be attracted by what is strong, vigorous, healthy and beautiful around us. All that is repulsive, maimed, weak, suffering, poor or ugly, is overlooked by the world. It is not a pleasant subject for ordinary conversation. It is not an attractive thought for our minds to dwell upon. It is, therefore, tacitly ignored. It is treated much in the same way by

Christian Science, because, presumably, these disagreeable conditions are only imaginary and the result of error or mistaken conceptions. It is the crowning glory of true Christianity that those placed in these very circumstances are the object of its principal and incessant attention. Christ gave to His apostles and to the seventy whom He sent before His face a direct commission to heal the sick and cast out devils. It was to be the duty of His followers to relieve the bodily and mental distress of those with whom they came in contact. It was as much a part of their work as it was to preach the good tidings and proclaim the gospel. 'See that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven' (Matt. xviii. 10) 'Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you he shall in no wise lose his reward' (Matt. x. 42). In the well known parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt. xxv. 31 *et seq.*) when the nations of the world are marshalled for judgment before the Son of Man in His glory, the criterion for the division between the two groups is the presence (or absence) of this compassionate spirit, which prompts to the alleviation of every kind of suffering. 'For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick and ye visited me. I was in prison, and ye came unto me. To the surprise of those addressed on the right hand who could not recall any instance of such ministration to the King, He answers, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren [*i.e.*, the very little ones] ye have done it unto me.' Those on the left hand receive the severest condemnation for neglect of opportunities in the exercise of disinterested service.

Contrast this practical conception of pity and useful help with what appears in *Science and Health*, page 120, though it is difficult to gauge the exact meaning of the statements—in fact one may say that it would be easy to answer Mrs. Eddy if it were possible to understand her:

> Is a man sick if these senses indicate that he is in good health? No for matter can make no conditions for man.
>
> Is he well if the senses say he is sick? Yes, he is well in science wherein health is real and sickness is unreal.
>
> Health is not a condition of matter, but of Mind, nor can the natural senses bear reliable testimony on the subject . . . The Divine principle of Science reversing the testimony of the physical senses reveals man as harmoniously existent in truth which is the only basis of health, and thus Science denies error, heals the sick, overthrows false evidence and refutes material logic.

Dr. Stephen Paget [3] sums up concisely the scientific attitude towards mind and matter:

Christian Science fails to see that Relation is Reality.

It cannot explain Relation between Matter and Mortal Mind. This relation is absolute or external, *i.e.*, Reality. All our bodily functions are in Relation—*i.e.*, Real Diseases may be mental, drugs may be mental: yet the action of the drug, *i.e.* the relation between the drug and the disease, is absolute reality, *e g.* the working of anæsthetics.

The action of drugs on disease belongs to the laws of Nature, *i e*, to the laws of mathematics, and is metaphysical. Page 51:

As to Matter—

Laws of matter are acts of mind, principles of thought.

Infinite Mind must have something to mind.

Infinite Power must have something to do.

Infinite Wisdom must have something to say.

Infinite Love must have something to love.

Mrs. Eddy's definition of man is taken from the Platonic doctrine of Ideas; but in place of *Men*, Christian Science puts the Platonic idea of *Man* (ideal). Mind is the only 'I or Us.' 'Us' is opposed to mortal mind.

Christian Science says that mind is all Mortal mind is all that mind, which mind is not.

The following extracts are from the same work in which the Christian Science theory of disease, injury and pain is aptly criticised. Page 8a:

A child can have worms, if you say so—or any other malady, timorously holden in the beliefs, relative to his body, of those about him (page 413, *Science and Health*)

Page 93:

A few hours after I had transcribed the above, of the unreality of worms, I was seeing a hospital patient, and was told she had passed, during the night, a worm. There it was, in a pot. It was a complete surprise to her and to us. It had never given her a moment's pain, and she had never given it a moment's thought. Over a worm, 'timorously holden in a false belief,' let Christian Science moralise. Over a worm in a pot, let me. Once inside its host, it had Life; and Life, say Christian Scientists, is God 'as the Scriptures imply.' Therefore, it was real, was there. But the patient had never thought of it, nor had medical mind. Therefore it was not real, was not there. But here it is. What shall we say of it? We cannot call it a disease; for a disease is what you think you have, but a worm in a pot is what you know you have not. What, in the name of Christian Science, are we to call it?

Page 209:

For their bodily safety, children must believe in the reality of injuries, diseases, pain. Grown-up folk do not play with the fire, slide down the balustrades, swallow foreign substances, kiss diphtheritic babies, climb spiky railings, or so forth. Is it fair to tell a child that pain is not real?

For their spiritual safety, children must believe in the reality of sin.

[3] *The Faith and Works of Christian Science*, by Stephen Paget. Macmillan, 1908.

To lie, to handle themselves impurely, to gorge themselves with sweets, to mutilate small animals are sinful. It makes no difference that they have not yet thought about sin—to teach a child of five the unreality of its growing sins is very dangerous training.

Also for their spiritual safety, punishment is necessary. Christian Science is very silent about punishment. Her God is all smiles and no tears. 'Let Him now come down from the Cross and we will believe Him.' Of course for Christian Science children, corporal punishment is out of the question. It would be impossible on Sunday to deny pain, and on Monday to inflict it. But all the many punishments which Nature gives to our children are corporal. The child who overeats on Sunday has a pain on Monday.

It may be noticed that Mrs. Eddy gives an instance of a child who hurt its finger badly, but declared that it was not hurt at all, and converted its parents to a belief in Christian Science. We can only say that this is a most unusual experience.

We cannot, in fact, deny the existence of matter. We certainly have bodies which are very real—to many persons the most real thing they possess. Christian Science has done a great service in helping to emphasise and make known the truth that Spirit is more important than matter. It is the predominant partner in our complex existence. It is that, in fact, which gives us life and makes us what we are. When a lifeless body lies before us and the spirit has left it, we say our brother or sister has gone. The body is still there, but the energising life has left it, and it is only material substance which can feel no pain or any sensation whatever. But while a person is alive, and his body is vitalised by the presence of the Spirit, matter is sentient and is the means through which pain and pleasure are experienced. We have a marvellous network of nerves in this material frame, through which pain and pleasure are at once transmitted to the brain.

It might be worth while to give the views of modern philosophy briefly on the relation between mind and matter.[4] Only a very small part of our bodies is directly related to consciousness. Consciousness is a stream of which the successive pulses interpenetrate one another. With the individual mind itself there is, according to Bergson, a twofold tendency: one towards spirituality, the other towards the material—Spirit is known by intuition, matter by intellect. In most cases both intuition and intellect are needed, since the objects apprehended are usually partly spiritual, partly material.

The basis of our knowledge of the material world is perception, and perception is of two kinds—pure and actual. Pure perception is a momentary experience—a mental action upon a small fragment of the properties existing in matter through the nervous system, which is made up of sensory and motor fibres, the first

[4] *Psychology and Psychotherapy*, Dr. W. Brown. University of London Press.

taking a message to the brain, and the latter bringing one back. Actual differs from pure perception and takes some time. It contains contributions from memory and affection, and is a continuous process passing over into physical relation with the object.

Our conscious life is the result of the working of this perception together with the addition of unconscious memories.

Christian Science revives the old dualism of matter and Spirit. Matter is wholly illusory—the source of nothing but error, and therefore evil. As against this, the Catholic faith teaches that while the Spirit is supreme, matter is a vehicle through which Spirit finds expression: *the whole world is sacramental.* If matter, as Christian Science maintains, is non-existent, and cannot enter into the Consciousness of God, the Incarnation of the Son of God in human nature is impossible and Scriptural teaching upon the redemption of man and of Creation becomes meaningless.[5]

To say that matter is only imaginary, and the pain or pleasure experienced through it merely fancy, is to belittle the marvellous work of the Creator, who fashioned the framework of the body, as well as breathing into it the breath of life. It destroys the doctrine of the Incarnation, by which we believe that the Son of God, co-ordinate with the Creator and His Agent in the Creation, condescended, in order to carry out His work of redemption, to enshrine His immortal Godhead in a body like our own, and in it to teach us how to live, to suffer and to die. We believe that this mortal body of ours perishes when the spirit leaves it, and returns to the dust, while the immortal spirit continues to exist, and will be clad one day in a spiritual body, the expression of our spirit, just as the present body manifests the expression of our souls.

We believe also that the same Creator who made our mortal bodies also ordained the great laws of Nature, under which human bodies, containing the immortal soul and spirit, are born into the world. The same laws teach us how to keep the body in good health and fit for the work assigned us to do. When the body is no longer able to do its work through old age, disease, or a violent fracture of its framework, and is past recovery, the soul and spirit pass away to some other form of existence until the time, ordained by the Creator, when they shall be 'clothed upon' with a spiritual body, unfettered by time or space or any material object, such as our Lord is described to have had after the Resurrection. We believe that disease and pain, and all the terror of death, entered the world, which the Creator had described as being very good, as a consequence of sin, *i.e.*, the breaking of His laws.

We believe that pain and sickness are realities of the present state of existence, though not through the wish of the beneficent Creator, and that it is at once our privilege and our duty to try

[5] Report of Lambeth Conference above quoted.

to diminish them as far as we can. We do not think the right way to do this is by ignoring their existence, though doubtless many ailments partake of the nature of hypochondria, and can be lessened or cured by the mental attitude towards them.

We believe that it is our duty to learn the working of the laws which the Creator has made, and in obedience to them to work towards the healing or salvation of the spirits, souls, and bodies of mankind. When we are told, as we are by our Lord, that mountains can be removed through faith, it surely implies that every means He has provided must be employed in order to attain our end.[6] Medicine, doctors, physicians, surgeons and healers of every description have their place in the Divine Economy. Such a terrible visitation as the Plague of London in the seventeenth century we believe to be impossible in modern days; and this is not because we ignore the reality of disease and infection, but because increasing knowledge (in this case medical science) has taught us that such epidemics are the result of bad sanitation and crowded dwellings. We are intended to make use of every source of knowledge and of every appliance. It has been discovered that the infection in the case of the Great Plague was carried by fleas which are found upon rats and mice. It was ignorance of this fact which caused the widespread character of the visitation in this country.

This, while showing what advance had been made in early days, may explain an obscure passage in the Old Testament (1 Sam. vi. 5). When the Ark had been captured by the Philistines it brought trouble wherever it was taken. Tumours broke out upon the inhabitants of the cities. It was therefore decided to send it back to the Israelites, from whom it had been captured, and with it a guilt offering in the shape of five golden tumours, and five golden mice, 'images of your mice that mar the land.'

It is also a notorious fact that in the Great War the number of deaths through sickness was an almost negligible percentage compared with that in preceding wars on a much smaller scale. In the Boer War, at the beginning of this century, the death roll through disease formed a great part of the total list of casualties. In the last war inoculation and other sanitary precautions had a wonderful effect and saved innumerable lives.

This is surely what is intended by the removal of mountains and is the sphere of faith, or trust, working through love in the care of the bodies of men. This is of much greater practical use in the world, as we know it, than the ignoring of the mountains as mere figments of a diseased imagination.

[6] *Spiritual Healing*, by Harold Anson. University of London Press.

C. H. PRICHARD.

ASEPTIC SURGERY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

ARTS and crafts once definitely lost to mankind have not usually been recovered. The beautiful art of making stained glass, such as may be seen in mediæval windows, is not now known to us. We do not know exactly the dyers' secrets from which came the lovely Persian carpets which have survived from the Middle Ages. Tyrian purple cannot now be produced. No modern contractor can make mortar such as the Romans used.

Some lost arts have however been recovered. A pleasing reproduction of the Roman ware called ' Samian ' has recently been made, for instance, and the material used is none other than that *terra sigillata* from which our old conquerors fashioned their domestic vessels.

But when it is suggested that aseptic surgery is really one of these old lost arts now recovered, something more than the mere assertion of so very unlikely a thesis seems to be required. For Listerism has been hailed by the civilised world as one of the greatest discoveries of an ingenious age; and the originality of this discovery can hardly be impugned.

Let it therefore be stated, with all the solemnity that so remarkable a fact demands, that in the early fourteenth century there were men who not only knew that wounds could be healed without suppuration, but who practised continually, and with marked success, that cleanly letting alone of the wounds which is the basis of aseptic surgery to-day. They used as a mild antiseptic application warm wine alone.

The story of the evolution of antiseptic methods by Lister in the nineteenth century has been often told. His ingenious and determined interpretation of Pasteur's work on microbes in connection with fermentation and putrefaction has been the theme of innumerable orations, lectures, essays, and writings during the fifty odd years that have passed since his early publications. But the wonderful story of Henry de Mondeville's work, developed from what was really very little more than a hint by his teacher and predecessor, Theodoric, has yet to be told in its entirety. As we shall see, de Mondeville developed a definite

theory of wound-healing, and practised a method, which in essentials were indistinguishable from those of to-day.

It is our present task to show how this wonderful invention came to be neglected and soon forgotten, so that surgery was flung back into the six hundred years of ignorance that have intervened, in which suppuration, produced often by messy applications and uncleanly dressings, has reigned supreme and slain its millions.

Historically, this must be reckoned as perhaps one of the greatest of all the misfortunes that have befallen the world. For it is hardly possible to imagine the heights to which surgery might have risen in the course of six hundred years of the practice of these aseptic methods.

It is therefore of interest to see how this priceless boon, after being actually given to the world, was thus carelessly dropped into the limbo of oblivion. For it may safely be affirmed that at no point in the social history of the world has so great a prize been won and lost again to the human race.

Theodoricus, Theodoric or Thederic, as his name is variously found, was born in Italy in A.D. 1208, almost certainly of Italian parentage. He lived to the advanced age of ninety. He learned his medicine and surgery from Hugh of Lucca, of whom he affectionately speaks as his 'father.' Like most learned men of his age, he entered the Church, and was consecrated Bishop of Cervia. His surgery was that of the Bolognese school, and he recorded his experience and set forth his teaching in his great text-book *Chirurgia Magna*.

From the first century of our era the theory and practice of surgery as recorded by Galen, and founded on the Hippocratic teaching of the medical school of Cos, had been paramount. Its prestige was absolute, and can only be compared to that enjoyed in subsequent ages by Holy Writ.

By Galen suppuration in wounds was conceived to be a natural condition, and was thought to be the physiological process leading to cicatrisation. So necessary was it considered to be that applications called 'suppuratives' were constantly applied to the wound to hasten the establishment of the process, in which no doubt much success was obtained. Such applications often consisted of honey or oil of roses or white of egg.

The great step forward taken by Theodoric was the enunciation of the theory that suppuration, so far from being a natural process, is really a complication, and one which can nearly always be avoided by appropriate measures. This idea was warmly adopted, widely applied, and greatly perfected by Henri de Mondeville. The battle-field on which in later days Lister performed such immortal feats

was in fact fought over at the beginning of the fourteenth century. But in this great contest for cleanliness, simplicity, and sound surgery all was eventually lost; and a very few years after de Mondeville's death, in 1320, suppuration once more reigned supreme in the surgical world. And for nearly six hundred years it has done its deadly work, levying a toll of pain, misery, and death beyond all possibility of computation.

The treatment, then, which Theodoric inherited from the ancients depended upon the theory that suppuration is useful, so that if it does not occur naturally it must be promoted by the use of the medicaments called 'suppuratives.' Starting from this point, the ancient surgeons, when they were confronted by a wound, first allowed a certain amount of blood to flow, to prevent, as they thought, inflammatory complications. They then probed and enlarged the wound, filling it with tents and packings soaked in white of egg and other suppuratives, the whole being secured with a bandage. The patient was brought under a rigorous diet, meat and wine being withheld. A surgical potion called a 'vulnerary' was then administered, which was supposed to promote healing.

It will be sufficiently obvious that this treatment practically always brought about suppuration, often leading to severe and phlegmonous inflammation. The pain, fever and other complications of such treatment, to say nothing of the death-rate, must have been appalling. It is really not so very surprising, after all, that the surgeon, the barber, the torturer, and the executioner were all classed together in those days, and that some bloated pluralists combined all four offices.

And it would have been astonishing if the gentle and humane Bishop Theodoric had not sought a way of escape from procedures which doubtless often caused more and greater ills than those which they were supposed to alleviate. In this one is forcibly reminded of good Ambrose Paré, whom we find, two hundred years later, seeking earnestly some alternative for the common soldier to the dreadful cauterising iron and the still more horrible boiling oil recommended and constantly used for all wounds by John of Vigo and his successors.

Theodoric therefore begins with the assumption that suppuration is neither necessary, inevitable nor desirable, but that, on the contrary, it can be avoided and must be combated by every means in our power.

He therefore enters upon treatment at once by taking every possible step to check hæmorrhage. He very wisely does not probe the wound, does not enlarge it, puts in no packing nor tents, but, on the contrary, he bravely approximates the edges and sutures the wound forthwith.

This procedure, like much of the rest of Theodoric's work,

although it may appear, and is indeed claimed, to be rational, is really a piece of the purest empiricism. Thus he advocates the immediate closure of the wound because he believes that contact with the air is one of the greatest sources of suppuration. The reasoning is of course wrong, but the action is right, based as it really is on the practical consideration that he had tried it and found that it produced excellent results. And it may be remarked that to this day nearly all surgeons use dressings which effectually exclude air.

Of all Theodoric's recommendations not the least remarkable is that of warm wine as an application. And, after all, what better antiseptic could he have chosen? It cannot now be ascertained what was the alcoholic strength of the wines of Italy in the early fourteenth century, but it may be assumed beyond all doubt that they were of sufficient strength to have some antiseptic power. And as compared with the greasy and septic preparations recommended by Galen and all his successors for a thousand years, warm wine has such great advantages that it must be regarded as the predominating factor in the success of the wound treatment of Theodoric.

The teacher does not seem to have suspected that wounds could be contaminated by dirty hands or instruments. Indeed, in the absence of any inkling of the nature of what we now know to be microbic action, this could hardly have suggested itself, even to such ingenious and original minds as those of Theodoric or de Mondeville.

The essential features, then, of Theodoric's instructions on the treatment of wounds are, first, to clear the wound of foreign bodies; second, to suture the edges of the wound; third, with pads and pledgets soaked in wine to foment the sutured wound and the neighbouring parts. This fomentation is repeated many times, and the dressing is then proceeded with. The pledgets and compresses are spread out one over the other on each side of the wound, so as to compress the depth of it more than the line of union itself. Two or three pads soaked in warm wine are placed over the others to conserve the natural heat, and the part is then bandaged in accordance with the usual rules.

This was the method of Theodoric inherited, adopted and improved by Henri de Mondeville.

De Mondeville was one of the four body surgeons of Philip le Bel, King of France. He seems to have been the first French surgeon to have perceived the great value of Theodoric's idea, and he widely extended and developed its application to practical surgery.

Born in A.D. 1260, he was a contemporary and loyal pupil of Lanfranc of Milan, and in 1304 he became Lecturer on Anatomy

in the University of Montpellier. His acute powers of observation and comparison soon led to dissatisfaction with some of the surgical methods of the ancients, and particularly the Galenical method of wound treatment by promoting suppuration.

It is impossible to ascertain whether his ideas on aseptic wound healing were primarily the result of observation, confirmed and upheld by what he found in Theodoric's writings, or whether the very suggestive ideas of Theodoric led to the method of experiment and so to practical confirmation. But it is quite certain that nothing more than a very high-grade empiricism can be claimed for de Mondeville. He found that wounds could be made to heal aseptically by the use of certain methods, and he proclaimed the fact from the housetops with a great show of logical argument and ratiocination. This was the manner of the age; but, in the absence of any real knowledge of the nature of microbic infection and septic processes, no truly rational basis for aseptic surgery existed or could exist.

As a writer de Mondeville was a man of some wit and humour. He dared to say that 'God did not exhaust all His creative power when He made Galen.' And we find him remarking that 'many more surgeons know how to cause suppuration than how to heal a wound,' which, with a slight difference in meaning, has been most bitterly true until recent years.

De Mondeville makes a great demonstration of what appears to be logical discussion, and it is quite certain that there was a very serious conflict of opinion over the whole matter. He expounds his ideas particularly in connection with the treatment of head wounds, and in true debating society style.

> Every simple wound [he says] can be healed without producing any considerable quantity of pus: provided that in every detail treatment is given according to the principles of Theodoric and ourselves. It must be realised that this is possible.
>
> Its possibility is likely to be denied on the ground that in the nutrition of every part, whether great or small, sound or damaged, there occurs the Third Digestion. Now, in every Digestion there remain residues, especially in wounded parts, and it is from these residues that pus is formed. The lowered temperature of the part is the cause of this change.
>
> When there are present both an active agent and an object for it to act upon, it is impossible that action should not take place, and it is impossible therefore that pus will not be produced in a wound. This is corroborated by all medical and surgical writers, and by every practitioner.
>
> The opposite view, however, is maintained by Theodoric throughout his *Magna Chirurgia*, and we further corroborate it by our own experience. It must be definitely stated that every wound so treated will heal without producing any considerable quantity of pus. This is proved in two ways, by experience and by reasoning. By experience, because we observe that it commonly happens so; and by reasoning, because where the cause fails the effect fails also. Therefore, in every simple wound cared for by our method, we can avoid every cause of the formation of pus.

He proceeds to state what these causes are. There are, it seems, five, though Haly Abbas, the Arabian writer (died A.D. 994), only gave three:

The *first* of the five causes of suppuration consists in the changes in the wound produced by the air. These can be avoided by the immediate and final closure of the wound

The *second* is a too violent flow of humours towards the wound. This is obviated by an evacuation of the bowels, which causes derivation; by a strict diet of easily digested food, by elevation and careful bandaging of the wounded limb, and by fomentations of warm wine.

The *third* cause of the formation of pus in wounds may be that the wounded limb because of its weakness receives superfluous residues from elsewhere. This also we obviate by an appropriate bandage and by the use of wine and other mild remedies both externally and internally in moderate quantities, sufficient to maintain the nutrition of the part.

The *fourth* cause of suppuration may be the excess of nourishment taken, or its poor quality, or both. This is combated by a light and somewhat scanty diet, or easily digested food, such as will improve the quality of the blood.

The *fifth* and last cause of suppuration may be the application of a 'suppurative.' But the wine and stupes now recommended by de Mondeville have no such effect, tending rather to dry up and heal the wound.

He now considers that the proof is complete that suppuration can be avoided, and he therefore restates his Principal Conclusion with great dignity:

'Sequitur conclusio principalis quod possibile est omne vulnus in quantum hujusmodi, sic procuratum curari absque eo quod fiat in eo notabilis generatio saniei.'

But once it is proved [he says] and admitted that it is possible to cure all wounds so treated without the formation of any notable quantity of pus, inquiry must be made as to which of the two treatments is the sounder, that which produces or provokes the formation, or that which avoids it, either entirely or as far as may be possible.

It will be argued that the method which relieves Nature of the superfluous residues is preferable to that which does not. Nature, it will be said, discharges itself by suppuration.

Avicenna, the Arabian (died A.D. 1038), is quoted to the contrary, where he recommends in dealing with the treatment of ulcers that one of the objects is the avoidance of suppuration. And there is the final argument of experience, the only one which any modern critic can hold to have any real value in an age of empiricism.

In his views as to wound treatment, de Mondeville could not but excite the envy and criticism of his colleagues; and in 1312 he writes with great bitterness:

It is very dangerous for any surgeon to operate except in accordance with the practice of other surgeons. We have proved this in the case of the treatment of wounds according to the method of Theodoric, Maître Jean Pitard, and myself, who first introduced this method into France.

I was the first to use it in Paris, and in many campaigns, contrary to the wishes and warnings of all, and particularly of doctors.

We have indeed suffered great contempt, and the most insulting epithets from the public, and many threats and menaces from our own colleagues. From certain persons, and even from doctors, every day and at each new dressing we have put up with discussions and violent expostulations. And, half overcome and discouraged by so much opposition, we have even considered the abandonment of the treatment, and we should have completely given it up without the support of the most serene Count of Valois.

But this prince has come to our assistance, as also have some others, who have seen the care of wounds by this wonderful method in the field

Moreover, we have been sustained by truth But if we had not been firm in our faith we should have been forced to give up our new method of treatment.

The method passed out of use on the death of Henri de Mondeville in 1320, and Guy de Chauliac (the great surgical writer of the next generation) in 1363 speaks of it with a certain contempt, entirely rejecting de Mondeville's theory of suppuration.

In this Guy de Chauliac appears to have acted the part of a reactionary and obscurantist, and it is not easy at first sight to perceive how and why he missed the greatest surgical opportunity of the Middle Ages.

As we have seen, surgery at this time was the subject of a most inordinate amount of discussion. We are treated by the writers of the day to exceedingly lengthy and closely reasoned arguments. And the belief or theory of the surgeon appears usually to have been of far greater importance than his practical methods.

Guy de Chauliac found himself confronted with a new idea. De Mondeville had departed from the age-old rules of Galen and Celsus, and had said that wounds would heal better without suppuration, and that every means should therefore be employed to avoid it. The old teaching had represented suppurative processes as advantageous and beneficial. Here then was a new heresy; and Theodoric and de Mondeville had been guilty of a departure from the ancient injunctions of accepted authority.

Now it is quite impossible that the parallel case of the current religious controversy of the age should not have been in the mind of Guy de Chauliac. For another Guy, Bernardus Guidon, one of the earliest and most complete exponents of the principles of the Inquisition, had only recently completed a great manual of the practical methods of the Holy Office, that mighty upholder of accepted authority which was beginning to raise its blood-stained head in nearly every country in Europe. With its tortures, its penances, its burnings and its horrible prisons, the Inquisition was demonstrating daily in every Christian land the righteous wrath of all good Catholics against heresy.

Bernard Guy, for sixteen years Inquisitor at Toulouse, and

later, in 1323, rewarded with the bishopric of Tuy, had been born in 1261, and he died in 1331. As we have seen, he wrote a '*Practica*,' or a treatise on the practice of the Inquisition, in which he advocated examination under torture, imprisonment, and that delivery to civil power which was but a euphemism for the stake. The definite object of the Inquisition was the prosecution of heresy; but its sphere of action was gradually extended by the theologians and casuists until sorcery and magic ranked in equal condemnation with dogmatic heresy.

It seems reasonable to suppose that Guy de Chauliac, who witnessed in his own lifetime the rise to power and almost universal spread of the methods of the Inquisition, must have been deeply impressed by the high value placed upon adherence to authority and by the heinousness of even the slightest departure from accepted doctrine. He was himself in holy orders, and was physician to the Pope.

It is not difficult to see how a man inured to such principles and methods would turn with suspicion and distrust from new surgical teaching, which was not to be found in the great classical writers of those days. Hippocrates, Galen and Celsus, to say nothing of Paulus of Ægina and Avicenna, these great teachers had believed in the efficacy of suppuration. Who, then, was this de Mondeville, who ventured to differ from them? Heretics who do not accept the authority of the Church are tortured and burnt, and rightly so. He will none of it. He will back to Galen and safety.

It is not, of course, suggested that Guy de Chauliac looked on de Mondeville's antiseptic surgery as a religious heresy. But he lived in an age when heresy of all kinds was being savagely extirpated by the most brutal methods, and he was not likely to have been tolerant of the new surgery of de Mondeville, which, compared to the honoured and revered writings of Galen, must have appeared subversive and dangerous.

Intolerant suspicion of new ideas is, of course, not peculiar to any age, but the rise of the Inquisition and the comparative popularity of its methods, the idea that a powerful control could enforce uniformity of theory and practice, at least in morals and religion, these conditions form the background against which the outstanding figure of Guy de Chauliac must be observed and estimated.

Guido, or, as we should say, Guy de Chauliac (1326–1368), was born at a village in Auvergne, from which his name is derived, probably of peasant parents. He was educated at Toulouse, and later, at the University of Montpellier, he took holy orders and a degree in medicine. Here he came under the influence of the old teaching of de Mondeville, who had now been dead some twenty

or more years. For his anatomy he studied at Bologna under Bertuccio, who had been a pupil of Mundino. After some further studies in Paris he went into medical practice at Lyons, from whence he was called to Avignon by Clement VI. Later he became physician to Innocent VI.

Considering the state of knowledge at that period, Guy of Chauliac must be considered to have been in the front rank of operative surgeons. He was accustomed to operate for the radical cure of hernia and for cataract; and he thoroughly understood the use of the ligature. He prescribed a low diet in the treatment of wounds. He notes the escape of cerebro-spinal fluid in skull fractures, and the effect of pressure on the brain in slowing respiration. But in the general treatment of wounds Guy completely reverted to the methods of Galen. He recommends such things as honey and oil of roses, and abandons the great advance established by de Mondeville. Following Galen with the joyful eyes of the fanatic, he seems to take a certain pride in showing his scorn of the new way of healing without suppuration.

It is indeed a tragic story; for Guy of Chauliac sinned against light. He knew de Mondeville's work thoroughly, and had himself edited an edition of Theodoric; yet he deliberately turned aside from the wonderful path they had indicated and preached Galenism with its oils, honey, plasters, and general messiness—always involving suppuration, and frequently, without doubt, crippling and even causing death.

The surgical world of the fifteenth century unfortunately elected to follow Guy of Chauliac, and Henri de Mondeville's wonderful teaching was forgotten. For Hieronymo Manfredi (1430–1493), Professor of Medicine at Bologna, in the following century does not even mention it in his detailed description of cranial and other anatomy.

The idea, however, was not absolutely lost, for we find that great, wrong-headed, theatrical person, Paracelsus, preaching it in the sixteenth century.

Theophrastus Bombastes von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus, was born at Einsedeln, near Zurich, in 1490. His father was superintendent of the convent hospital there. Quite early in life he had travelled very widely, visiting parts of Asia and Egypt. In 1515 he was studying under Leonicenus at Ferrara. In 1526 he became Professor of Physic and Surgery at Basle. He began his professorial career at Basle by publicly burning in the most theatrical style the works of Galen, Rhazes, and Avicenna. The roughness of his manner and appearance, his hot-headed and controversial methods, and the obscurity and unfamiliarity of his teaching, did not commend him to his hearers. He became greatly disliked at Basle, and started off on his travels once more.

He was one of those who constantly announced their own wonderful cures, and at the same time tactlessly irritated their own colleagues by harsh criticism of their methods.

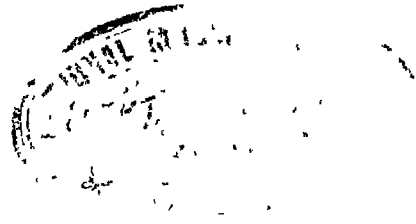
At Salzburg this habit had serious results for Paracelsus, for the servants of some of the local physicians, possibly with the tacit acquiescence of their masters, picking a quarrel with him, threw him out of the window of his hotel. He died at the early age of forty-seven, a really great man, one of the very few in all ages who have had the courage of their convictions. He had not feared to proclaim that wounds for the most part would heal if let alone. He vehemently opposed the use of witchcraft, astrology and magic, and apparently classed the salves and applications of Galenism with these things, where perhaps they are properly placed.

Paracelsus strongly recommended a simple and expectant method of wound treatment, and definitely condemned the use of ointments, plasters, boiling oil, hot irons, and all similar procedures. 'Cautiously,' he says, 'the surgeon must take heed not to remove or interfere with Nature's balsam, but protect and defend it in its working and in its virtue.' And he emphasised once again the greatness of the *Vis Medicatrix Naturae* :

> It is the nature of flesh to possess in itself an innate balsam, which healeth wounds Every limb has its own healing in itself. Nature in fact has her own physician in every limb, wherefore every surgeon should know that it is not he, but Nature, which heals. What do wounds need ? Nothing. Inasmuch as flesh grows from within outwards and not from without inwards, so the surgery of a wound is a mere defensive method to prevent Nature from suffering any accident from without, so that she may proceed unchecked in her operations.

But we have practically no record of any success attained by Paracelsus along these lines, and with his death at Salzburg in 1541 surgery may be said to have 'reeled back into the beast' ; and the long night of dirt and suppuration was never again broken until 1867, when Lister at last made his great deductions from Pasteur's work on microbes. But till then, for three hundred and twenty-five years, suppuration reigned supreme in surgery.

The healing of wounds without suppuration must therefore, strange as it may appear, be regarded as one of the lost arts which have now been recovered to the world.

G. D. HINDLEY.

BOTANY IN SHAKESPEARE

THIRTY years ago, perhaps with some excess of enthusiasm, I wrote:

> In regard to the presentation of the natural world in poetry, Shakespeare is easily first; he is so spontaneous, so fresh, and so true that the flowers he has gathered and placed in his verse still breathe their early fragrance and glisten with the morning dew. No poet approaches him here.[1]

During thirty subsequent years of the study of Shakespeare I have not found it necessary to modify the foregoing opinion, except by adding the element of chronology, which I found indispensable when dealing with the poet's treatment of love and woman; but it is equally valuable in regard to many other subjects of Shakespearean inquiry,[2] his style and poetic taste, his philosophy, his ethics, indeed his entire moral and æsthetic equipment. To over-estimate the importance of this element of evolution, however gradual or fitful, as an aid to Shakespearean study, is impossible; we have only to be thankful for such ample and trustworthy guidance, for it is not often that we are able to watch the growth of a very great poet's mind and work during twenty years—years, let it be added, not only of continuous production, but also of such an amazing prodigality of output as is almost without a parallel in literature.

But there are times when this chronological guidance is available in a single drama, especially if it belongs to Shakespeare's first decade of authorship. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for instance, a play to which I shall give considerable attention, we can clearly trace the growth of the poet's art through the years during which the work was subject to revision. As I have remarked elsewhere, the 'poet's eye' passage, like the description of the hounds of Theseus, is full of recondite allusion, and is written in a style and with a fervour, and, we may add, a poetic power and beauty, that separate it—perhaps by an interval of years—from its context.[3]

[1] *A Handbook to the Works of Tennyson* (G. Bell & Sons, 1895).

[2] In addition, of course, to the more obvious departments of versification and dramatic technique.

[3] I have elsewhere called attention to the important fact that most of the passages added by Shakespeare on revising his dramas are *poetic* rather than *dramatic*. See also my essay on 'Shakespeare and Nature,' *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1924; also the close of the present article.

Both the relevance and the importance of these preliminary remarks for the purpose of this essay will, I think, become evident as we proceed. In a former article,[4] when calling attention to the freshness and reality of Shakespeare's later transcripts from Nature as compared with the more conventional and bookish imagery of his earlier work, I contrasted the Romantic plays of his final period with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, from which I selected two or three passages that might serve to point the contrast. Of these the more important was the famous 'I know a bank' passage (II., i., 249—255), which I now propose to examine. But, by way of a beginning, I should remark that the earlier Nature work even of Tennyson was by no means free from occasional conventionality and bookishness and even inaccuracy. And why not? Surely he had something to learn of and from the natural world as he went his keenly observant way from youth to manhood. This is yet truer of Shakespeare. In proportion as he mastered his craft and wrote more fearlessly, and with a decreasing regard for convention and tradition, and with an eye less anxiously fastened on books,[5] he would surely look with more attention and greater accuracy on the natural object, and so give us his best of Nature work in his latest creations. There is also that wonderful saying of Wordsworth where he almost defines poetry as 'emotion recollected in tranquillity.' May not this be absolutely true of many of Shakespeare's later images from Nature, of, for instance, his

> Daffodils
> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with beauty?

And further, as I wish to do Shakespeare all possible justice in this essay, we do not expect to find in his complex dramatic creations any long and accurate descriptions of the natural world; he excels—and easily excels—in vividness and aptness of reference, as in the example just quoted.[6] And yet further, whatever may be required of a modern poet under such conditions, we willingly allow him a measure of vagueness, whether in sketch or in detail, when we enter his forest of Arden, or the nameless island of *The Tempest*, or, as on this occasion, the fairy-peopled wood near Athens.

This enchanted region we are now prepared to survey, and no more fitting portal could we find than the passage above mentioned:

[4] 'Nature in Shakespeare,' *The Nineteenth Century*, September 1922.

[5] And, we may add, on the requirements of the rude stage of his time.

[6] See the present writer's *Handbook to the Works of Shakespeare*, p. 48, where illustrative examples are quoted.

I know a bank where [7] the wild thyme blows,
Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,
Quite over-canopied with luscious [8] woodbine,
With sweet musk-roses and with eglantine.
There sleeps Titania some time of the night
Lulled in these flowers with music and delight.

Let us begin by examining the flowers that are mentioned in these lines ; the 'bank' can come later. We have first to admit that in Shakespeare's time the distinction between wild flowers and garden flowers was not so definite as it is in our day, and that in many instances the characteristics of plants have undergone change since his date of authorship. And there is the further difficulty of the names of plants varying in different localities. But we have next to venture on the general remark that—at least at the outset of his career of authorship—he seems to give us the garden flower more often than the wild one. And, with regard to this passage from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, it is not so easy as it might appear to determine the plants that are mentioned ; in Shakespeare close inspection is the only method. Even the wild thyme, as some think, is not quite at home on this woodland bank.[9] It is, of course, a garden herb in *Othello*, but it is always 'wild thyme' in Bacon's garden,[10] where we come upon it more than once. However, we will dismiss it with the remark that in Milton it appears, as here, somewhat early, and in yet more questionable surroundings :

The woods and desert caves
With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown.

In these lines, however, Milton seems to refer, and not once only, to classical authorities.[11]

As to the oxlip, which in our day is by no means widely distributed, it occurs only once again in Shakespeare (where we have the 'bold oxlips' of *The Winter's Tale*) ; and it is at least

[7] I choose the reading agreed upon by most editors, but I see no serious objection to the 'whereon' of the Arden edition and some others If 'where' is retained, it is the word 'bank,' and not 'where' (as Malone suggested), that has the value of a dissyllable

[8] Here I almost venture to prefer 'lush' to 'luscious,' and on other grounds beside the metrical Elsewhere (*The Tempest*) Shakespeare uses 'lush' to describe thick green grass. The *New Shakespeare*, however, retains 'luscious.'

[9] According to a botanical friend, wild thyme could hardly flourish in a spot 'quite over-canopied,' and therefore presumably sunless ; but, as will be seen later, I attach little value to such objections (see pages 594, 598, 599).

[10] Essay, *Of Gardens*.

[11] It is likely that this 'thyme,' whether on a bank or in a wood, was suggested to Milton and others, perhaps even Shakespeare, by Horace I will at least venture to quote the following :

'Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas.'

worthy of remark that elsewhere (and more than once) in this 'wood near Athens' the poet gives us its next of kin, namely, the cowslip. The distinction between oxlip and cowslip in Gerarde's *Herbal* is unsatisfactory, and affords no help; and since both flowers occur in the play, we can hardly suggest that Shakespeare thought the oxlip more suited to his woodland bank than the flower called by Gerarde the 'field cowslip.' According to Steevens, the oxlip 'erects itself boldly in the face of the sun' [12]; and he further quotes Wallis (*History of Northumberland*): 'The great oxlip grows a foot and a half high.' [13] Bacon, it may be added, sets no oxlip, but only the cowslip, in his garden 'heath, . . . framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness,' and containing—as may be interesting to note—thickets of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and 'the ground set' with—amongst others—violets, wild thyme, cowslips and red roses.[14]

But we must pass on to Shakespeare's 'nodding violet.' Near the 'bold oxlips' in his *Winter's Tale* he gives us 'violets dim,' where the epithet again arrests attention, and calls for scrutiny. As to 'nodding' (which, as I venture to think, is but partly accounted for by the mere appearance of the flower), we may first glance at the trees in *Antony and Cleopatra* that 'nod unto the world,' and then refer to the following passage in *Cymbeline*:

> As gentle
> As zephyrs blowing below the violet,
> Not wagging his sweet head.

And as to this association of 'nodding' and 'zephyr' and 'violet,' we may perhaps turn to the passage in *Twelfth Night*:

> The sweet sound
> That breathes upon a bank of violets,
> Stealing and giving odour,

and from this to Bacon's essay *On Gardens*: 'Because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music). . . . That which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet.' And, as they serve our purpose later, we will add the words that follow: 'Next to that is the musk-rose.' It is also worth while to notice that the same author in this brief category of the sweetest flowers includes the sweet-briar and the honeysuckle. But returning to Shakespeare's bank, we have next to consider the 'luscious

[12] Therefore, again, if we might trust this authority, we should not expect to find it on this sunless bank (but see page 593, footnote [9]).

[13] But this must be an error, and the reference is probably to the ox-eye.

[14] I make no apology for quoting from Bacon's instructive essay, but of course such references vary in importance.

woodbine,' but not without some previous examination of the description 'quite over-canopied.'

I should first remark that banks,[15] and bowers, and 'thick pleached alleys,'[16] and arbours generally are a special feature of the gardens of that day; we have the 'woodbine coverture' of Leonato's garden in *Much Ado about Nothing*, under which Beatrice was 'couched,' precisely as is Titania in our play, on the flowery floor or slope of her arbour of trailing plants. But, what is more important, this 'woodbine coverture' is again described in the context as

> The pleached bower
> Where honeysuckles, ripened by the sun,
> Forbid the sun to enter.

This again, and just as precisely, is the 'close and consecrated bower' of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, where (III., ii., 7) Titania reclines; 'lead him to my bower' is her own reference. And, finally, as to the 'canopied,' and, indeed, the whole picture, we have the following in *Twelfth Night*:

> Away before me to sweet banks of flowers,
> Love thoughts lie rich when canopied with bowers.

Whatever conclusion we may come to with regard to the bank, or 'bower' as we may provisionally term it, we seem to learn from *Much Ado* that the woodbine of our passage is identical with the honeysuckles of that play, which, as we have read above, were so thickly pleached that they forbade the sun to enter; this, I think, would explain the epithet 'luscious.' But here the question arises, Are the woodbine and the honeysuckle of *Much Ado* the same, or are they distinct, plants? Does the 'woodbine coverture' form the 'pleached bower' which is overgrown with 'honeysuckles'? I take them to be the same plants, but at this point we must quote another passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (IV., i., 41):

> So doth the woodbine the sweet honeysuckle
> Gently entwist; the female ivy so
> Enrings the barky fingers of the elm.

This passage is a puzzle to commentators, and various interpretations are possible. Let us say first that as the female ivy appears to stand for Titania, and the elm for Bottom, so with the woodbine and the sweet honeysuckle; they, respectively, should represent Titania and Bottom. If so, what plant is this 'woodbine'?

Some commentators suggest the bindweed, or convolvulus, and Mr. Dover Wilson is of opinion that the 'woodbine' of the text

[15] 'This hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers' (Bacon, *Of Gardens*).

[16] *Much Ado*; 'covert alleys' in Bacon's essay.

is a printer's error for 'bindweed.'[17] As a second possible interpretation, some regard the word 'honeysuckle' in this later passage as the poet's explanation of 'woodbine,' that is to say, 'the woodbine, namely, the sweet honeysuckle'; and in this case the verb 'entwist' remains intransitive. Finally, both Gerarde and Lyte identify the two plants, and Baret in his *Alvearie* writes: 'woodbin that beareth the Honisuckle.'

Already, as I believe, it will be understood that the meaning of a word in Shakespeare is often a matter of close and patient investigation. Indeed, we must yet refer to Milton,[18] for we shall learn something from his arbours. Not so much from the elaborate bower in his Garden of Eden, which is at least a masterpiece of decorative language, but rather, what appears to be an echo of Shakespeare, in *Comus*:

> Upon a bank
> With ivy canopied, and interwove
> With flaunting honeysuckle, . . .

which takes us to the 'well-attired woodbine' of his *Lycidas*, and again to a passage in *Paradise Lost*:

> Whether to wind
> The woodbine round this arbour, or direct
> The clasping ivy where to climb

Likely enough, in the first passage he has Shakespeare's 'luscious woodbine' in his thought, and he seems to make no distinction between the woodbine and the honeysuckle. Moreover, I take his epithets 'flaunting' and 'well-attired' (which are more suited to the bower than to the plant) as suggested by Shakespeare's 'luscious' and 'pleached' and 'forbade the sun to enter.'

We have next to inquire what exactly the poet means by 'musk-rose.' The roses of Shakespeare are a study in themselves. We may briefly note first that he mentions the ordinary white

[17] See *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in *The New Shakespeare*, pp. 132 and 133. As to the parallel cited by Gollancz from Jonson's *Vision of Delight*, which Mr. Wilson regards as conclusive evidence—

> 'Behold!
> How the blue bindweed doth itself infold
> With honeysuckle, and both these intwine
> Themselves with bryony and jessamine—'

I venture to suggest that, apart from any question of date, this is quite in Jonson's unreliable manner of profuse and confused and often bookish botany, and appears to be a more doubtful complication of creepers or trailers than those on Shakespeare's famous bank. It might be added that 'gently entwist' is barely suggestive of the strangle-hold of the bindweed. This, however, is perhaps more to the purpose, that in the poetry of those days (and indeed more modern times as well) some ambiguity attaches to the use of both the terms 'woodbine' and 'bindweed.' (The latter does not occur in Shakespeare.)

[18] Who sometimes throws a little light on Shakespeare, and seems to have studied *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with unusual care.

and red garden roses of his day; in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* we have a 'red' rose and a 'crimson' rose and 'the rose distilled.' This is probably the damask, a variety which he names once only. He also mentions the musk-rose, the canker[19] rose, that is to say the wild or dog-rose, and the sweet-briar or eglantine. Of these varieties the damask and musk had been brought into this country about 100 years before Shakespeare wrote his *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Bacon in his essay says: 'In May and June come roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later'; and Lyte, I may add, calls it *Rosa Autumnalis*, and another old herbalist tells us that it 'flowreth in Autumne.' Bacon further remarks: 'Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells'; and in this respect he contrasts them with the musk-rose. Something of this we have heard already, and the pertinence of our last quotation will be made clear as we proceed. We have now to add that, if we may rely on Bacon's authority, the musk-rose is a garden flower; and I can find nothing in the literature of this early date that would justify us in regarding it as a wild variety. What it may have become later [20] does not so much concern us.

Returning again to Shakespeare, we notice the description '*sweet* musk-roses.' We meet with this musk-rose again in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II., ii. 3, and again in IV. i., 3), but nowhere else in Shakespeare. Have we here an instance of the poet's tendency to employ an unusual word more than once in the same play? I think so; and it is significant that these three examples seem to occur in revised passages. Milton, we may remark, puts the musk-rose by the side of his 'well-attired woodbine.' But now comes the point of interest for our present purpose: according to Shakespeare himself (Sonnet LIV.), the canker or wild rose has no smell; therefore on this count also it follows—or should follow—that the sweet musk-roses of his bank —or, again, bower—must be a garden variety.

Later, no doubt, like the damask rose, the musk-rose became a kind of poetical convention; and to these we shall do well to add the woodbine and the bindweed, examined above, and the eglantine, to which we now proceed.

Under this name it occurs in Shakespeare only in *Cymbeline* and these lines from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Here (we first note that the word affords a rhyme[21]) it may be the 'briar' of *All's Well*, which in summer

[19] Otherwise the *canker* in Shakespeare means the cankerworm, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II., ii., 3): 'Some to kill cankers in the musk-rose buds.' This again suggests attention to a *garden* plant.

[20] In Keats, for example (see page 600, below). Also compare Lyte: 'It is indifferent whether to make them of the wild roses or of the tame.'

[21] For this important subject see 'Shakespeare and Nature' (*Church Quarterly Review*, July 1924, p. 225).

Shall have leaves as well as thorns,
And be as sweet as sharp;

so in *Cymbeline* it is the 'leaf of eglantine' that 'outsweetens not her breath.' But we do not seem to have any specified 'sweet briar' in Shakespeare. Spenser, in his 'arber greene dispred' (*Faerie Queene*, II., v., 29), has 'The fragrant eglantine did spread His prickling arms'; but in his fifth Eclogue he mentions the 'smelling brere' and the 'swete Eglantine' almost in the same couplet, and evidently as distinct flowers,[22] and Milton, possibly following Spenser, does put them both into one couplet in his *L'Allegro*,[23] and again as distinct flowers. But these authorities are not to be trusted, and no doubt the musical name 'eglantine' has commended itself to many a poet who was indifferent as to its species or even its appearance. And we are reminded of a suggestion already made (see pp. 596, 597) if we add that the eglantine is one among sundry flowers which have become traditions or conventions; we might almost call them poetical 'properties.' And even if Shakespeare was an exception under this head, it will again, I think, be evident that the word as used by him calls for patient investigation.

After this brief examination of the flowers individually, we may take a more general view of Shakespeare's bank. Of course, we hardly expect to find such flowers on one bank, and in a wood near Athens, wherein, moreover, are 'apricocks' and purple grapes, for which the season is a little early. All this, as suggested above, if I may use a somewhat hackneyed expression—at any rate, as far as the Elizabethans are concerned—we may concede to a poet's licence. I surmise, however, that when Shakespeare describes this 'close and consecrated bower' he has England first in mind, and after that, as we have already conjectured, an arbour in a garden rather than a scene in a wood. The time, moreover, is midsummer (whatever that may be); and his assortment of flowers, as we have hinted in what precedes, is perhaps a little too comprehensive for any strictly defined period of the year; and we are reminded of the collection of 'vernal flowers' in Milton's *Lycidas*, where, however, the grouping is open to more serious question.[24]

[22] On the other hand, Spenser writes.
'woven all above
With woodbynd flowers and fragrant Eglantine'

[23] Where he calls the eglantine 'twisted,' and likely enough is thinking of the honeysuckle, or his somewhat ambiguous 'woodbine' or, again, of Shakespeare or Spenser. Bacon, I may add, in his Essay, does ample justice to the sweet-briar, but never under the name of *eglantine*. Tennyson, in his 'woodbine and eglatere,' uses one of the many older forms of this much-poetised word; no wonder that Keats calls it 'the pastoral eglantine' (see page 600)! Bacon, moreover, does not mention the *woodbine*, but only (and more than once) the honeysuckle.

[24] For Jonson and Spenser under this head see the article already referred to, namely, 'Shakespeare and Nature' (page 591, footnote [8], *supra*).

But, returning to Shakespeare, even if, in spite of the fact that Titania is ' lulled in these flowers ' we grant that they need not be regarded as contemporaneous, we still find it difficult to believe that any plot of ground in a wood should be thus carpeted and canopied, canopied, let us note, with the combined growth of three plants : honeysuckle, musk-roses and sweet-briar ; and we should hardly expect to find them roofing an arbour the floor of which was covered with oxlips—at least, not in their wild state ; but on this and yet other minor particulars that deserve a fuller investigation I lay no further stress ; I merely repeat that in later plays, *The Winter's Tale*, for example, Shakespeare gives such particulars his studied attention.

But, with regard to this bank and bower (or arbour), I have yet to notice the recent opinion [25] of Mr. Dover Wilson, for whose textual criticism every student of Shakespeare must be grateful. I may be mistaken, but if I understand him aright, he dissociates bank from bower, as in the following italicised quotations from his stage directions (to which others might be added) : ' *Behind the tree a high bank overhung with creepers. . . . Titania lies couched in her bower beneath the bank* ' ; and later, when she awakes, she ' *comes from the bower*.' But these, as it must appear from the text, are her waking words : ' What angel wakes me from my flowery bed ? ' that is to say, the bank, with its carpet of flowers, on which she lay when Oberon ' streaked her eyes.' However, I will here leave the question, merely adding that I still venture to associate bank with bower ; this, as I think, removes rather than creates any difficulty ; and I still venture to keep in my mind's eye a flowery bank ' canopied with bowers.'[26]

But before proceeding to other examples I should like to reconsider for a moment the licence of ' a measure of vagueness ' (p. 592) which I claimed for Shakespeare under this head of Nature work. I think it must often be claimed for poets later than the Elizabethans ; and if only to give the great dramatist whatever may be his due, I will now take an example from a modern poet ; but on other grounds the passage is quite appropriate here, for it has resemblances to these lines from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and, if I am not mistaken, it will say the last word on one or two of the flowers that we have been examining :

[25] See his notes on *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in *The New Shakespeare* Cambridge Press, 1924)

[26] So also, I believe, did Shakespeare (and I should think this point of view is consistent with stage requirements). Finally, we may ask, ' Unless it were so, why did the poet describe his bank and its canopy with such a lyrical outburst ? ' It is also worth while to note the ' musk-roses ' in the ' flowery bed ' of IV., i., 3, and to point to other seeming ' banks ' in the play, the ' dank and dirty ground, close to one of them, and so on.

> I cannot see what flowers are at my feet,
> Nor what soft incense hangs upon the boughs,
> But, in embalmèd darkness, guess each sweet
> Wherewith the seasonable month endows
> The grass, the thicket, and the fruit-tree wild;
> White hawthorn, and the pastoral eglantine;
> Fast-fading violets cover'd up in leaves;
> And mid-May's eldest child,
> The coming musk-rose, full of dewy wine,
> The murmurous haunt of flies on summer eves.

I may first note that in this stanza from the famous *Ode to a Nightingale* by Keats the poet seems to be definite as to the time of year—'mid-May'—and he speaks of his violets as 'fast-fading'; but I am not so sure of the situation generally, the 'beechen green and shadows numberless,' or the 'forest dim' to which he conveys us. If I may trust my memories of my native county, Bucks, there is little undergrowth in a beech wood; you would rarely find grass or a thicket or fruit trees, and yet more rarely the eglantine; the soil is for the most part barren; the leaves of the beech are so arranged that, like the woodbine of Shakespeare's arbour, they 'forbid the sun to enter,' much as, in this ode of Keats, the 'verdurous glooms' forbid the moon to enter; and further, the unproductive ground is mostly strewn with the tough dead leaf of the beech. It would at least be hard to find anywhere in the *depths* of a wood of this description such an assemblage of plants and flowers as is presented to us in this stanza. However, putting aside this objection (as in the case of the wild thyme and oxlips of a former page (p. 593, note [9])), I think it probable that Keats had Shakespeare in his thought, much as he seems to be referring to Ovid, in his *To Autumn*.

To begin with the musk-rose. Once more it appears to be specified as to date, but, as was noted above, is a little conventional in respect of its title. In another poem he writes: 'Sweet as a musk-rose upon new-made hay.' And I confess I am in doubt as to what he means by 'eldest child' or again, 'coming'; certainly, if this is the ordinary wild rose, it is rarely in flower before June.

Significant also, from what we have heard, is the epithet 'pastoral' as applied to the eglantine [27]; on the other hand, 'white,' as a characteristic of hawthorn, seems to be lacking in significance. Of the violets we have spoken already. Covered up in their own leaves, shall we say? for such, I think, is the poet's intention.

[27] 'Its sides I'll plant with dew-sweet eglantine
And honeysuckles full of clear bee-wine . . .'

(from a 'pastoral' sketch in *Endymion*) But I quite think that in his nightingale ode Keats has in mind Shakespeare's woodbine rather than his eglantine. We may also compare Shelley's 'lush eglantine' in *The Question*.

The hawthorn may be said to replace Shakespeare's woodbine; but, as a final note, I can hardly guess what fruit-tree (or fruit-trees) wild is referred to. Possibly it is the sloe, or the wild cherry, or the crab-apple.

I have no space for further comment, though there is much that might be added, for Keats is not always exact in his transcripts from Nature; and the drift of these remarks may be made clearer if I quote from another of his poems. The following occurs in *Endymion*:

> As does the nightingale, up perched high,
> And cloistered among cool and bunched leaves
> She sings but to her mate.

Here the poet does violence to the natural fact by representing the female nightingale as the songster; and the passage, I think, is too circumstantial and deliberate to be excused on the ground of tradition and convention.

Although I have stated above that some of these details merit a fuller investigation, it might seem that my examination thus far conducted of the 'I know a bank' passage should be regarded as the analysis of hypercriticism, which is as nothing to the poet's totality of impression. On the other hand, I may first point out that I deal here with a typical example, which has merely been put to a severer test than usual, and that such is natural description throughout the play: compared with Shakespeare's later work, it is frequently inexact, conventional, traditional [28]; and to detect the artificial basis that now and then underlies the surface of plausible reality is sometimes no easy task. It is not easy in the case of the following passage, which I will deal with more briefly:

> The cowslips tall her pensioners be;
> In their gold coats spots you see;
> Those be rubies, fairy favours,
> In those freckles live their savours,
> (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II., i., 10–13)

Here, surely, in spite of the rhymes, we have Shakespeare at his best; his eye, we may say, is on the flower itself, and not on books. Yet before we look carefully into the passage, let us contrast it with a few lines from the *Cymbeline* of some fifteen years later:

> On her left breast
> A mole cinque-spotted like the crimson drops
> I' the bottom of a cowslip.

[28] We have already (page 593) met with the conventional 'female ivy,' and may compare the hackneyed elm and vine (as in *Errors*, III, ii., 176); and as another instance among many we might add the 'hindering knot-grass' of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (III, ii, 329), a plant which was supposed to have the property of hindering growth.

We are immediately aware of certain qualities of force and freedom that are absent from the lines in the earlier play; and this earlier passage we will now examine a little more closely. Here this item (as we may well believe) of the poet's personal observation is decked round with fanciful conventions that are not wholly due to the requirements of fairyland, nor the implied allusion to Elizabeth's gentlemen-pensioners; for instance, the line 'In those freckles live their savours,' though it comes just a little near to the fact, may yet be regarded as an example of the pseudo-scientific tendency to be noted frequently in Shakespeare's earlier work; but in the quotation from *Cymbeline* we have the superlative beauty of beauty unadorned. But both passages are full of interest, and deserve a yet closer examination. Some critics are of opinion that the poet's colouring—'rubies' in the first passage, 'crimson' in the second—is a little too high for the small orange-red blotches that are found at the base of the lobes of the limb [29] in most cowslips; but I am not disposed to carp at any excess of colouring. It is the words 'savours' and 'drops' that call for some explanation; and we first note the alternative 'freckles,' as here and in the 'freckled cowslip' of *Henry V.* (V., ii., 49). Does the poet intend by the word 'savours' anything more than smell? Does he include the honey, the 'nectar'? Well, neither perfume nor nectar is specially generated by these 'freckles,' but they may serve to attract and guide insects to the nectar glands at the corolla base. The other interesting point is the word 'drops,' which is used by the poet as an alternative for 'spots.' Possibly he has in mind the 'savours' of the earlier play, or its 'dewdrops,' which the fairy hung as 'a pearl in every cowslip's ear' It is perhaps worth while to quote a few words from Gerarde's description of the Crown Imperial of *The Winter's Tale*: 'In the bottom of each of the bells there is placed six drops . . . resembling in show faire Orient pearls.'

But the foregoing investigation of Shakespeare's famous 'bank' serves another and an equally useful purpose. At the outset I called attention to the contrast that would be afforded by the later plays; and now, after realising to the full the comparative conventionality and artificiality of the lines from an earlier play, we may pass to an equally full realisation of the striking difference that is discovered by those passages that were written by the poet with the ease, the freedom, the fearlessness and the truth of mature genius. One of these I will now quote:

> With fairest flowers
> Whilst summer lasts and I live here, Fidele,
> I'll sweeten thy sad grave; thou shalt not lack
> The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, nor

[29] Ellacombe by error refers them to the base of the corolla.

The azured harebell, like thy veins, no nor
The leaf of eglantine, whom not to slander,
Out-sweetened not thy breath ; the ruddock would,
With charitable bill,—O bill, sore shaming
Those rich-left heirs that let their fathers lie
Without a monument !—bring thee all this ;
Yea, and furr'd moss besides, when flowers are none,
To winter-ground thy corse

(*Cymbeline*, IV., ii , 218–229)

It is indeed an extraordinary contrast ; the freshness, the fearlessness, the reality, the exquisite beauty, of this later passage must be apparent to everyone.

But this example from *Cymbeline* discovers another element of the deepest interest. Elsewhere[30] I have made the following comment on the well-known passage in *Hamlet* where the Queen is referring to the death of Ophelia :

So much botany, . . some of it explanatory, . . . gives evidence . . of some ultra-dramatic interest which the poet manifests in these ' weedy trophies ' ; he seems to drop the actor for the moment and turn naturalist.

We may add that on such occasions (let us be thankful for them, and they may be counted by the thousand) the poet gets the better of the dramatist. (See p 591, footnote [3].)

It is precisely the same in the passage I have just quoted from *Cymbeline*, but on this occasion the poet himself turns commentator, and offers us a characteristic apology for ' so much botany ' ; for when Arviragus has concluded his dozen lines that describe with such eloquence of detail these ' strewings fitt'st for graves,' his brother breaks in upon him with some impatience ·

Prithee, have done ,
And do not play in wench-like words with that
Which is so serious. Let us bury him,
And not protract with admiration what
Is now due debt. To the grave.

This is quite in Shakespeare's manner of putting in an apology for any seeming diffuseness or irrelevance, or (if we may borrow the eloquence of Keats) ' easing his breast of melodies.'

We find it equally marked at the end of the most striking of all these passages, the wonderful anthology in *The Winter's Tale* (IV., iv., 70–135). After more than fifty lines of botanical parleyings (some of them of an extraordinary abstruseness), Perdita naïvely remarks :

Come, take your flowers ;
Methinks I play as I have seen them do
In Whitsun pastorals ; sure this robe of mine
Does change my disposition.

[30] ' Nature in Shakespeare,' *The Nineteenth Century*, September 1922.

Passages such as these go far to justify our contention that towards the end of his career Shakespeare wrote of Nature with a new, a tenderer, and a more trustworthy interest. They also seem to prove that flowers especially were a passion to him,[31] and that at any opportunity of describing them he would spring from the level of his drama and, like Shelley's skylark, pour his full heart from heaven, or near it.

[31] For this subject see especially my article 'Shakespeare and Nature' in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1924, also the opinion that Shakespeare was poet rather than mere dramatist, which I have expressed more than once since 1895, will be found fully stated in the *Handbook to the Works of Shakespeare*, pp. 29 and 30.

MORTON LUCE.

SOPHISTICATION

MY text is from Michael Arlen's *The Green Hat* (IV., i., 116) and from Ford Madox Ford's *Some Do Not . . .* (II., i., 196; II., i., 215).

Lady Pynte liked young men to be Healthy and Normal; Mrs. Ammon preferred them to be Original. Lady Pynte liked Boys to be Boys; Mrs Ammon didn't mind if they were girls so long as they were Original. Lady Pynte insisted on Working For the Welfare of the People at Large and Not just for Our Own Little Class, she played bridge with a bantering tongue and a Borgia heart, she maintained that the best place at which to buy shoes was Fortnum and Mason's, and if she saw you innocently taking the air of a sunny morning she would say 'You are not looking at all well, my good young man. Why don't you take some Clean, Healthy exercise? You ought to be Riding' That was why one maintained a defensive alliance with one's haddock rather than do the manly thing and dance with Lady Pynte. She would say one ought to be riding, and for four years I had hidden from Lady Pynte the fact that I did not know how to ride. I simply did not dare to confess to Lady Pynte that I could not ride. I had already tried to pave the way to that dénouement *by confessing that I came from the lower classes, but she did not appear to think that any class could be so Low as that.*

. . . . .

Being near Tietjens she lifted her plate, which contained two cold cutlets in aspic and several leaves of salad; she wavered a little to one side and, with a circular motion of her hand, let the whole contents fly at Tietjens' head. She placed the plate on the table and drifted slowly towards the immense mirror over the fireplace.

'I'm bored,' she said. 'Bored! Bored!'

. . . . .

'If,' Sylvia went on with her denunciation, 'you had once in our lives said to me: "You whore! You bitch! You killed my mother. May you rot in hell for it" . . . you might have done something to bring us together.'

Tietjens said:

'That's, of course, true.'

And my subject is—what else with such a text ?—Sophistication.

Not sophistication in the original unencrusted meaning of the word, but in the overlaid current understanding of it—an emotional rather than an intellectual condition. It is a condition very hard to define, since it is emotional, yet sufficiently easy to recognise —and admire. To be sophisticated you must be *blasé;* you must be witty ; you must not take anything, especially vice, very hard ; you must be gay and casual about problems that unsophisticated people are earnest about, though you may (here you are reaching rarefied heights of sophistication) be as earnest as you like about things that average people consider trivial. You must show familiarity with the world of High Society, but also amused disdain for it ; you must know, and prove that you know, everything about ordering a dinner in such places as Ciro's (Monte Carlo), the Ritz (Paris), and the Café de Paris (Biarritz). You should also be able to let fall—now and then, very carelessly, merely because you cannot at the moment think of the English word—a French or an Italian or even a German word or phrase ; but it is not excessively important that you should do this correctly or even appropriately ; the effect will be the same anyway. Among contemporary writers Carl Van Vechten and Ronald Firbank are sophisticated, and so is Michael Arlen, and so is Ford Madox Ford (*né* Hueffer).

There is one small drawback to sophistication : it is impossible without an audience. One cannot pleasurably, perhaps not possibly, be sophisticated all alone by oneself. One cannot think of a man getting into an unshared bed as sophisticated—I mean to say, of course, after his valet has left him. Fiction is full of people marooned on desert islands ; but only one writer, M. Jean Giraudoux, has ever thought of thus marooning a sophisticated character. It was a delicious and fantastic idea, which made *Suzanne et le Pacifique* an irresistibly funny book.

This disadvantage, however, is not grave, since sophisticated people are rarely alone, even at night, and in public are sure of an admiring audience. We all admire sophistication in real life, and we admire it still more in novels. This is partly because it is never quite so perfect and finished in the former as in the latter, but chiefly because there is a touch of envy in our admiration for sophistication in life, whereas we share flatteringly in that displayed in a novel. We, too, love Iris Storm fastidiously and consider Sylvia Tietjens' complicated vices with tolerant weariness. We, too, are of the *haut monde* and are very offhand about it. We, too, have lived very, very hard and exhausted everything and have come to look with a mellow amusement on all intensities. It is delightful.

Unluckily for me, I do not know any sophisticated people in real life. I have jealously seen them about, in restaurants and places, but I do not know them—or perhaps I should say that they do not know me. But I know sophistication in novels, none better. The sophisticated novelist must be very sophisticated indeed to satisfy my fine trained taste. Any momentary lapse into ingenuousness, and I am on him like a wolf. Thus, among the writers I have mentioned, and among others whom I have not, I salute most especially Mr. Michael Arlen ; and this because, more perfectly than the others, he knows how a sophisticated novel should be written : to wit, in a *baroque* and decorative prose. Mr. Firbank and Mr. Van Vechten may also know this ; but they lag far behind Mr. Arlen in turning their knowledge into achievement. They do not discover such felicities as : '. . . and over the breast of her dark dress five small red elephants were marching towards an unknown destination' ; or : 'The stormy brittle sunlight, eager to play with the pearls and diamonds of Van Cleef, Lacloche and Cartier, aye, and of Tecla also, chided away the fat white clouds, and now the sun would play with one window of the Rue de la Paix, now with another, mortifying one, teasing another, but all in a very handsome way.' There you have the authentic manner for sophisticated prose.

The reason why the authentic manner is *baroque*, even *rococo*, heavily encrusted with ornament, is a melancholy reason. ('That was a gloomy reason,' Mr. Arlen would say.) It is that there is a certain lack of body in sophistication. To eschew the passions—or perhaps not to eschew them, but to smile at them—to be polished, suave and unobtrusively superior, is delightful, but limits one a bit. Emerson's assertion that the exclusive man excludes no one but himself is doubtless an exaggeration ; but it is certainly true that the exclusive man does also exclude himself. The technique of sophistication in literature is even more exacting than the technique of the drama. Let no one fancy it easy to write sophisticatedly. It is extremely difficult. A considerable proportion of the writers in two continents is attempting it ; yet one can count the successes on the fingers of two hands. There is no mistaking the genuine article in sophistication, for the very simple reason that the false is always ludicrous, sometimes violently so, sometimes faintly. English, French and American bookshops, and once a week the *Saturday Evening Post*, are half full of hilarious attempts at sophistication. It would be a mistake to deplore them ; they add to the gaiety of nations. If you care for clear laughter with no malice beneath it, and must give up one book or the other, which would you sacrifice, *Alice in Wonderland* or *The Rosary*?

Sophistication in literature, then, as (I presume) sophistication

in real life, is immensely difficult of attainment; it demands a special skilful technique, a wary sense of humour and a narrow selection of material. Therefore, as I have already suggested, its manner becomes of great importance. To avoid a lurking sense of impoverishment you must be provided with decorative flowers to pluck by the wayside. The luxuriously appointed cruise around the world on the *Arabic* (22,000 tons) is not enough; you need those side-excursions to Capri, the Balearic Islands and the foot-hills of Java. Once again I salute Mr. Michael Arlen. His is *the* manner. One can be sophisticated without it—Mr. Ford is, and M. Paul Morand—but how much better to have it!

Let us turn now to the two novels from which I have taken, almost at random, my text. The novels themselves I selected with considerable care; for, while their sophisticated qualities of course overlap, there are certain examples of sophistication in *The Green Hat* that are wanting in *Some Do Not* . . ., and a few in the latter book that one will not find in the former. Moreover, the two books are done in very different manners.

What, except any one of a score of others from the same book, could give a more admirable condensed example of sophistication than the passage I have quoted from *The Green Hat?* The narrator introduces you to two ladies—for no reason at all except your amusement and his own. One lady has a title, the other has not. Excellent! He—I have to call him 'he' because I do not remember that his name is once mentioned in the book—pokes good-humoured fun at both, but more especially at the one with a title, and then goes on innocently (*innocently!*) to reveal the fact that he comes from the lower classes and does not know how to ride. You will go far to find a rarer expression of sophistication. For—do you not see?—the narrator, at his ease in the homes of the great, is smiling at class, is actually smiling at riding. This is, by consummate inversion, raising snobbishness to a fine art. And all in such high spirits.

You do not get the high spirits in the two passages I have quoted from a rather long marital conversation in *Some Do Not*... (you will look for them in vain in that novel); but you are given a very pretty example of sophistication nevertheless. Sylvia Tietjens is of a most awfully good family, and her husband of an even better one. People in society are not, by plebeians, supposed to throw things at one another. Sylvia does throw something—a plate of food—at her husband. Good! Moreover, it hits him. But observe! He does not upset the dining-room table and hit her back. He remains perfectly calm. And as for Sylvia, she drifts slowly towards the enormous mirror over the fireplace (good touch, that!) and remarks that she is bored! bored! Here, too, you are high in the scale of sophistication. For it is

obvious that to commit a breach of manners, to do something that simply is not done, and then only to feel bored, is far more sophisticated than to break one of the ten commandments, usually the seventh, in the same spirit. Also I call your attention in passing to the contents of the plate that Sylvia threw—two cold cutlets in aspic and a few leaves of salad. At once elegant and efficient.

The second passage, too, is admirable. The words 'bitch' and 'whore' are not popularly supposed to be addressed by a gentleman to his wife; nor is the wish that she may rot in hell. Yet when Sylvia suggests to her husband that, to ensure their mutual happiness, he ought to have addressed her in this manner, he says reasonably: 'That's, of course, true.' Which is all the more to his credit in that for twenty pages his uniform has been dripping with oil from the salad that hit his shoulder.

Here, too, you perceive, you get inversion. These characters outrage, and thereby show themselves above, the conventions. They always react to stimuli in the opposite way from which average people react. They are violent when we should expect them to be well-bred, and serene when we expect them to be violent. Another example: to ingenuous people the disease called syphilis is a shameful thing, to be considered with horror and never to be mentioned aloud; to average people it is an æthetically disgusting malady and therefore not an available subject for conversation. But the characters in sophisticated novels talk about syphilis as carelessly as though they were talking of a family-tree.

But is there not in this, you may by now inquire timidly, just a little monotony? Once the trick is apparent, is it not almost as wearisome to watch a man invariably do the unexpected thing as to watch him do the expected? There is. Oh, it is! It is more wearisome. Because when the expected thing is done for any reason more emotional than mere habit it is significant of something other than individual dullness; it has roots that penetrate down into the dark earthy past of a whole race. Whereas to do invariably the unexpected thing, in order to show oneself superior and startle an audience, is significant of nothing at all; beneath such behaviour is emptiness.

Emptiness, indeed, yawns beneath the literature of sophistication. There is no probing of truth below the glitter. There cannot be, since the glitter is achieved through a superior disregard for truth. One would not mind this if the literature of sophistication set out only to be elegant amusing nonsense. (And I ought, in justice, to say here that if Mr. Ronald Firbank were somewhat more amusing his contribution to such literature might fulfil that requirement.) But too often it pretends to be investigating

truth. And this pretence, even though in some cases it signify only a crowning sophisticated inversion, is impertinent and annoying.

The Green Hat lies open before me at the page of Press comments which the publisher has seen fit to append. I read: '*The Green Hat* is the novel of the year.' . . . 'The most memorable novel I have read during the past year.' . . . 'I call it the finest novel of the last five years.' . . . 'Heavens! what a lot that man knows about men and women—especially women.'

If after this broadside one feels slightly giddy one should not hold it against Mr. Arlen, who of course is not responsible and who distinctly calls *The Green Hat* a romance; but one would have thought that even reviewers might have had a little more insight than this into what they had pleasurably read.

For, leaving on one side the delightful manner of the book, consider the material of which it is cleverly built. What and whom have we got here? The identical material of those interminable melodramas which the French (probably in an impotent attack on the tyrants of their national life) call 'literature for concierges,' and which in England was dear to the hearts of Ouida's public. A glossy world of high society; someone (just as in *Under Two Flags*, and in how many other long-forgotten romances) assuming, for quite inadequate reasons, someone else's sin and suffering bravely as an outcast until a third person blurts out the truth (the original touch being that in *The Green Hat* the victim is the heroine instead of the hero, that she suffers from a husband's syphilis instead of from a brother's embezzlement, and that she dies at the end of the book); the cruel father separating youthful lovers who never, never forget one another (though, for the sake of modernity, during their separation the heroine, not the hero, leads a scandalous life—which, mind you, is never described, since its reality would have been squalid) and come together at last, when, in a final triumphant burst of renunciation, the heroine surrenders her lover to his wife and commits suicide. Sheer melodrama, as false, as quite properly false, as *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème* or *Scaramouche*—precisely that sort of thing, in fact. And the characters: can you *see* Hilary, or Guy, or Napier, or Venice? Have they three dimensions? Can you walk around them? Of course not. You're not (I give Mr. Arlen credit for intending) supposed to be able to. And Iris, the radiant, the well-beloved, what is Iris? What but a very young man's dream of a woman—experience plus innocence, a prostitute with the soul of a virgin? Go back a generation and you will find her in Mr. Le Gallienne's *The Quest of the Golden Girl*.

Well and good. I have no objection to any of this. I enjoyed the book immensely. But, please, let us not take it for something else than it is.

I know almost nothing about Mr. Arlen, I have never even seen his photograph; yet I feel a pleasant personal liking for him. He provided me with an amusing book couched in a delightful style; and I do not for a moment believe that he himself takes it more earnestly than I do or considers it anything other than an agreeably up-to-date fairy-tale. If I have pointed out that the material of which it is constructed appears to me melodrama, not drama, sentimentality, not sentiment, artifice, not life, it is only because I wished to express my opinion that this is true of all the literature of sophistication, which—not here, but elsewhere—frequently presents itself as something more significant.

A reading of *Some Do Not* . . . does not leave me with a similar affection for its author. I cannot escape the feeling that Mr. Ford takes that book hard! hard! and that in it he set out to write a masterpiece.

To begin with, there is the style. We have often been told that Mr. Ford is a master of style; and so, in truth, he is. But of what use is style all alone by itself? The style of *Some Do Not* . . . is the grand style, simple, sonorous, purged of affectation, well suited to such a novel as *War and Peace;* but it is not the right style for *Some Do Not.* . . . Indeed, in my opinion, no style *is* the right style for that novel. *Some Do Not* . . . has for me all the defects of the literature of sophistication, with none of its virtues. It is false and pretends to be true; it is artificial without being witty; it is romance without glamour; it is essentially literary; it is without any more sense of humour than that required to keep it from becoming ridiculous; it has not a touch of spontaneity; it is as dreary as it is well done.

In a negative way the thing is perfect—ever and ever so careful. Mr. Ford introduces an incredible Irish priest by saying that he 'had a brogue such as is seldom heard outside old-fashioned English novels of Irish life'—thereby protecting himself from the start; he would have been incapable of writing 'across the *breast* of her dark *dress*'; and it goes without saying that in his creditably meagre use of foreign words he adopts none of the original spellings that star Mr. Arlen's romance (*aristocracie, giggolo,* and the like). Mr. Ford's prose is compact, sober and restrained. But, since this is true, it becomes the more important to discover what it is all about.

I am unable at present to obtain a copy of *If Winter Comes* (one of the advantages that I neglected to chronicle in a recent essay on Living Abroad); but I am struck by the similarity between the plot of Mr. Hutchinson's novel, as I remember it, and that of *Some Do Not* . . . . Mark Something-or-Other was a man whom the world in general regarded with indifference as a failure, and for whose excellent work somebody else was always

getting the credit, but whom a few really fine spirits reverenced. So was Christopher Tietjens. Each was unhappily married, though (*If Winter Comes* not being a sophisticated novel) Mark's wife was merely stodgy and insensitive to her husband's whimsical sweetness (bless her heart! she had all my sympathy), while Christopher's Sylvia was—oh, dear me! Each hero loved another lady, really appreciative and good, who was eager to sacrifice, in Mark's case her husband (unappreciative devil *he* was, too!), in Christopher's her virginity. Each hero refused the gift. (' Some do not ' . . . do that kind of thing) In neither case did the hero's wife—or anyone else except those few fine spirits—believe in the refusal. Each, instead of getting himself profitably *embusqué*, slipped off unassumingly to the war and was badly hurt. Each slipped back home again to take up modestly and wearily the old round—a good deal hampered in this by all those *embusqués* who had pushed ahead in the meantime. Each, for no obvious reason, became a social pariah, was slandered and fairly hounded by the world in general—but not, of course, in the sophisticated novel, to the point of general hysterics reached in *If Winter Comes*. The endings, naturally, are different. Mark's wife divorces him, the other lady's husband is conveniently killed in France, and the lovers are felicitously united; Christopher Tietjens' wife does not divorce him, he will not become Valentine's clandestine lover, and he slips off again, even more unassumingly than before, to the war—presumably to be killed.

Here, as unmistakably as in *The Green Hat*, we have the artificial stuff of melodrama. Hardly since Richardson's *Pamela*, has such feverish importance as in *Some Do Not* . . . been attached to the question of whether a man and a woman will or will not have sexual relations. The last two hundred pages of the book are virtually devoted to this problem, and to its answer—' Some do not.' Personally, I didn't care in the least. Let them, if they wanted to, or not, only, for heaven's sake, let them and every one else stop talking about it! What possible difference could it make to me?

I am aware that I have written about Mr. Ford's novel in an insufficiently cool manner; but the truth is (as you may have guessed) that the book exasperates me. All this cheap sensationalism masquerading as a serious study of life! *If Winter Comes* was atrocious, but it was too silly to be excessively annoying. By the time one reached the piled-up anguish of the court-room scene one was in the best of spirits. But *Some Do Not* . . . is too carefully done to be silly. Its material is that of any ten-twenty-thirty melodrama; but its style is that of *Madame Bovary*. It arouses the same distaste as in the fairy-tale the vulgar servant wench who had dressed herself up as the princess.

Even so, I have perhaps not accounted adequately for my conviction that *Some Do Not* . . . is fundamentally false. The stuff of melodrama sometimes *is* the stuff of life, as it is sufficient to read the daily Press to discover; and occasionally a great genius builds up truth out of just such material. He does this, of course, by creating real characters. Once a character comes alive, the most improbable things may happen to him, and no one cares—or doubts them. But Mr. Ford is not a genius, and his characters are not real. He describes them neatly and pungently; he even visualises them for us, until they stand out as sharply as the waxwork figures at Madame Tussaud's. But that is the end of it. They will not come to life. And even if Mr. Ford were the genius that he is not, they could not come to life in that stifling atmosphere of sophistication, where effect is everything and one eye is always on an audience. But then, if Mr. Ford were a genius he would not give us that atmosphere; he would have something too important to say to trouble with anything so small, superficial and glittering, as sophistication.

The truth about the literature of sophistication is, I think, that, since it is at bottom a form of showing off, it can have no dealings with truth. In his choice of material the sophisticated writer selects what is false—not, like that occasional genius, for some other reason than its falsity, or for no reason at all, but precisely because it is false, and therefore sure of an easy effect. There is tawdriness in this, of course. I wonder whether there is not a trace of still another quality. Children especially delight in showing off. Can it be that there is something a little ingenuous in sophistication?

CLAUDE C. WASHBURN.

ANTIC LITERATURE

My title, of course, is an illusion. It is also a compliment. One takes the *Antic Hay* of Aldous Huxley as representative of a certain kind of modern fiction because it is a vivid and comprehensive example of some of its most peculiar characteristics. It is in style and substance a miniature presentment of some of the most striking qualities that distinguish the literature of to-day from the literature of the day before. If you can succeed in explaining it, you will also be able to explain Miss Virginia Woolf, Mr. James Joyce, and most of those authors who please the literary sophisticated, puzzle the literary painstaking, and offend the literary respectable. He would be a bold critic who ventured to say that he could interpret to his complete satisfaction any movement in art and letters still strictly contemporary. Most æsthetic criticism is wisdom after the event, which explains why its established professors usually spend their time in the discussion of movements which have ceased to move. It is not difficult to be wise and witty and entirely right about the literature of yesterday, and one naturally prefers to be wise and witty and entirely right; it is so infinitely more agreeable than to grope and fumble with tendencies which are still indefinite and symptomatic, of which few can perceive the origin and no one can predict the end. The thing, however, must be done. Criticism is like astronomy. It cannot hope to achieve the dignity of a useful science until it can predict the movements of the literary bodies. It is not the task of a critic to exclaim that Mr. Galsworthy is in the ascendant to-day. He must turn from the agreeable pastime of accounting for his delight in masterpieces like *The Forsyte Saga* or the preface to *Androcles and the Lion* in order to follow Ulysses in his progress from Homer and Tennyson into the epic of Mr. Bloom.

There is, of course, one very easy and immediate way of dealing with literary movements that shock the taste and disturb the values established by their predecessors, and it is the way usually taken in extreme cases by most self-respecting communities. If Mr. Bloom landed at Folkestone he would be arrested by the police, and his arrest would be defensible as an act of self-preservation on the part of English society and English letters as repre-

sented by the Director of Prosecutions and the more reputable publishing houses of London. Some of Mr. Bloom's contemporaries, seeking admission to the English theatre, would be denied so much as the privilege of a public prosecution. The Lord Chamberlain would see to that. And these official activities would be no more than a natural expression of the attitude of the majority of decent folk when suddenly asked to realise that their accepted ideas and feelings concerning God and man were not necessarily immutable laws of nature. It is a comfortable attitude, and it completely solves the problem for those who accept it. There is no need to ask the regnant majority for an explanation of Mr. Huxley's *Antic Hay*. Its answer is simply to make hay of Mr. Huxley.

One sometimes wishes it were as easy as all that. Mr. Bloom of *Ulysses* is very obviously an indecent creature. So is Mr. Gambrinus of *Antic Hay*. There is filth upon the modern page unexampled since Rabelais, and sufficient blasphemy to fit out a missal for Beelzebub. Sensitive gorges would frequently be spared if we might, with so many honest and intelligent folk, simply cast these things aside as the unclean fancies of the abnormally depraved, precisely as our predecessors cast Ibsen aside and as Jeremy Collier cast aside Congreve and his rout of Belial. The only argument against such an easy and convenient course is that it would make an end of all art and letters within twenty years. Authors would all be reduced to imitating the classics. Musicians and painters would be obliged to give up any real attempt to express the form and spirit of their generation, which is the only thing that can keep any sort of art fertile and productive. For art cannot be reproduced by an inbreeding of masterpieces. A work of art is very like a mule, an excellent creature, but incapable of reproducing its kind.

It is by no means an easy matter to defend some of the most vital and characteristic works of contemporary art from the accusations of the majority. It is no use denying any of the major counts in the indictment. We must begin by frankly facing the facts, and making the necessary concessions. None of the accepted formulæ will meet the case. The old defence of discord as a necessary preliminary to harmony, the admiration of fair lilies that spring from corruption, the recognition of blemishes in detail which emphasise the beauty of the whole, the old defence of ugliness as an essential element in beauty—none of these phrases so much as scratch the surface of the problem. On the contrary, they are in flat contradiction with the works which they profess to defend and to explain. We have to admit that there is in nearly all the strictly contemporary work with which we are dealing discord, disease and ugliness, which cannot by any stretch

of ingenuity be brought into relation with the harmony and health and beauty which we associate traditionally with a work of art. There is, in fact, no very evident defence for many of the manifestations of the contemporary spirit except that these things, having occurred to certain minds, having issued from human souls, having sprung from the imaginations of persons presumably more sensitive to life than their less articulate fellow-creatures, cannot be arbitrarily excluded from the field of art.

The older theologians defended pain and evil as a necessary element in a divine scheme, discoursing of a heavenly synthesis into which these things would be ultimately fitted. Such reasoning would be regarded by the younger spirits of to-day, if they were in the habit of listening to theologians, as merely adding God's insult to His injury. Discord, ugliness, depravity, pain, and evil, cannot, in modern art, be regarded as elements of a larger harmony. Discords in modern music are discords, not a preparation of concords, and I defy any musical ear, however fine, that listens to Stravinsky's octet for wind instruments to resolve them into anything else. The evil in modern art is evil for its own sake, a positive and not a negative element, an independent and prevailing force, not an indirect process or discipline towards good.

Nor can we explain this evil and ugly element in modern art as due to a passion of the satirist, a desire to hold up for execration the thing he wishes to destroy. Our modern author is not piously using his evil to point a moral or to illustrate an ethical purpose. Any attempt to explain his more characteristic performances as springing from a desire to scourge the vices of his time, as permitting evil to be done that good may come, would be wholly disingenuous and absurd.

Nor can we apply to this modern work the justification which almost entirely covered most of the work of Wilde and his contemporaries, who so flagrantly shocked a previous generation. These young men quite honestly hated the stuffiness and hypocrisy from which they emerged. Their praises of sin were an invocation to battle with the pharisees. They were out to disturb the morality of their time because they esteemed it a hateful morality. They celebrated one sort of evil in order to drive out another. They did not present evil for its own sweet case. Their art was a gesture of social defiance, and they were fundamentally as orthodox as the enemy with whom they were so brilliantly at issue. This is shown by the fact that their leader in the *Ballad of Reading Gaol* ended his literary career with a sermonette. Mr. Bernard Shaw wrote a play called *The Devil's Disciple* and prefaced it with an essay on diabolian ethics. But there is not a trace of genuine diabolism in the play. His hero's cult of the devil is,

in fact, no more than a moral attitude superior to that of thos
who profess the cult of Christ. The whole thing is an essay i
moral values. There is no idea of presenting evil for its own sak

The old literary labels and explanations are, in fact, all equall
inadequate. Realism is entirely beside the point. The old
critics, pressed by the older champions of formal morality an
formal beauty, accounted for the presence of evil and ugliness i
the art of their time by pleading that art must reflect the con
plexity and diversity of life. In life there is depravity and pai
and there must be depravity and pain in art if art is to be at a
complete and sincere. The critics who used this argument wei
usually begging the question, but, even though we used the formul
with a scrupulous avoidance of its fallacies, it would break dow
at once in dealing with any really representative work of tl
younger writers. The authors themselves would be the first t
repudiate any such defence. Nothing could be less realistic tha
the art with which we are dealing. Literature has turned i
back on realism as definitely as music has turned its back c
the 'programme.' Stravinsky exhausted musical realism i
Petrouchka. His later compositions can be directly referred t
nothing objective, either for form or substance, beyond the nee
to express something within himself that cannot be otherwis
conveyed than by the means of the moment. You may invent
new label for this—call it expressionism or the like. But that
merely playing with words. All art is expressionism. Tl
question for the critic is to discover what it is expressing an
whether the means are adequate.

There is yet another point at which the old defences of a
offensive to the ordinary moral sense of its contemporaries breal
down. It used to be argued that art was independent of moralit
that in the achievement of the beautiful it might break ever
commandment in the decalogue. There were beautiful sin
æsthetically better worth while than all the virtues of suburbi
Wit was sufficient excuse for wickedness, and purity of form wa
an adequate defence for impurity of substance. He would be
bold critic who set out to find a justification for the impurity
Ulysses in its purity of form, or for the wickedness of M
Gambrinus in the wit of his pneumatic underclothing.

It is, of course, necessary, in using words like 'discord,' 'uglines
and 'evil,' to bear in mind that they have been employed again an
again by serious critics in the past, and are usually employed b
readers at large, as mere epithets of censure that evade the que
tions at issue. Beethoven and Wagner excruciated the ears
their contemporaries with progressions which now induce
pleasant day-dreaming in eupeptic stockbrokers and languishin
schoolgirls. Gauguin offended the academicians as gravely

Flaubert offended the magistrates. The normal person will qualify as discordant anything to which his ear is unaccustomed, as ugly anything which does not conform with a convention which his eye is immediately able to recognise. Harmonies finer than those they are displacing, beauty more complex or merely less fashionable than that received by the majority, have invariably been denounced as discordant and ugly by the established arbiters of taste; and revolutionary moralists are almost invariably denounced by their predecessors. If, therefore, as a person more advanced than myself, you tell me that there is no discord in Stravinsky's octet, no ugliness in Mr. Joyce's *Ulysses*, no evil in Mr. Huxley's *Antic Hay*, I must respectfully bear this in mind, and congratulate you on having reached a complex and exalted state of being to which for the moment I am unable to aspire. But somehow I do not think you are at all likely to take up that position. You are more likely, if you are honestly confronting the problem before us, to admit the pain and squalor which deform contemporary art, even while you feel that it expresses something which comes nearer home to you, which is for you more significant, more expressive of your own immediate hour, than anything which went before. Arbiters of taste and morality have frequently used injurious epithets which signified nothing except that those employing them happened to be born, say, in 1865 instead of in 1895. But such critics sincerely despised the art which they denounced. I think that here we may claim to be informed by an entirely different spirit. We are not attempting to show that modern art is of no possible account, but to discover how it comes to be the natural æsthetic expression of the contemporary mind. Those for whom the use of words like 'ugly' and 'evil' is merely a chronological accident begin from a totally different point of view. All this contemporary art is for them something almost deliberately perverse—a deformation of life, and not an expression. This is not the attitude of the present inquiry, and I do not think we are liable to the chronological fallacy. Here we are quite definitely starting from the assumption that this is art which is probably significant.

The application of any of the old æsthetic or moral tests to modern art has ceased to be of any real assistance because the new art represents a complete break with the old morality and the old æsthetics. As compared with the difference between Mr. Huxley and Oscar Wilde, the difference between Oscar Wilde and Alfred Tennyson becomes almost negligible. Wilde and Tennyson were two sides of the same shield—current orthodoxy on the one side, and on the other an individual heterodoxy which was closely related to the orthodoxy as every reaction is related to the movement from which it recoils. Given Tennyson, Wilde

was inevitable; given Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, Shaw was inevitable. But you cannot relate Mr. Huxley or Mr. Joyce with any of their predecessors, or account for them by the mere process of reaction. Their evil is not a recoil from anybody else's good, and their ugliness is not a challenge to anybody else's beauty.

And this brings us to perhaps the most striking characteristic of this modern work, namely, that it definitely brings back the devil—the devil, be it noted, not as a tolerated foil to a beneficent Providence, but as an independent, active and positive individual. The resurrection of the devil implies a revolution in almost every field of human endeavour and speculation. It has been assumed for generations that evil was merely a negative condition—no more than the thwarting of a positive process of amelioration. Wickedness was an aberration, ugliness a deformation, the deadly sins a perversion of the capital virtues and every sinner an unsuccessful saint. Evil was merely a mistake, discord merely an error, pain no more than a temporary failure in the relation of sentient life to its material environment. All popular criticism of art and morality in the nineteenth century was based on a conscious or unconscious assumption that the devil had ceased to exist. Evil and ugliness in art were not so much explained as explained away. It was assumed that they had no right to be there. The amiable pre-Victorian optimists were so entirely sure that the devil had ceased to exist that their whole political system was based on the assumption that it was only necessary to set men free to do as they pleased, and all would inevitably be well. When it was seen that this assumption landed society in the unspeakable horrors of the industrial revolution, and when it was realised that men did not necessarily become angels on removing their clothes, the doctrine of human perfectibility and of the purely accidental character of evil was modified. But the modification did not go very far. Confident faith in a benevolent process of natural evolution gave way to an equally confident faith in the evolutionary process if intelligently and deliberately controlled. Evil was still a purely negative conception—the fly of Beelzebub, god of flies, in the heavenly ointment of an increasing purpose.

But in the last few years the devil has come quite definitely into his own again. In the literature we are discussing evil is not a tolerated blemish. There is no attempt to bring it into conformity with good. It is evil militant, often triumphant. The devil is no longer upon a leash. He is veritably loose again, and, to quote the title of a new novel by a young author who among so many others illustrates our present thesis, his name is legion. He has his dominion and his rights. To apologise or to account for him, as was the custom of a previous generation, is against the whole spirit of the movement we are describing. This modern

art renders to evil the things that are evil. The devil has his empire and his devotees. Ugliness, a brooding Narcissus, dotes upon the margin of his horrid pool. So far have we got from doing evil in order that good may come that we find our contemporary heroes doing good that evil may come. The image of the lily rooted in corruption, used in the old fashion, returns like a boomerang to brain the unfortunate moralist, for to-day it is often the lily that enhances the corruption, and not the corruption that flowers into the lily. Take the affair of Mr. Gambrinus with the gentle Emily. One can imagine a reader of the older dispensation sighing that here at last he had found an idyll to redeem the squalor of our hero's pilgrimage, a serene and becoming justification of the elfin lusts and profanities through which he had been so merrily conducted. Conceive his dismay on finding that this fleeting idyll is used almost at once as the theme of an even more diabolic series of variations, that the gentle Emily is merely a momentary lapse from the triumphant diabolism of our hero's career, for which the devil exacts an immediate and certainly an adequate atonement. It was the custom of the divine moralists to show evil momentarily victorious in order that God's victory might be the more signally exhibited. Mr. Huxley does precisely the opposite. He allows us an interlude wherein the ordinary human virtues are for a moment in the ascendant in order that the devil's subsequent opportunities may be the more complete. It is no longer the devil that is tolerated, allowed upon sufferance to tempt mankind in order that divine power may be the more gloriously asserted. It is the devil himself who suffers God for a moment to tempt the devil's creature, so that the devil may have the better sport. In the literature of a previous generation the pastime of playing cat and mouse with human souls was reserved for a benevolent Providence, and the devil himself was merely a bigger mouse than any of the others. Now, however, it is the turn of the Prince of Darkness to be a sportsman of souls.

Mr. Coleman of *Antic Hay* is the sort of person who in the time of Paracelsus would have celebrated a black mass. His blasphemies are deliberately in praise of his infernal master. Mr. Bloom of *Ulysses* is equally committed. Presuming that as a law-abiding citizen you have not obtained a copy of this portentous work, you have only to turn to the *Portrait of an Artist* to realise that Mr. Joyce is thoroughly alive to the devil and the probabilities of damnation. Almost any of the younger novels will show you the cloven hoof. In the novel entitled *My Name is Legion*, by Mr. Morgan, the devil is felt as one of the principal characters. 'Don't you realise that it's over the spirit the devil, too, has power?' is the sentence from which it springs. Or take

Mr. Geoffrey Dennis—a young author with two books to his name which have been loudly and justly praised by the alerter critics. His second novel, *Harvest in Poland*, is filled with black magic and infernal powers, and leads in a crescendo of spiritual horrors to a vision of human history that definitely proclaims the devil's might and puts him on equal terms with God:

> And as I listened, after many million years, I heard the voice of God saying, 'Let us make man in Our image, after Our likeness,' and as I watched and saw, God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him.
>
> And coevally, uttering each syllable with Him, I heard the voice of Satan saying, 'Let us make man in Our image, after Our likeness,' and I saw the hands of the Devil create man in His own image, in the image of Satan created He him
>
> And two new hordes of black things crowded the planet before me.
>
> And the kindreds of God moved nearer, and the kindreds of Satan moved nearer, and joined in marriage, and made the human race: cross-breds with the blood of God and of Devil in their veins, the breath of Devil and God in their hearts.

One of the best illustrations of what is implied by the formula of evil for its own sake is to be found in Shakespeare's character of Iago. Critics have racked their brains in trying to find adequate motives for Iago's villainy, and actors have exhausted their ingenuity in drawing attention to such logical motives as appear to be expressly indicated in the text. Iago, they say, was jealous of Cassio's advancement; suspected his wife of adultery with Cassio and the Moor; was envious of Cassio's easy and successful gallantry. Many critics, finding these motives either monstrous or inadequate, have said that Iago is a blot on the play; that he is no more than a piece of antiquated theatrical machinery; that humanly he is impossible and even absurd. The same things are said, more or less, of Edmund in *Lear;* and the same would equally have been said, if critics had ever troubled their heads about the matter, of all the defunct transpontine melodramas that thrilled the great public prior to the coming of the cinema. Such criticism misses precisely that element in Iago and his peers which has recently returned into modern literature. The whole point of Iago is that his evil is evil for its own sake. It has no need of motive or excuse. It is as natural and as simple as a child at play. Iago positively enjoys being a villain. It is true that in his soliloquies he gives himself reasons for his villainy, but that is only because evil, as well as good, naturally seeks to justify itself intellectually. But Iago's reasons are not the cause of his villainy; they are simply an intellectual exercise. The really important thing about them is not that they seek to explain the acts to which they relate, but that they give reasons for those acts which are entirely fanciful and at the same time hideously and

grotesquely evil in themselves. Iago likes to play with the notion that his wife is unfaithful with Cassio. It gives him the same kind of pleasure as a devotee derives from the lives of the saints or any normally generous mind from a story of heroes. It adds to his enjoyment, to the pleasure he takes in the planning and compassing and contemplation of his wickedness. Iago, like Edmund, goes to his villainy with a sol-fa-la, lighthearted as a kitten, with the zest of a spirit free to express itself without stint. The only real motive of his villainy is the one that slips out of him quite naturally towards the close. He hates Cassio because Cassio 'has a daily beauty in his life,' which means that he hates Cassio because evil is antipathetic to good. Shakespeare's audience understood Iago because at that time the devil had not yet disappeared from art and morality. The notion that a man possessed with the devil might do evil just for the fun of the thing was at that time familiar and unquestioned.

Keep the fact well in mind that Iago thoroughly enjoyed his contribution to the tragedy of Othello, for you will find in modern diabolism an equally unreasoning pleasure of the children of darkness in their characteristic manifestations. Mr. Gambrinus, planning the unseemliness of Rosie's pilgrimage from the Crebillon sofa to the embraces of Mr. Coleman, finds it the most enormous fun. It is an irresistible lark from beginning to end. Mr. Huxley, in fact, like all his younger contemporaries, gives the devil his due in the ancient and proper sense of allowing the devil to enjoy himself and to assert himself, and not in the eighteenth and nineteenth century sense of trying to establish on his behalf mitigating moral circumstances. It is the glory of the devil to be just as black as he is painted, and his comment on all efforts to attribute to him the 'blessed condition' with which Cassio invested Desdemona would be the comment of Iago himself: 'Blessed condition! Blessed fig's end!'

It is to be noted that our younger contemporaries are content to leave side by side, hopelessly at issue, their good and evil, their ugliness and beauty. They make no attempt to relate or to reconcile them, to place them in a comprehensible and harmonious system of æsthetic and moral values. They are equally sensitive to the two conflicting manifestations, exhibiting both with an equal zest, and leaving them to establish their own supremacy in their own way. The eagle and the serpent are presented, each with his peculiar glory. The same care is devoted to the feathers of the one as to the scales of the other. You will find in a book like *Antic Hay* pages of delight in serene and beautiful things interleaved with pages which show an equal zest for every conceivable abomination. The explanation of this is to be found in the Manichean dichotomy implicit in the author's moral and

æsthetic attitude, and it prepares us to go a step further in analysing both the form and substance of this modern work.

Not long ago a modern author proclaimed of the poet that it was his privilege and justification 'to see life steadily and see it whole.' Perhaps it is more difficult for poets and authors, looking back on a period that includes the Great War, to preserve the steadiness and equanimity of their predecessors. At the present moment there is hardly a moral, social, or æsthetic truth which has not been shaken to its foundations. The whole spiritual system of Christendom, to look no further than that, is shattered, and for the moment there is no great synthetic prophet, no great constructive mind, no poet or philosopher, able to piece together the fragments into any sort of significant pattern. Except for those who continue to repeat mechanically the doctrines which failed utterly of their purpose when most they were needed, or those who are pitifully subdued to the childish quackeries of parlour mystics, men and women of to-day are confronted by a world without unity or design. And it is naturally the most sensitive spirits who most acutely feel its shattering diversity. In every field of art and science and speculation we have become analytic, absorbed in a piecemeal contemplation of phenomena. We hold with Ahenobarbus that 'every moment serves for the matter that is then born in it.' Not only is there no attempt to relate good and evil; there is neither the desire nor the capacity to give form or coherence to anything whatever. The modern author simply surrenders himself to the multiplicity of which he is so vividly aware, allowing himself to be led along by a merely mechanical association of ideas, by a wilfully uncontrolled introspection. Either he is borne on a stream of the things that pass him objectively, or on a current of sensations and thoughts that flow subjectively. There is no attempt to confine life within formal limits, to observe the fixed boundaries of form or logic. Here we find an author depicting for us the minute progress of a snail over a garden bed, one piece of life being as good as another. Or it is the unspeakable Milly Bloom floating resistless on the stream of her thoughts through an unfinished sentence of some 25,000 words. Mr. Huxley, in the opening chapter of *Antic Hay*, merely follows the bent of the time in allowing Mr. Gambrinus in his chapel pew to yield to the current of his amusingly disconnected reflections. The word that most often recurs to the reader of such pages is the word 'surrender': surrender to the world outside, in which the author becomes minutely objective and entirely subdued by the isolated event or appearance, or surrender to the consciousness within, in which the unrestrained progress of images, thoughts and sensations has almost the quality of hallucination. In either case there is no

effort to limit or define the material in accordance with pr
ceived models and forms, with accepted standards or prejuc
with a professed doctrine or philosophy. Each moment
object belongs to itself, is justified of itself, and has no nece
part in a general plan. The conscience of the artist is sati
if he is faithful in detail, if his object or moment is renc
vividly and exactly, if his sentences float on the stream o
consciousness like an eggshell responding to every drift and e
The fact from which we started, namely, that ugliness and
exist in this literature for their own sake, unrelated to any æst
or ethical purpose of the writer, is only one aspect of the ge
fidelity to detail, irrespective of general consequences, whi
the peculiar quality of modern work.

But you will ask: Can this be art? Is it not a negatio
only of art but of human reason and human will? What bec
of the divine discourse looking before and after in this hel
surrender to things as they are?

Deny it the name and quality of art just as you please.
it is undoubtedly an expression of the age, and just as cert
it is a sign of life and of hope for the art of the future. An ess
condition for the production of art is that the artist shou
sensitive to the life of his time, free to receive its impre
intensely aware of the world and of his fellows. Art is
utterly and irremediably dead when its professors are boun
the classical tradition; and when, obedient to canons de
from the study of their predecessors, they live fastidiously
in a levitical seclusion. Better to depict with fidelity the
in a neglected area of Pimlico than to sit in a well-appointed li
inditing impeccable odes in the manner of Dryden or experi
ing with the Swinburnian anapæst. Hope for the near f
of our literature lies precisely in the fact that the more sen
spirits of the day were never more passionately aware o
diversity of life, its evil with its good, the ugliness with the be
So intimately are they engaged with this diversity that any
of formal canon or mental inhibition seems a treason to
prevailing moment of their inspiration. This is true in
abstract realm of music as in literature. Stravinsky, begi
as a writer of music according to a programme, has reache
point when he cannot endure any check upon his freedom, e
in form or substance. His combinations at each parti
instant are designed for their particular end without refe
to any literary content or harmonic scheme. It is exactly
wilful surrender to the moment which distinguishes all the you
art from the art hitherto described as modern. There is a
plete break, for example, between the later Scriabin and the
Stravinsky, the method and inspiration of Stravinsky beir

entire negation of everything which his predecessor attempted or achieved. Scriabin planned vast philosophies and worked according to a musical system mathematical in its logic and precision. Stravinsky in his later chamber music has no philosophy and no musical method. He produces a succession of combinations which you must follow, if you can, as you follow any other modern Ulysses. The moment exists for itself, and it is useless seeking to place it in a system.

The almost mystical devotion of the modern artist to detail, corresponding with the increasingly analytical movement in science and the breakdown of all the established syntheses in religion and philosophy, appears at first sight like a counsel of despair, a purely negative recoil from the confident doctrines of the assertive evolutionists of the previous generation. But is the movement so entirely negative as it seems? Is it essentially pessimist? Certainly it is destructive in appearance, but even the imperturbable old Persian recognised that it was necessary to break the sorry scheme of things entire if it should ever become necessary to mould it nearer to the heart's desire. The modern artist, feeling instinctively that modern life has been knocked into fragments, that the religious, moral, intellectual and æsthetic ideas on which the art and polity of the nineteenth century were based are, in their pre-war forms, stunned or shattered, finds himself unconsciously driven to play with the pieces. Unable to contemplate an ordered and lovely system, he finds his compensation in an abnormal sensitiveness to its momentary and detached manifestations. And he yields to this impulse with an engaging confidence, with the optimism of a child, which takes each sensation and discovery as it presents itself, without favour or fear, absorbed in the interest of disparate phenomena, delighted with individual things. The new art is almost a return to that state of innocence which knew neither good nor evil, neither honour nor shame. The filth on the page is as innocent as the prettiness. There is in both a schoolboy quality which is young and vital and full of promise. This modern art has undoubted faith—a blind and wholly unsystematic faith in the moment and the object.

Let it be granted that in such conditions great art is impossible. But let us be equally sure that the art we have is alive and that it is the necessary preliminary to a synthesis that cannot long be delayed. The conditions for a renaissance are, in fact, more favourable to-day than they were before the catastrophe of 1914. Twenty years ago art was in that peculiar state of decadence which reveals itself in excessive devotion to forms and systems, in the belief that one can achieve vital art by simply substituting new conventions for old ones. The musical programmes, art catalogues, and prefaces of those days bristled with manifestoes.

People discussed not so much the works of art that were offered for their delight as the theory or fashion according to which they were produced—cubism, futurism, the whole-tone scale. The new movement is almost innocent of this dreary academism. It is running to the opposite extreme, allowing form to be dictated by substance rather than forcing substance into the limits of form. This is the more healthy condition. The human imagination abhors a chaos, and the new forms will be found which are necessary to its vital needs. The important thing is that the younger artists are facing life in all its complexity undismayed and with eyes alert for all its aspects, giving to each element an independent standing and value, almost indifferently recording its good and evil, equally sensitive to all its aspects. The spirit of the enterprise is one of confident adventure and a kind of primitive glee:

> My men like satyrs grazing on the lawns
> Shall with their goat feet dance the antic hay.

Art is trying to begin again, and the results cannot be fully known for at least another generation.

JOHN PALMER.

AMONG THE DEAD

DURING the troubled war years many people, not of the pronouncedly criminal class, found their way into prison, and the results of their observation and experience have helped to throw light on a dark corner of our social life. As I had experience of three prisons, I make no apology for the plain, unvarnished story here presented, but hope that what I have to say may be of use to the social investigator as well as to those who have merely a natural interest in human affairs.

On passing through the iron gates of a prison for the first time I was taken to the reception room, stripped and examined for identification marks. My clothes were put in one bag, my small property in another, then, with a sheet wrapped round me Bedouin Arab fashion, I went to the bath. In a surprisingly short time after going in at one door I was stepping out of another, dressed in the broad-arrowed suit of a convict. The grim massive gate and high walls of the prison conspire to produce a sinking feeling, but it is not, I think, until the prisoner exchanges his own clothes for the drab prison suit that he really feels among the lost.

After coming from the bath, twenty or thirty of us sat on wooden forms, in our ill-assorted clothes, waiting for medical inspection. It was a raw November night, and we sat and shivered in the draughty hall, partly dressed—for the warder instructed us to leave buttons undone to make the doctor's task a speedier one. Here we waited for two hours till we were completely chilled, then, after a perfunctory examination, we were sent to our ice-cold cells. As additional punishment this may be explained, but every man's health would have benefited by missing that examination.

The dim arched passages of the prison had a sombre beauty as of a mediæval cloister, in sharp contrast to the ugliness of the tiers of cells in the prison halls, which looked like rows of iron-bound dovecotes. I passed along these gloomy galleries with a warder jangling keys at my side. He stopped, and there was a harsh grating in the lock of an ironclad door as it swung open.

'Get in!' he commanded gruffly.

I got in, and then I made out the shadowy form of a fellow unfortunate sleeping on his plank bed on the floor of the cell.

I could just distinguish his outline by a wan streak of light that wavered through the small barred window.

'Come out!' the warder ordered, noticing that the cell was occupied We went on till we discovered an empty cell. Then I bumped the bedboard down and followed the unknown's example.

After the first day I knew the life of the prison, for in prison every day is just like the one that comes before and that will come after. The prison wakes to a new day with a series of thuds and rattles—there is the sound of opening cell doors as the warder comes along to see if the prisoners are still alive, followed by a convict 'cleaner' with a can of water, who fills up each prisoner's tin, which is put outside the cell door ready for him. The next point of interest is breakfast—a pint of coarse oatmeal and a small roll of hard brown bread. Work follows, then dinner, which has a little more variety. The third and last meal, in the evening, consists of bread and oatmeal, as in the morning, except that after a few weeks a convict receives cocoa instead of porridge for the evening meal.

Work—sewing mailbags, picking fibre, and so on—is done in the cell, the available space of which is often still further reduced by the presence of a treadle sewing machine. Exercise—three-quarters of an hour—is taken round and round the prison ring, with prisoners walking in single file, about five paces apart, one behind the other The 'silence rule'—always in force in prison—is strictly maintained. After a month or six weeks a man may work in 'association,' that is, he may be taken to a workshop, or a shed, and there sit on a stool in a row of convicts, either sewing mailbags or working a machine, with a warder on a raised platform, always on the watch to see that there is no talking. During my first sentence, of 112 days, I had none of this working in 'association' Instead, for the latter half of my sentence I was allowed to work with my cell door ajar. The conditions of 'association' were, however, so degrading—the warder watching like a cat watching a mouse, each man searched before he goes back to his cell to see if he has stolen anything—that I preferred to work alone rather than to have this mockery of 'association.'

One of the greatest boons to the prisoner who reads is the prison library. During the most rigorous part of the sentence—the first few weeks, before the prisoner has qualified by good conduct and industry for his monthly letter and visit, which help to break the monotony—he gets but little consolation from reading. For the first month I had an elementary school history and an equally elementary arithmetic, and after the first month the librarian changed the history primer for a book on electric bells, in which I had not the slightest interest, though in conditions of

solitary confinement I read these over and over again. Later when I became entitled to fiction I seized on it eagerly. I well remember reading my first novel in prison after about two months' imprisonment. It gave me the same sensation as I experienced on eating my first good meal after returning from a famine area. I thought it was a masterpiece, though I believe now it was a very mediocre book. But it spoke to me in the only human tones I had heard within those walls, and made my barred window, my bedboard, stool, the four walls of my cell, with all their narrow irksome monotony, fade into oblivion, while I enjoyed the pleasure of an imaginative excursion. Yet many convicts have not this consolation. In 1913, incredible as it may sound, 18,000 prisoners, or 13 per cent. of the total committals, could not read or write, while the bulk of the prisoners fall into the category of those who 'can read or write with difficulty or with moderate proficiency.' The illiterate proportion is certainly high after fifty years of elementary education, but it has decreased rapidly as compared with earlier years, though the semi-illiterate figure has, curiously enough, increased.

When I worked as a 'cleaner' on the prison corridor I noticed a convict who every time his cell door was opened stood in the centre gazing out moodily. He looked so wretched that I tried to cheer him by asking about his books.

'I don't know what they are. They're over in the corner. I haven't looked at them,' he said dully.

I could not pursue inquiries, but it was obvious that the man was practically illiterate, and so his imprisonment was infinitely more tedious than mine. Yet this man was liable to be punished for looking out of his barred cell window.

A large demand is always made on the prison library for illustrated magazines, the pictures of which can be enjoyed by all, and the few bound volumes of such periodicals are never sufficient.

Some convicts become accomplished literary critics, and by dint of long sentences and much reading are able to weigh and compare books they have read. A little Cockney convict discoursed on *Monte Christo* in this way:

'Yus, it was served out to me in clink. And I read it right through to the end—every bloomin' word. I remember where that bloke cuts his way with a piece of scrap iron through miles and miles of solid rock. It took 'im years an' years to do it, but 'e done it at last. I knew it was all lies when I read it, but it's one of them books you 'as to keep on readin' just to see what's going to 'appen next.' What more praise could an author desire!

Prison is always wrapped in gloom. Ugliness and surliness

are its keynotes. A warder is liable to be fined if he talks to the prisoners more than is necessary. The 'silence rule' presses hardly. From the moment a man enters he is not supposed to speak at all except in answer to a warder. This 'silence rule' is not kept; it is not humanly possible. Instead, all kinds of trickery and deceit are fostered by prisoners attempting to evade it. Men become experts at speaking without moving their lips; at watching the warder in charge out of the corners of their eyes and at manipulating their handkerchiefs to conceal their mouths. Furtive whispering, spying and artfulness help to degrade the individual and lessen that self-respect which should be a bulwark against crime. Sir Gilbert Murray has told the story of how one political prisoner went to the prison governor and explained that he was unable to keep the 'silence rule,' and, as he did not wish to behave in an underhand way, he requested to be moved to a cell quite apart from the others. Such a man need have little fear of the effect of disobeying the 'silence rule' upon his moral character, but for most of the prisoners this continual temptation to deception is decidedly harmful.

This 'silence rule' is pushed to extravagant lengths. At church the chaplain informed us that, though he did not want to interfere with our devotions, we were always to leave our faces uncovered, so that the warders, perched in high seats at the end of every two or three rows, could see if we were talking. I have seen one man, who disregarded this, jerked violently up by his coat collar because he buried his face in his hands. All this does not tend to give the prisoners much idea of the reality of Divine service.

Drearier even than 'association' is the prison exercise. To plod round and round the ring like a string of camels condemned to perpetual wandering in the desert makes it an inexpressible relief to get back to the cell.

One morning a warder objected to a prisoner taking off his cap as he tramped round. The prisoner walked on without heeding him.

'Come here!' shouted the warder.

The offender stepped out of the ring and came straight up to him.

'Who do you think you are?' snarled the official.

'A man!' replied the prisoner.

The assertion of manhood in such a place came to all of us, even the warder I think, with the shock of novelty.

I remember one day seeing the burly, handsome figure of the late Mr. E. D. Morel. He was on remand for a trivial war offence and was wearing his own clothes—a light-grey suit. He was in the midst of a collection of unfortunate, tattered, wild-eyed

beggars and vagrants who were shuffling round the ring in fluttering rags.

But even in prison the dandy spirit is in evidence. Officially no shaving is permitted, an occasional use of clippers being the only recognised method of removing the rapidly growing beards of the men. Some have always a fringe of untidy bristles on their chins. Yet on Sunday mornings I saw men, with hair well greased and chins well shaved, stepping blithely round the ring. The bacon fat of a dinner ration is saved and used for hair oil; but shaving presents greater difficulties. The prisoner who wants to cut a dash is obliged to sharpen and resharpen his tin dinner knife on the stone window-sill until it is keen-edged like a razor, and with this, his washing soap and cold water, he manages to shave. I have often seen them at work, with a hand thrust through the narrow aperture of the cell window trying to put an edge on their knives. This passion for smartness should be encouraged rather than repressed.

The cell always receives careful attention. Everything there must be polished, scrubbed, cleaned, and placed to the fraction of an inch. Warders go round with chalk, marking where each article should be, and the luckless convict who has his blankets hanging over his bedboard two or three inches below the required position hears all about it. The demand for specklessness is so great that convicts often keep one or two mail sacks on the floor of their cells and sit with their boots off, hopping across from one sack to the other, when it is absolutely necessary that they should cross their cells. But their greatest desire is to sit motionless. Kipling's lines in *For to Admire*:

> But sat in Clink without my boots,
> Admirin' 'ow the world was made.

have ever since held a deep meaning for me. A warder recommended this method as a way of keeping the cell floor white and spotless. But this means that space in the small cells is still more limited, for the convicts are unable to move about.

I met all kinds of men in prison, and sometimes, under difficulties, heard their stories. One was a ship stoker, and, though he rarely worked outside prison, he was happy and hard-working as a stoker inside. He had become a 'red-band' man, one of those privileged prisoners who are allowed to go to and from their work without a warder escorting them. He had been surprised while committing a burglary. Dashing out of the window, he raced along the roofs of the adjoining houses; then, breaking a window with his fist, he tried to scramble in and escape. But in the confusion he cut his hand badly and the bloodstains led to his capture.

'And the Sunday papers had on their placards,' he said proudly, '"Tracked by His Blood."' He took a queer, twisted pride in this.

Bitter complaints about the police are common—and perhaps natural enough. Time and again I listened to heated indignant accounts of police blackmail, and how then the police went back on their bargain. One little man, white with exasperation, said:

'They take liberties wiv us, that's what they does. A policeman walks into one of the public-houses we uses and says, "You never thinks of us when you're all right"; then you 'as to buy him beer and give him money or else he'll run you, whether you've done anything or not. We 'as to keep them as well as ourselves!'

This was the general burden of their tale. One asked if I remembered the 'Treacle Plaster Case.' It was about a man coming from a bank with a bag of money when he suddenly had a treacle plaster smacked over his face. He dropped the bag, and when he removed the plaster the bag had vanished. A man was arrested and found guilty of the theft, so I was informed, simply because he paid his landlady in new half-crowns—and half-crowns had been stolen. The narrator swore that he had been with the supposed thief in a public-house at the time of the theft.

One convict, who claimed to be a leader in the 'profession,' viewed his fellow prisoners with disgust.

'Not many leading men come to this prison,' he remarked, 'I'll watch I don't come here again.'

'Best game for a crooked man is pocket-picking,' he went on confidentially. 'You get the money and have no fences to pay; no one to share with. Many a time,' he continued, 'I have been outside the World's Fair till a detective tipped me the wink that all was clear!'

He told me a fantastic story of the break up of a criminal gang because some refused to work with the police and complained in court of blackmail. The two sections of the gang were, he said, at deadly enmity now. I record all this as a true account of the confidential talk of the criminal underworld.

The happiest prisoner I ever met was an old man with an iron-grey beard and grey hair, ruddy face, and smiling eyes. He was 'in' for contempt of court in connection with the payment of rates on a shop where his daughter and son-in-law lived. Every time the rates were due he came in and always occupied the same cell. He was familiar with prison routine and helped to serve the meals and do odd jobs. The warders found him very useful, and when his time was up he said good-bye to all. Every quarter day his cell was made ready for him. In that prison, too, was Tchicherin,

a dark-eyed, sad-faced man, now Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs.

A bigamist boasted that his offence was better than stealing, though I could not help thinking that it would be interesting to have his wives' opinions; a jocular thief described himself as 'honorary treasurer to the rich.' But one of the most peculiar cases I met with was that of a quartermaster of a particular regiment, who was in the charge of a warder who had served as a private under him in the Army.

'Use ter 'ave ter call 'im "sir,"' said the little red-faced warder, jerking his thumb in the direction of the prisoner admiringly. 'Smart man, he is. Him and two more got away with over 1000*l*. D'ye blame 'im? If he didn't, some other blighter would!'

A strangely tolerant attitude, I thought, on the part of a guardian of the law.

A pitiable sight was that of the old vagrants. Some of these poor old men should have been in hospital rather than in prison. One I saw on the morning of his discharge, looking so frail that his bones seemed to be coming through his skin. He was being turned adrift on the world again. What sort of future was possible for him?

On the whole the convicts struck me as physically, mentally, and morally weak and incapable, quite unable to hold their own honestly in a hard, competitive world, so they came back to prison again and again. Many had little or no self-control and quarrelled violently if they got the chance.

Interesting inscriptions were sometimes written on the cell walls. A love poem in Italian moved one convict to derision when it was explained to him, because, he said, the girl would never see it. To him it was a case of love's labour lost. But I preferred this to the usual '*Bill Hawkins. Hoxton.* 1905.' Someone wrote on a cell door '*Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage.*' Under this was written, '*But it's a damned fine imitation!*' A study in point of view!

There are times when one wants to write, and then the walls and the ordinary prison slate are not enough. I endeavoured to solve the problem by means of a needle, laboriously pricking letters and words which could be read on holding the paper up to the light. But in one of the periodical cell searches my poor substitutes for writing were discovered and confiscated. To make solitary confinement more tolerable I petitioned for the use of writing materials, but these were refused. In this respect our prison system has taken a retrograde step. Many books have been written in prison without which the world would be poorer. Sir Walter Raleigh, John Bunyan, and Oscar Wilde

come immediately to mind as writing in English prisons, while Marco Polo in Venice, Silvio Pellico in an Austrian dungeon, Kropotkin in a French gaol, have been among the host who have enriched world literature by their prison writings. To deprive prisoners of the opportunity of using pen and ink does not seem to be an action of a specially regenerative character.

Any prisoner who went on hunger strike was immediately moved into the dungeons—dirty, dark, half-underground cells, well calculated to induce depression and increase mental torture. I spent close on a fortnight there, and during my stay was given a little book about insects to read. Among the grime and filth I could study many specimens from real life. The cells above, that are generally in use, are almost too well cleaned, but these gave the prisoner the impression that he had been thrust among the lumber to die. It was an eerie experience to hear in that dungeon the roll-call of hunger strikers taken each morning, the voices answering from different cells, but growing weaker every day. Stranger still was the desire for weakness that possessed the men of the depths, for when they felt stronger they despaired. Their weakening hold on life was all they had to fight with.

Forcible feeding, with its assault on personality—the white-smocked doctor, his uniformed assistants, his paraphernalia of rubber tube, gag and funnel, all mobilised to defeat the will of the prisoner—is a horrible business. I do not think there are many prisoners who have entered on a hunger strike who would not prefer to starve to death rather than be compelled to submit to this mauling, especially as after the first two days the ravenous desire for food vanishes.

Warders have a habit of sliding along the corridors in carpet slippers and pushing back the metal cover of the glass spy-hole in the cell door. Never once is the prisoner assured of privacy; the only indication he has that he is being watched is when a faint click is heard and he sees an eye peering in at him. No prisoners except 'red-band' men are allowed out of their cells unless a warder is with them.

The prison system places the power of petty persecution in the hands of the prison warder, whose word is invariably taken against that of a convict. I have seen warders scrupulously fair, even when prisoners were troublesome, but there are exceptions. In one flagrant case of bullying, the prison governor reprimanded the warder concerned, but I could not help thinking that if instead of the men being political prisoners they had been ordinary convicts, there would have been little chance of redress. Prison conditions apparently make for surliness. Almost every day quarrels between warders occurred over the pettiest trifles—pails, brushes, etc. The man on one landing would lean over

the rail and fiercely abuse the man on another. Prison succeeds in curdling the milk of human kindness.

Visiting Justices should realise their responsibility. Often they merely act in support of prison authorities instead of investigating complaints. 'Have you seen the Prison Governor?' may be asked, if intervention is desired. If the prisoner says 'No,' the Visiting Justice replies, 'Ah, you should see the Governor!' If the luckless prisoner says 'Yes,' then the reply is, 'Oh, well; if he won't do anything, I can't!' Either way the prisoner does not seem any better off for the Visiting Justice's presence. I remember one whose answer to a complaint that the prison regulations had not been properly carried out was, 'Well, you don't seem any the worse for it!' When inspectors act in this spirit they make their whole position farcical, with a hint of possible tragedy.

At first, like most prisoners, I could not eat the hard, dry bread supplied, and the convict 'cleaners' feasted on what I left. But soon I became as ravenous as the rest. Prisoners are always hungry, although the diet is scientifically worked out to give just as much food as health requires. For all that, I have seen men fighting fiercely in corridor recesses over scraps of stale bread.

Because of the meagre food ration it is doubly important that convicts should get the food to which they are officially entitled, and, after working for a year in a prison kitchen, I realise that often this is not the case. Prison officials like to run the kitchen economically and, I suppose, are tempted to make insufficient allowance for bad food and wastage. In any case, the prisoner has frequently to go short. Remand prisoners, who do not know to what they are entitled, suffer most. Often dinners are short, and the required number has to be made up by taking a bit off the rest. Bad potatoes are often shared out equally with the good. Once when a complaint was made about the quality of the potatoes, the good potatoes were all served out to the 'drab men,' *i.e.* regular convicts, and the 'remand men' (who wear their own clothes) had even more bad ones than usual. If a man persistently complains about his food, though he may be punished for making 'frivolous and vexatious' complaints, it is usually better for him, for his dinner tin is marked and he gets good weight and quality. I have dwelt on this at some length, because in prison 'meals and mailbags' make up practically the whole of life, and, as the convicts are never too well fed, it seems incredibly mean to deprive them of their regulation ration.

Every Wednesday morning, as well as Sunday, we went to the prison chapel, and I remember vividly the wonderful sermon which the chaplain preached one day on the unity, continuity, and divinity of life. It was all about men who had no room to

sprawl out their lives, and so shot upward. I was thinking this over in my cell when a warder came in and told me I was wanted for the ' coal gang ' The morning was wet and cold and the yard muddy. We loaded up coal from a heap, in sacks, and staggered across two yards with these on our backs. Sometimes I had a spell on the shovel and sometimes on the sacks. It was a sickening sensation to feel the sack slipping down as I went forward and to be unable to hoist it up again. The greasy stone steps leading to the stokehole were a danger point, for I arrived exhausted, and it was hard to prevent myself slipping down head first, sack and all. But we spread ashes on the steps to give our feet a grip and went on for two or three hours. Then, tired out, we shambled back to our cells in clumsy, ill-fitting shoes, wet and dirty, with aching backs. When I reached my cell I did not think any more about the unity, continuity, and divinity of life, nor about the dignity of labour either. There were lots of beautiful thoughts I did not think. But I understood the lives of those who toil for longer hours than I did, at hard, physical work, and dwell in intellectual darkness, as well as the attitude of mind so superior to them.

The following day I noticed a handcart fastened with a chain and a padlock standing close to the coal heap. We could have used this, the warder said, if the key had been available. But it was not, so we went on carrying the sacks of coal on our backs. Then I began to ask : ' Why ? What sense was there in stumbling across two yards under these burdens when a truck stood idle ? ' The warder, a good man, known for some obscure reason as ' Cow Face,' saw my dissatisfaction, while the other prisoners hesitated.

' C2, 24 ! What is it ? Ain't you satisfied with the job ? ' he snapped

' No, I'm not, and I don't intend to do it ! '

' All right ! Go back to your cell ! We'll soon see about that ! '

His tone was threatening, but I went back.

All the morning I watched my companions staggering across the yard. Then I read a book—*Emerson's Essays*. And I knew again the satisfaction of those who think lofty thoughts while others sweat and strain.

I was not punished or told to go on that job again. And I learned what I should like to have known some years earlier—that if a man refuses to do brutalising work and is prepared to pay the price he will escape it, and no power on earth can compel him to do it. Later, when I explained to a warder that in connection with prison the word ' task ' had been expunged from my dictionary, he replied, ' All right ; but don't tell the others ! '

The knowledge I gained here would have been valuable earlier, because in the world—that is, the world of the factory

workers—I had been chained, so I thought, to such work. And I here record the conviction, after trying both, that, as compared with working in a factory under modern routine conditions, prison is much to be preferred. I know that most people who have never been in either will profoundly disagree, but that is quite immaterial.

Accommodation in prison is much superior to many working-class dwellings, decidedly so to the one and two-roomed shacks of the Durham miners, or to the London slums. General conditions of cleanliness compare favourably Baths are taken regularly, with no scrambling or waiting for hours at public baths on Saturday afternoons, as is the case often when workmen go to them in their scant leisure time. Clean clothes are provided, and the food, though simple, coarse, and apparently insufficient, is regular.

Opportunity exists for reading and thought; there is space and leisure. No one has any anxiety to make ends meet. There is no fear of the 'sack'—that ever-present dread of the worker's life. On the whole, there is no driving, and though there were unpleasant jobs, as the coal job, these last only a few hours. Nobody watches with hostile eyes to see that you do not straighten your back. Relaxation and mental stock-taking are possible in prison. Personally, I read books I had dreamed of reading all my life: I laid the foundation of an education there. Compare this with crowded lodgings, shared with strangers, where you cannot read, write, or even stay, in comfort. Prison is decidedly better.

An objective test can also be applied. You do not see the convicts lurching along like tired, hopeless beasts after their day's work, which is often the case with honest working men in our big cities.

Modern civilisation will have to invent worse prisons or devise better social conditions if it wants to terrify its helots into honesty. The high walls frighten them now, but if a notice were put up 'Limited Accommodation Only,' perhaps the high walls would be needed to keep them out! Really there seems no point in people sweating away their strength, in being over-worked and under-fed, and living in misery outside. If only to build up their constitutions, many would be well advised to try a spell in prison. Of course it would be harsh, gloomy, uncomfortable—but their lives are all that now.

Everything comes to an end, and my sentence did so. I went to see the chaplain, and he asked me, 'What are you?'

'A driller by profession; a writer by inclination,' I answered.

'A queer combination!' he remarked, lifting his eyebrows. He was a round-faced, good-humoured, Pickwickian little man.

'Not at all,' I ventured. 'Most of the men who write any-

thing worth reading have worked for their living and have had a varied experience of life.'

I was taken to the reception cells near the prison gate and exchanged the broad-arrow suit for my own clothes.

In an adjoining cell was an old Irish labourer, also being released. He told his troubles. He had no home, and his sole belongings consisted of a bundle left in a 'corfee shop' some months before, which he was doubtful of recovering.

'Time was, if you did six munfs,' he said aggrievedly, 'you'd a got ten bob to go out wiv. But the chaplain says we'd booze it away and be back again the same night. The bloomin' place ain't worf comin' to now!'

A key grated in the lock and stopped his talk. One by one we were let out and saw the others. Kelly, the Irish labourer, was easily recognised. His clothes were caked with mud, just as they had been on the day he was arrested, possibly in a drunken brawl. And he was starting life afresh without even a brush-down.

'Kelly,' said the warder. The labourer stepped out smartly with the air of an old soldier.

'You're wanted in the Chief Warder's office.'

In a few minutes Kelly reappeared.

'The old man gave me ten shillings,' he whispered hoarsely: his face wrinkled with smiling satisfaction.

The great, heavy door of the prison swung open. One by one we stepped over the threshold out into the sunlight—free men.

And after all my careful balancings I found that I preferred the responsibilities and dangers of freedom to the security of servitude!

R. M. Fox.

P.T.O.

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

No. DLXXXIII—September 1925

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

A writer in the *Journal* of the Royal Statistical Society recently observed that 'It has long been a matter for comment for the judicious that the British taxpayer is wholly unaware how vast a literature, interesting as well as instructive, is published by H.M. Stationery Office.' It is the object of this article to trace the causes of that ignorance.

The output of Government publications arose in a small way out of the need which the two Houses of Parliament felt to print their daily agenda and a daily record of their proceedings. The printing was for their own use and not for the public, but as long ago as 1690 there was some sale of these papers to the general public. Up to 1835, however, the sale was of an irregular character. Members of Parliament were allowed a gratuitous supply both for themselves and their constituents. Those who were not able to enlist the help of an M.P. bought copies from

the officials of the two Houses, and the profit derived from the sale was a recognised perquisite. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, the output of Parliamentary Papers was comparatively small, and involved a cost of only about 8000*l.* a year. There was an immense increase after the Union with Ireland, and in 1834 the cost had risen to 78,081*l.*

The publication of these papers was the subject of an intricate series of patents, whereby private individuals were granted a monopoly of printing and selling for a period generally of forty years, which was renewed from time to time. A similar system applied to the provision of stationery and other supplies to Government Departments.

His Majesty's Stationery Office was established in 1786 with the object of putting an end to these arrangements which had become costly, intricate, and often corrupt. Originally the office was concerned mainly with the placing of contracts for the supply of stationery to Government Departments, and it was able to enlarge its activities as the existing patents fell in. In 1786 it served eleven offices at a cost of 17,000*l.* In 1797 patents for four more offices expired, and the expenditure of the Stationery Office rose to 24,000*l.* In 1800 a patent originally granted to Jacob Tonson for five offices fell in, and by 1812 the Stationery Office was expending 160,000*l.* a year. Early in the nineteenth century the office assumed the task of putting out contracts for Government printing, and the success of John Church, the Controller, in this direction received the warm praise of a Parliamentary Committee. The process, however, was very gradual, and it is only in comparatively recent times that the Stationery Office has acquired a practical monopoly of orders for Government printing. Even then it was neither a printer nor a bookseller. It printed through private contractors and sold through accredited agents. It did not assume these two duties itself till the twentieth century. About 1913 it opened its own shops for the sale of Government publications, and as a direct result of the war it opened its own printing works. The need of printing documents arising out of Food Control involved the purchase of a vast printing establishment at Harrow, and when that need terminated the place was converted into a Government printing establishment which tenders for Government printing in competition with private printers. It does perhaps a third of the total Government printing, and its activities, and even its continued existence, are at present the subject of inquiry by a Departmental Committee which has been sitting for many months.

The foundation of the Stationery Office has been ascribed to the activities of Edmund Burke. Burke was the Geddes of 1780, and in that year, in a speech of great eloquence, he introduced his

plan for economical reform, which he embodied in Parliamentary Bills. He was then in opposition, and his bills were defeated in 1780 and again in 1781. In a striking passage he explained how the path of economy had been stopped by the fact that the King's turnspit was a member of Parliament. In 1782 he came into office, and the mangled remains of his great scheme were embodied in two Acts of Parliament (22 Geo. 3, cap. 82 and 23 Geo. 3, cap. 82). Vested interests had, however, defeated the abolition of the majority of the abuses against which he inveighed.

There are, however, some painful indications that Burke in suppressing one sinecure had managed to create another, and in the nineteenth century it became the practice to confer the office of Controller of the Stationery Office on persons distinguished rather for their literary abilities than for their technical knowledge. J. R. McCulloch, who was appointed in 1838, was a voluminous writer on social and economic subjects, and we are informed that his appointment to the Stationery Office 'hardly abated the energy with which he pursued his favourite studies.' His successor, William Rathbone Greg, was an equally well-known literary man, and held office from 1864 to 1877. He suffered much as a witness before a Select Committee of 1874. They commenced their inquiry by impertinent questions as to the time devoted to the duties of his office. He replied sometimes one hour a day and sometimes seven, and contrived to leave the impression that the former period was the more normal. He was generally wise enough not to answer questions, but he was compelled to make a conjecture as to the value of the stock in his department, and the Committee were aghast to find that he could not get within about 50,000*l.* of the correct total. Greg took his heckling with the composure of a philosopher, and did not interrupt the composition of his celebrated treatise, entitled *Rocks Ahead, or the Warnings of Cassandra.* The Committee not unexpectedly recommended that on a vacancy a person with technical qualifications for the post should be appointed, and thereby brought Lord Beaconsfield into serious trouble. He appointed T. Digby Pigott, who held the appointment almost till the end of the nineteenth century. He was a clerk in the War Office and a recognised expert on ornithology. His technical qualifications were not apparent, and the malicious asserted that he was appointed because he was the son of a rector of Hughenden, who had greatly contributed to Disraeli's success at certain parliamentary elections. Lord Beaconsfield's defence of the appointment in the House of Lords on July 19, 1877, was one of his happiest efforts. It was true that Mr. Pigott was the son of a rector of Hughenden, but he left the parish soon after Disraeli arrived. His only contribution to Disraeli's election consisted of a vote against him. As for the

demand that a person of technical experience should be appointed, he had found that the emoluments of the office were such that his choice was confined to those who had retired from business or those from whom business had retired. The Opposition realised that they had discovered a mare's nest and hastily retreated.

The vast increase in the output of parliamentary literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century was productive of an equivalent crop of abuses. Apparently any member of either House could get almost anything printed for the asking, and controversial pamphlets received gratuitous circulation by assuming the garb of parliamentary petitions. No less than 15,258 separate Parliamentary Papers were issued between 1801 and 1834. A return occupying 1331 pages and containing nothing but the names of school teachers was published at a cost of 4016*l.* Another return of 938 pages costing 1591*l.* was filled with the names and characters of West Indian slaves. Every member was entitled on election to receive as of right 120 volumes of the *Journals* of both Houses of Parliament, a system from which the waste-paper merchants reaped a large harvest. Though Parliamentary Papers were confined to M.P.'s and constituents who obtained them through M.P.'s, the number of papers distributed at the public expense numbered 973,053. In spite of this lavish distribution, the cellars of Parliament were groaning under a vast stock of unwanted literature amounting to 2,200,000 printed papers.

These facts aroused the attention of Parliament, and a series of Committees was appointed to deal with different aspects of the question. The most valuable was the Select Committee of 1835, over which that ex-Indian nabob and sturdy Radical Joseph Hume presided. It was said of him that he spoke longer and oftener and probably worse than any other private member. Most Parliaments have had a member of whom this can be said, and a monograph on parliamentary bores would afford a most interesting political study. On the whole it may be said that more is effected in Parliament by persistent boring than by sustained eloquence, and the parliamentary bore is generally one of the most valuable though the least honoured of members. Joseph Hume was no exception. His energy was inexhaustible, his pertinacity unequalled. He served on nearly all the Committees, and insisted on getting to the bottom of every question. His three reports on parliamentary publications are most valuable State papers, and laid down the lines which were followed for very many years. The conclusions of the reports were formulated in sixteen resolutions which were passed by the House of Commons on August 13, 1835, by forty votes to twenty-two, in spite of an attempt by the Government of the day to postpone them. The

most important resolution, and the only one which it is necessary to quote, was that 'the Parliamentary Papers and reports printed for the use of the House should be rendered accessible to the public by purchase at the lowest price they can be furnished and that a sufficient number of extra copies should be provided for that purpose.'

It was well known at the time what the lowest price to the public in this resolution meant. The cost of production of a printed paper consists of the cost of typesetting, paper, and printing off. If the circulation is small, the first element constitutes a large percentage of the total cost, which becomes smaller and smaller as the number of copies printed is increased. Parliamentary publications are printed primarily for the use of Parliament, and the cost of typesetting is incurred necessarily in the business of government, however small the number of copies printed is. When the demands of Parliament and the Government have been satisfied, the cost of printing additional copies for sale to the public is very small. Hume's intention and the intention of Parliament was that the public should only pay the cost of paper and printing off for the additional copies which were sold to them, and should pay nothing for the original typesetting, which was necessary in any event. That intention was carried into effect for nearly ninety years, and the cost to the public of a Parliamentary Paper amounted to no more than a halfpenny a sheet of four pages.

The system was altered in 1921 by order of the Treasury, so far as can be discovered without parliamentary authority, and in fact in flat defiance of the resolution of 1835. The result, as was officially admitted, was to multiply the cost to the public of parliamentary publications by three. This was the official admission, but in fact there appear to be cases in which the cost was multiplied to a much greater extent. There is one Parliamentary Paper which cost 30*s.* under the new rule which would have cost only 2*s.* if the rule of 1835 had been maintained.

Though that rule held good till 1921, means were found of evading it partially by the issue of a class of papers which are known as non-parliamentary publications. Government publications are divided into two branches, firstly Parliamentary and Command Papers, of which the former are printed by order of a House of Parliament, and the latter presented to Parliament by Order of His Majesty, and secondly non-parliamentary publications (formerly called Stationery Office publications), which need not be laid before Parliament. It may be doubted whether there is any real justification for the latter class of paper. If a publication is of sufficient public importance to be published by the Government, it is of sufficient importance to be laid before

Parliament. The extended use of non-parliamentary publications means that the Stationery Office is gradually slipping into the conduct of a general publishing business, a fact which was strikingly illustrated by its recent publication of the judgments of Lord Birkenhead, a volume quite outside the proper scope of a Government Department. The number of these publications is steadily on the increase, and they greatly outnumber the parliamentary publications. In this year's estimates parliamentary publications are estimated to cost 80,000*l.*, while non-parliamentary cost 168,000*l.* To take a single month at random, in May 1925 parliamentary publications numbered 148, while non-parliamentary numbered 200. The choice of literature afforded is enormous. For 2*d.* the reader may secure a report on the wreck of the steamship *Havre*, but if he wants to know why a gas-box at Granton ironworks exploded he must pay 9*d.* For 1*s.* he can obtain the Kew report on the sources of industrial alcohol, together with critical notes on Galapages plants ; but if he wishes to know all about the climate of Glasgow (a subject on which the less said the better) he must pay 10*s.*, though he can be informed about upper air temperatures in Egypt at a cost of 3*d.* The Close Rolls of Richard II. for four years will cost 50*s.*, while a volume on the Constantine Ionides collection costs 4*s.* All this is but a small part of the output for a single month.

Non-parliamentary publications were till recently distinguished from parliamentary publications by two characteristics—first, they had not to be distributed to members of Parliament, and, secondly, they were placed on sale to the public at a cost which included the cost of typesetting and was not subject to the rule of 1835. Both these characteristics have now disappeared.

There can be no doubt that prodigious, though probably unavoidable, waste is involved in the distribution of parliamentary publications to members gratis. It is of course proper that members should be supplied gratis with the materials necessary for the proper discharge of their duties ; but that which can be obtained for nothing is seldom valued, and a member who asks for a paper can scarcely be expected to consider carefully whether his need of it is sufficient to justify the public expense involved in supplying it. The House of Commons has, however, done its best to reduce this form of extravagance. In 1906 it was so alarmed at the wasteful expenditure on printing that it set up a Select Committee to consider the matter and advise the Speaker ; and the appointment of such a Committee is now an annual event. Its report for 1925 is a paper-covered volume of 119 pages, which cost 138*l.* to produce and costs the public 4*s.* 6*d.* to buy. It contains much valuable information which could easily be compressed within the compass of ten pages, and it commits the

cardinal error of printing *verbatim* the evidence given before it. The practice has been frequently condemned. It leads to extravagant expenditure in printing, adds enormously to the cost to the public of necessary information, and renders publications unsaleable, because most persons are too busy to spend their lives hunting for a needle of necessary information in a haystack of words.

The extravagance involved in the wholesale distribution of Parliamentary Papers led to the introduction of what is known as the pink paper, on which members were invited to write down their actual requirements. Fifty-one members, however, were able to defeat this little reform by writing down that they wanted everything. Partially foiled in this direction, the Government then adopted another and more effective form of defence. Parliamentary Papers which cost the members nothing were converted wholesale into non-parliamentary papers, for which members had to pay. This gave rise to indignant protests from members. They became absolutely unable, except at great expense, to secure information which was essential to them for the proper discharge of their parliamentary duties. Every member should read and ponder the Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom. Up to 1921 he no doubt did so without cost to himself. Under the new rule he could not do so except by paying 5*l.* 12*s.* Only about 150 copies in all were sold either to members or to the general public; and the fact mav serve to explain the prevalent ignorance of trade conditions which has been so obvious in recent years.

The situation the Treasury had created had now become intolerable. The cost of printing publications represents, of course, but a small proportion of the real cost. The greater expense is involved by the fact that thousands of civil servants are engaged in preparing them. The Treasury had gone a long way towards making this great storehouse of knowledge inaccessible to the general public by placing a prohibitive price on the books sold. They were now in pursuit of the same policy trying to prevent the members of Parliament from acquiring the knowledge the furnishing of which is the very *raison d'être* of a Government publisher. Fortunately the members revolted, and on April 1, 1924, it was announced that members could secure any Government publication reasonably required for the discharge of their parliamentary duties by special application to the Controller. The decision conjures up a pleasant prospect of the cross-examination of M.P.'s by the Controller in order to ascertain whether their requirements are reasonable. As an offset it was arranged that members must requisition papers individually and not merely ask for all of them.

It would, however, be idle to suppose that these efforts have succeeded in putting the business on an economical footing. The mischief of Government publication is that the publication is ordered by a Government Department which knows nothing about the cost and carried out by the Stationery Office, who are alone acquainted with the cost involved, but whose duty it is to obey the orders of the Government Department except in the rare cases when they appeal to the Treasury against an extravagant requirement. The Department which orders printing usually has not the remotest idea what is the cost of its requirements, or how that cost might be reduced if it had the knowledge to make the reduction, and there can be no more fertile source of extravagance than a system of incurring expenditure without counting the cost. The Select Committee have for years been pressing the Stationery Office to arrange that Departments ordering printing should know the cost of their demands. The Treasury are adamant. The utmost concession they will make is that a small brochure should be printed containing useful notes on economy in printing.

The issue of useless publications which Joseph Hume tried to check still continues, and a few examples may be given. The Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland published 1000 copies of the evidence given to them *verbatim* at a cost of 3000*l*. Thirty-four copies were used, of which twelve sets went to public Departments and eleven sets were sold for 65*l*. In 1922 the Committee on Trade Boards published their report at a cost of 1483*l*. The sale of copies produced 66*l*. In 1923 the Royal Commission on Fire Brigades did slightly better. The cost of printing was 1000*l*.; the amount derived from sales was 70*l*. A Digest of Endowed Charities in London was published at a cost of 550*l*. for 1500 copies. Thirty-six copies were sold and realised 72*s*.

We have now some of the necessary materials for ascertaining why the British taxpayer is wholly unaware of the interesting and instructive literature published by the Stationery Office. It is clear that the primary answer is excessive cost.

So long ago as 1874 a Committee of the House of Commons stated that they regarded 'the issue of Acts of Parliament in a cheap form as a matter of great importance, furnishing as it would to all an opportunity of informing themselves upon the laws which they are expected to obey.' They complained that 'the new revised edition of the Statutes is issued in such a form that to possess a copy would involve an expenditure of 30*l*. or 40*l*. Such a price simply means prohibition so far as the general public is concerned, and it serves but to defeat the purposes for which the revised edition was undertaken and issued.'

What was true of the Statutes in 1874 is true of the census in

1925. It was taken in 1921 at great expense and considerable trouble to the ordinary householder. It is the foundation of all statistical knowledge on the affairs of this country, and is of great importance to many members of the general public. Every local government body, of which there are thousands in the country, should have a copy in order to obtain the knowledge on which administration is based. The printing of the census is now nearly complete. The cost of a complete copy is about 45*l.*, a price which 'simply means prohibition so far as the general public is concerned.'

What are the reasons of this excessive cost? They are numerous, and some of them so amazing that they deserve careful examination. The first reason is that which has been already mentioned, namely, the disregard of the House of Commons resolution of 1835, a disregard which involves the multiplication of the cost of publications by at least three. The second reason is advanced with some hesitation, because it is difficult for the layman to ascertain the facts. There is, however, some solid ground for the view that the cost of production is unnecessarily large. The estimate for the wages bill of the Stationery Office is 358,709*l.*, and overhead charges are undoubtedly heavy. The output of the Stationery Office reached a peak in 1919, and declined by 31 per cent. in the following three years.

During the same period the numbers of the administrative and clerical staff fell by only 13 per cent. This suggests that the Office feels a difficulty in adjusting its administrative staff to the decline in its business. It is more difficult to suggest a valid explanation of the following facts.

In 1923 the Salmon and Fresh Water Fisheries Act was passed. It is a comprehensive Act containing ninety-three sections and seventy-three pages. It is the duty of every British subject to know the law, and the cost of knowing the law on this subject was fixed by the Stationery Office at 2*s.*, a sum which is beyond the means of the average poacher. The volume so produced has no cover, and readily falls to pieces. It was not good enough for the National Association of Fishery Boards, which had a special interest in the measure. They accordingly reprinted the Act in type of the same or a slightly larger size, added a very full and comprehensive analytical index of forty-five pages, making a volume of 117 pages in all. They enclosed it in a good paper cover and sold it at 1*s.* 6*d.* a copy. They are not professional publishers, and have no special means of marketing their productions, but they were able to cover all the costs of their venture. They were able with a very limited public to produce a greatly superior article at three-quarters of the Stationery Office cost, though the Stationery Office have the whole of the United Kingdom for

their market and a monopoly in the production of Acts of Parliament.

The third reason for the excessive cost is one which applies only to parliamentary publications, and is best illustrated by the strange case of the Parliamentary Paper on the Lausanne Conference. It was a paper of such importance that the Foreign Secretary directed that it should be sent to every member of the House of Commons, and it was in fact indispensable to any serious student of foreign affairs. An edition of 2250 copies was printed at a cost of 695*l.* If a liberal allowance of 50 per cent. for overhead charges and discounts is added, the cost of production works out at 1042*l.* The proper sale price on these terms would be 9*s.* 3*d.* The actual sale price was 30*s.* The charge, of course, killed the sale. Only 219 copies were sold, while 1638 copies were distributed gratuitously—290 copies to the House of Lords, 700 to the House of Commons, and 648 for official use. There can be little doubt that an ordinary commercial publisher could have secured a handsome profit by printing a much larger edition in a much more attractive form and putting it on sale at 5*s.*, or one-sixth of the cost charged by the Stationery Office. The explanation afforded of this remarkable transaction is that the cost of a parliamentary paper to the public has no relation to the cost of the production of that paper. The cost of a particular paper depends on the paper used, the character of the type, and the presence or absence of such expensive matter as illustrations, charts, diagrams, and maps. It is also dependent on the question whether it is produced under conditions of urgency or not. When these prime factors have been ascertained the selling price can be ascertained by dividing the total by the number of copies issued.

If this basis had been adopted, the cost of the Lausanne paper would have been comparatively small. It contained no expensive matter, and its circulation for a Government publication was large. The cost was swollen to the monstrous dimensions it assumed by the fact that for the purpose of calculating the selling price the paper was assumed to include the average amount of illustrated matter, charts, diagrams, maps, and 'of everything that appears or is likely to appear in a Parliamentary Paper.' Further, this paper, with a large circulation which should have made it cheap, was assumed to have the normal circulation of a Parliamentary Paper which is small. The explanation might appear incredible if it were not quoted almost *verbatim* from the evidence of official witnesses before a Select Committee. It is difficult with due courtesy to characterise it in fitting terms. What would be the fate of a commercial publisher who calculated the selling price to the public of his cheap popular unillustrated editions by including in the cost of production a portion of the cost of his expensive

artistic books printed on expensive paper and containing costly illustrations, and who thought that the proper way of estimating the circulation of his popular edition was to strike an average which included the circulation of his limited editions of perhaps a hundred copies?

The case of the Lausanne Conference is not unique. It is in fact the system which affects all parliamentary publications, and it explains why so many of those publications are unduly expensive.

The fourth reason for excessive cost is the small circulation; and here we are in a vicious circle, since excessive cost produces small circulation, and *vice versâ*. There is much reason for thinking that Government Departments are ill-equipped for estimating the probable circulation of an edition. Instances have been given above of the publication of large editions followed by sales which were negligible. Cases also occur of the publication of small editions at a great cost, when in fact the public demand was large. A publication of the Rates Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Transport which cost 714*l.* was priced at 35*s.*, on the assumption that the edition would not exceed 500. In fact 955 copies were required; and undoubtedly the demand would have been much larger if the price had been much less, and the price was only great because it was assumed that the edition would be small.

It is, however, desirable to probe somewhat more deeply the reasons for the small circulation of State papers. One of the main reasons is the repulsive form in which they are produced. With few exceptions they are issued in paper covers or with no covers at all. This form is entirely unsuitable for papers of any permanent value, and the English have never taken kindly to paper-covered volumes. Any Government publication which is used at all frequently generally comes unstitched, and is dissolved into a collection of loose leaves and has a cover which is either torn or divorced from its volume. The volume often has no distinctive title, or else two titles which are different, or else a title so long that it cannot be carried in the memory. This obscurity appears to be due to some rule the reason for which is a secret of State. Recently, inspired by Wembley, the Stationery Office issued a little pamphlet in praise of themselves. On its cover it is entitled 'A Brief Guide to Government Publications,' a quite adequate description of the contents of the volume. The title-page is, however, quite different. There the title is 'His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1786-1925.' The present writer, who had seen the cover without the title-page and also the title-page without the cover, thought there were two publications and applied at Adastral House for both. He was duly snubbed for his pains. The result of these difficulties is that the private purchaser is confronted with some embarrassment in ordering a volume from

his private bookseller, and unless he is exceedingly precise he is likely to get something very different from what he wants. The only safe way in which to order a Government publication is by reference to the year and the symbolical letters and numbers for the particular series of publications which he wishes to buy, and this the ordinary purchaser is generally quite unable to do.

The general public when they buy a book have a very good idea what they are buying—they know the name of the author and the title of the work; and every wise bookseller knows how desirable it is to allow customers to browse in his shop and look at his wares in order that they may make a decision as to purchase. The purchaser of Government publications has no such advantage. The authors of these publications are unknown, the titles often give only the slenderest clues to their contents, and they cannot be examined in the shop of a private bookseller. There are five shops in Great Britain which are dedicated to the sale of Government publications, but the last thing which the purchaser is allowed to do in them is to browse. At Adastral House, which is the principal depôt, there is a locked show-case in which the most recent wares are displayed. Inside there is a forbidding counter, which runs right across the shop, on which a very few volumes are displayed, and this is all the public are allowed to see of this vast collection of purchasable matter. If anyone is bold enough to ask for a more ample view, he is informed that the Controller expresses his 'regret that the Department cannot offer facilities for consulting official publications.' It is only the furnishing of such facilities which can produce a considerable volume of sale to the general public.

Next the general public are confronted with the difficulty of discovering what there is on sale, and at what price. The Stationery Office issue a monthly list showing what their publications are for each month, and a yearly list showing what their publications are for the year; but these papers are seldom accessible to the casual buyer whose interest is awakened in a particular subject. The lists are often published a considerable time after the end of the period to which they relate, a most serious vice in the case of publications many of which are of purely temporary interest.

If the casual reader is baffled in this manner, it may be interesting to know what is done for the more regular student of public affairs. Up to the year 1917 a complete set of the papers of both Houses of Parliament could be purchased for an annual subscription of 20*l.* The cost has now been raised to 30*l.*, or 34*l.* 10*s.* if the parliamentary debates are included; but the increase in cost is vastly greater than appears from this statement, owing to the wholesale conversion of important State papers

from parliamentary to non-parliamentary publications. The earnest student pays half as much again and obtains vastly less. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the earnest student does not pay at all. The issue to subscribers under these conditions is negligible, and appears to be confined to a very few public libraries, some large newspapers, and a few local government bodies, such as county councils.

It may, however, be suggested that the ordinary taxpayer is unreasonable in wishing to purchase the papers for the production of which he pays so much, and that he can get all he wants by going to his public library. Joseph Hume recognised the importance of sending public papers gratis to public libraries, and in fact something was done in this direction before 1835. Up to 1914 a number of important Parliamentary Papers could be obtained by public libraries free of charge, while other papers could be obtained at reduced rates. In 1918 these facilities were drastically curtailed, and in 1923 the Treasury grant for the purpose of aiding public libraries in this way was only 250*l.* In 1924 representations were made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he agreed, while abolishing entirely the free list, to sell Government publications to public libraries at half price. Since the charge for publications is multiplied by three, the result is that a public library, by this so-called concession, gets for 30*s.* what used to cost it 1*l.*, and in return for the privilege they lose the right of getting some publications for nothing. The Library Association quote a case in which the result of the concession is that what used to cost 9*d.* costs 4*s.* 6*d.*

It is not surprising that under these conditions the earnest student is disappointed if he hopes to slake his thirst for knowledge at a public library. Public libraries are almost invariably short of funds, and they, most of them, would have to pause before an expenditure of as much as 20*l.* on the Census, or in fact on any volume. The output of Government literature is so enormous that few public libraries are able to house it, much less to bind it, a course which is almost essential in the case of volumes in a public library. It would probably be an exaggeration to say that there are as many as six public libraries in the United Kingdom which contain anything like a complete set of Government publications.

The writer desires to make it clear that in the foregoing observations he does not desire to cast any reflection on the ability and zeal with which the officials of the Stationery Office discharge their arduous and thankless duties. In fact he has seen many indications that that Office are alive to many of the evils with which this article has dealt, and many signs that they are endeavouring to improve the publication and sale of State papers.

They are, however, not masters in their own house. They are exposed to the insatiable extravagance of public Departments on the one hand and the short-sighted and ill-informed control of the Treasury on the other. They are annually harried for their good by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Publications. No commercial undertaking could hope to succeed under these conditions; and the Stationery Office probably makes the best of a difficult situation.

It is contended, however, that the existing arrangements, whoever is responsible for them, result in the printing of an enormous amount of matter at vast expense which is never read and entirely unneeded, and in defeating the very object for which our vast expenditure on Government publications is incurred by rendering those publications inaccessible to the general public.

The country is in great need of another Joseph Hume.

W. R. Barker.

WHY HAS AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION FAILED?

No sluggard was ever more persistently invited to visit the ant than the British farmer is exhorted to 'look at Denmark,' and this exhortation is invariably accompanied by the murmur of that magic word 'Co-operation.'

On the face of it such advice seems plausible enough. Anyone who has lived in an agricultural district must have noticed with an amazement akin to awe the workings of the system that permits a string of farmers' milk-carts to journey to and from the station every morning when one man and one motor lorry could have carried the milk for all of them in the same time, and it certainly seems surprising that so many farmers are content each to stand alone against the combines of corn and cattle dealers, of implement manufacturers, seed and fertiliser merchants, milk companies, butchers, pork and bacon firms, and consumers' societies, all of whom are intent upon selling to him at the highest and buying from him at the lowest prices.

The interested observer will further reflect that prior to the adoption of her co-operative system in 1880 Danish agriculture was in many respects in the same position as our own to-day. Fertile virgin lands in North and South America, India and Australia were then coming into cultivation, and improved transport facilities were bearing at ever-lessening cost this produce to Europe, where competition from other continents had never till then been experienced, while live animals and meat were also beginning to flood Europe from abroad. With the development of industry the land was hard put to it to offer remuneration to its workers that could compete with that given in the towns. Corn growing at this time in Denmark had ceased to give a profit, and agriculture, her one great industry, was bankrupt.

She met the situation courageously. In 1875 her first co-operative dairy was established, but attracted little notice until 1881, when two more were opened. These were followed by others, and by 1890 the movement that marked the basic change from individual corn growing to dairying, pig and poultry farming and egg production on co-operative lines was firmly established—

a movement that was to make Denmark the most prosperous agricultural community in the world. By co-operation her small farmers have been enabled to buy in bulk at low prices and receive fair prices for small lots; it does away with the predatory activities of rings, combines, and dealers; it keeps profit within the industry, facilitates collection and distribution, stabilises prices, saves the farmer time and worry and at the same time educates him into producing a standard article of good quality. All this in spite of the fact that her soil and climate are a little worse than ours.

The same story of success under the banner of co-operation can be read in the history of several South American fruit-growing industries, and even in Ireland, surely the least co-operatively minded of nations, Sir Horace Plunkett was able to unite the small producers under his scheme.

Why, then, has agricultural co-operation so signally failed in England, the country where, in 1867, the first agricultural co-operative society in the modern world was created? Why do the farmers not only fail to support it, but in some places actively dislike it, and why does one co-operative bacon factory after another close down almost as soon as the last of its bricks has been laid?

There seem to be two sets of causes, which for convenience may be designated as general and particular respectively, and in considering the general causes they can be most easily explained by following the advice of the farmers' critics and 'looking at Denmark.'

Denmark is a country one-sixth the size of our own where agriculture is by far the most important industry. Most of her farmers are what we would call small-holders, few farming more than 200 acres, mostly 15–50 acres, and 90 per cent. of them are freeholders. But in England we have other industries offering, at normal times, high pecuniary rewards, while our farms are large and our land better. The result has been that however hardly agricultural depression may have pressed on individuals, it has never seemed to us quite such a national catastrophe as agricultural bankruptcy appeared to the Danes in 1860. Moreover, our farms are big enough and our land good enough to allow farmers to stand alone and by hook or crook, and often by bad farming, to scrape through the bad times, where in Denmark it would have been impossible. In addition our tenancy system has enabled farmers to seek assistance from their landlords in times of stress, either by reduced rents or by actual loans. Only 13 per cent. of English farmers are freeholders, most preferring to be tenants, and it is noteworthy that both in Denmark and in Ireland co-operation gained no ground so long as agriculturists had a landlord behind them.

It is not rash, therefore, to conclude that, bad as agricultural depression has often been in England, the farmers have never had to face alone quite that dire menace of universal ruin that confronted Denmark when she took the bold step of altering the nature of her agriculture and organising it as a highly efficient business on its buying and selling side.

Secondly, Denmark is a small country producing more food than she consumes, so that the surplus must be exported. The Danish producer must use an agency for exporting food that would otherwise rot, but the English producer can always find a dealer ready to hand, who will make him an offer, certain of a near market for its disposal. The Danish problem of centralisation of produce for export is immensely more easy of solution than our own of decentralisation for internal distribution. The Danish farmer must be loyal to the agency that sells his goods, but the English farmer can find a hundred channels for disposing of them, and again one sees that the clear-cut alternatives to the Danes of success or disaster have been utilised to give better results than the more obscure and varied possibilities open to the English farmer, that enable him to compromise and just exist.

One of the chief essentials of co-operation is that the member loyally sends all his produce to the society and accepts unquestioningly the price paid to him. The Danes, appreciating this, have made such procedure compulsory. But in England such loyalty is not compulsory, and since many of our 'co-operators' do not hesitate to accept the offer of a better price from an outside firm, the co-operative society becomes merely a trading body in competition with similar bodies, with the result that it is forced into bargaining with its own members to buy things from them at the lowest possible price. There is not, on either side, the faintest resemblance to anything that could possibly be called 'co-operation' in such procedure.

It is easy to blame the farmers for their disloyalty, to point out the obvious, viz., that the better offer from the private firm is only temporary and will be followed by far worse prices if the society can thus be forced into liquidation; but it should be noted that exactly the same difficulties arose in Denmark at the beginning of the movement, and it was found essential to make not only loyalty to the society compulsory, but also to insist upon a guarantee from each member of a minimum regular supply of milk, pigs, etc. Joint-stock companies, such as the United Dairies, Ltd., have found out the necessity of having such milk contracts with farmers in England to-day, but with co-operation it is too often the practice of 'co-operators' to give their society their products that are difficult to dispose of and to sell their better quality stuff to private firms. The English co-operative

societies, being in the unenviable position of having to be thankful for the smallest attentions, dare not refuse these inferior goods; whereas in Denmark the opposite is the case, for, owing to the lack of private competition, they can refuse what is unsuitable, and the producer has no other market. Herein lies the secret of the good standard quality of Danish agricultural exports, and it partly explains the failure, hitherto, of English competition with them. It also throws further light on the problem of establishing agricultural co-operation in this country.

As regards the subscription of capital to the societies, the agricultural co-operative movement in England has experienced similar difficulties. Promises of financial support before the societies are formed are freely given, but as they are seldom or never insisted upon in the form of definite guarantees, only a small proportion, as a rule, are redeemed when actually asked for, so that the societies start off absurdly under-capitalised. They are maintained, therefore, on large overdrafts guaranteed by a few of the more public-spirited members, who thus become investors in a highly speculative concern for practically no return. Here again the term 'co-operation' is farcical, while the banks find themselves financing a venture whose overdraft is simply a perpetual loan. From the banking point of view this is the most unremunerative form of business that they can do, and it is unlikely that they will be permanently content to undertake it. That they have done it now for so long is greatly to their credit.

But from the point of view of the rank and file of the members such methods are most undesirable, for they create the impression that the society is not their own, but simply a trading company, and they vitiate the growth of that spirit of helping themselves that should be the keynote of the movement. Since a farmer, however wealthy, need take up no more than five 1*l.* shares in a society to become a member of it, the value of such a subscription in causing him to feel personally interested is inconsiderable. This becomes the more obvious if the third root cause of the failure of agricultural co-operation in England be considered, viz., our national psychology.

As a nation we are capitalists. We have learnt to cast our bread upon the waters and receive a handsome return for so doing. We are willing to take risks in financial ventures in the hope of pecuniary reward, and on every side we are accustomed to find profitable openings for the investment of capital and individual initiative. Co-operation is a different process, although it can be claimed that it produces similar results. But the results of co-operation are rather a continuous saving of pennies than a possible quick appreciation of pounds, and the very fact that under its constitution dividends are strictly limited and no

member may own more than 200*l.* in shares in a society damns it from the first in the eyes of many. The shares cannot be sold, the money cannot even be withdrawn, while the benefits of trading on such lines are obscured by the fact that private firms must offer prices that compete with those of the society. At heart most of us love an element of speculation, and would greatly prefer to invest in a company where there is a sporting chance of a 50 per cent. dividend and 1000 per cent. appreciation of capital. With co-operation there are no such chances, and, after the small initial subscription has been made, not even an annual contribution is required to remind members that they *are* members.

We are also individualists, and the English farmer has stood apart for centuries, fighting his lonely battle with the soil, scarcely touched by the great events in the world that has rolled by outside. We have risen from barbarism to being the most highly civilised nation on the earth, but through all that time sheep have grazed upon the same hills and crops ripened in the same fields with scarcely perceptible change. Our farms are large, our nature autocratic, and so each farmer has tended to think of himself as prince of a small domain, and he has rejoiced in being able to administer his kingdom independently of his neighbours. Ours is a large island, and its agricultural communities are scattered—even to-day there are farms where if the daily paper comes at all it comes a day late—and so there is neither the sense of cohesion nor the facility for bringing agriculturists together that is to be found in more centralised communities.

There are farmers who are still proud of the fact that they owe nothing for their knowledge to any person or institution save paternal example, and it has long been our boast that we have learnt to stand alone. 'Sinn Fein,' as Mr. Bernard Shaw once remarked, 'is only Irish for John Bull.'

So deeply rooted in the national character is this love of individualism that it is found even amongst those for whom cohesion of some sort is as necessary as for the small-holders of Denmark. It is not only the large farmers who take unkindly to the co-operative idea, but our small-holders as well. Sir Rider Haggard in his book *Rural Denmark* gives several examples of this, one of them being 'The Report of the Small-Holdings Established by Mr. Joseph Fels at Mayland, Essex.' Here, after many dissensions, the small-holders took the matter of the disposal of produce out of the hands of the management, with such disastrous results that the management were requested to take it over again. This was done, and

> So far as the general arrangements for the handling and disposal of produce were concerned, the system at work seemed almost perfect, but its effects on the character of the men seemed the reverse. Some frequently

showed discontent at the prices obtained and were insistent that they could do much better for themselves if working alone, whilst almost all showed a lack of strenuous endeavour in matters for which the Society could be made responsible. Each seemed to be ready to expect the Society to do for him things which he ought to have done for himself. The end of it was that a meeting was called at which, with three exceptions, the whole voted for individual working.

Is there anyone in England who has been, however slightly, connected with agricultural co-operation who cannot match this story?

To sum up, three general causes have been found that have contributed to make the introduction of co-operation on the land in England difficult. They are:

1. Lack of extreme necessity to combine.

2. The difficulties of decentralisation and internal distribution with dealers and markets always at hand.

3. Strong national prejudice in favour of independent effort and desire for a speculative element.

These have resulted in lack of loyalty, lack of subscribed capital, and lack of interest in the societies.

But is this all? Is it true that our agriculturists have rejected a perfect system of collective marketing only for reasons to which all the more enlightened farmers, at any rate, should be able to rise superior? All the difficulties mentioned could be overcome by a change of outlook, a change which the employers in any other industry would not have hesitated to make if a sound, ready-made system, by which they might greatly increase their profits, were only waiting their indorsement. Surely the farming community, however conservative it is said to be, is not so obstinate and short-sighted? But if it is not, why has it been unable to make the effort of changing its outlook and adopting this new method whose value has been so amply proved elsewhere?

Perhaps some light can be found by examining the second, or particular, group of causes which are concerned with the actual administration of co-operation as tried in England.

Agricultural co-operation in this country was originally organised on the following lines. A parent society, the Agricultural Wholesale Society, was formed to buy commodities in bulk, usually a shipload at a time, and sell them to the affiliated societies of farmers in different parts of England. It was thus hoped to eliminate the charges of brokers and middlemen, and form a nucleus for the movement which at the same time could offer its societies goods on very favourable terms. It was agreed that the societies should take up shares in it in proportion to their membership, and further shares annually in proportion to their turnover. The Government smiled upon the movement and created the Agricultural Organisation Society to educate the rural population

in the potential benefits of agricultural co-operation—a function that the National Farmers' Union has lately taken over from the A.O.S.

So long as the war lasted the A.W.S. did excellently. Every year prices rose it was unnecessary to ask the trading societies to take up their shares, and nothing seemed simpler than buying cargoes and disposing of them in a market that was always rising, but where so much money had never before been available. Then came the post-war slump, and with it the test of the management's efficiency. At once it became only too patent that there was none. Reckless bargains were made, ruinous contracts undertaken on falling markets, management expenses were found to be out of all proportion to any ordinary business, and there was found none of that elasticity of direction or resource necessary in such big businesses to cope with such situations.

Meanwhile the societies had suffered in the same way. These societies were organised on the following lines. Anyone could become a member on taking up a minimum number of shares; no one might own more than 200 1*l.* shares, dividends were limited, usually to 5 per cent.; they were open to all for trading, but only members were eligible for dividend or bonus. They were administered by executive and finance committees composed for the most part of large farmers and country gentlemen who received no reward, not even their expenses. Let it be said at once that these gentlemen deserve the highest credit and the gratitude of the agricultural community for the voluntary service they have given so unstintingly. They have given their money, their time and their energies, and no one can fail to admire their public spirit.

But alas! Inexperienced in business methods, and in some instances almost contemptuous of them, they were unable to deal with the unfavourable situation. The same mistakes were made as in the case of the A.W.S., and in addition some societies had been making a practice of refunding to members profits made when commodities rose in price after a bargain had been concluded with them. As a result, money that should have been held back for meeting losses when prices fell had already been distributed. There were no reserves. The final blow fell when the societies were called upon by the A.W.S. to take up some of the shares which it had originally been agreed that they should take. Astounding as it may seem, not only were the members of some of the societies completely ignorant that such an agreement existed, but some of the members of the committees of management also—a fact that is mentioned not for censure, but to demonstrate the remarkable apathy of the ordinary Englishman towards a business in which he has no real financial interest, and to point

out the serious position in which the societies found themselves. The end of it all was that the A.W.S. dissolved in the bankruptcy it had so studiously invited; some of the smaller societies followed suit, others have managed to keep going through outside assistance, and a few have just kept their own heads above water. The Co-operative Bacon Factory movement tells the same unhappy tale which is too dismal to dwell upon.

The net result has been a hardening of the prejudice against the agricultural co-operative movement and a weakening of confidence that was never remarkable for its strength.

In addition to this lack of efficiency as regards finance, the movement has also suffered from mismanagement in the sphere of general business efficiency. Isolated instances are valueless, and it is a waste of space to give any, but there are few farmers who have had any considerable dealings with co-operative societies who cannot supply a generous selection, and when such complaints are so universal it can only be concluded that there is a greater lack of efficiency in this direction than a private company could sustain and still continue to exist. Moreover, the same ills that are inherent in nationalisation seem also common to agricultural co-operation, particularly the tendency to over-staffing and the inability rigidly to reduce overhead charges. Everybody's business so easily becomes nobody's business, and in industry a spur is yet to be found as effective as that of personal gain.

Admirable as these men were who gave their time and energies for nothing, the farming instinct and the business brain are seldom found co-existent, and work done without remuneration is a questionable blessing. All's well that ends well; but if it ends badly, how can those be blamed by others who are already in their debt for their voluntary benevolence?

A complicated business such as trading in agricultural produce and requirements is not easy to administer, and some of the societies had as many as 10,000 names on their books. Company directing is not the sinecure that some imagine it, and successful business on a big scale is dependent on something more than under-managers, however efficient and well paid. There seems to have been a lack of expert driving power behind the movement, an inability to grasp essentials or to lay a finger on a weak spot or a non-paying department.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, a survey of all the agricultural co-operative societies of any size would reveal the fact that those that have done the best are those that have been fortunate enough to number on their committees men accustomed to company directing and business management. There are many private bacon factories to-day, administered by men who depend on it for their living and do nothing else, that are doing badly, and

only a very few are doing well. The lesson seems to be that pork and bacon curing can only be made to pay by exceedingly clever management. Nor are the other middlemen in agriculture so noticeably wealthy or in enjoyment of such ample leisure as to suggest that their work is easy and their responsibility light. The first thing the Danes did in starting co-operation was to find clever men to run it for them, while the same is true of the Dutch, and particularly true of the South American fruit-growers. But in England it has been customary to regard it as a spare-time job that almost anyone can perform who is public-spirited enough to give his time and thought and money for nothing. Is it surprising that there have been mistakes ?

We have found, then, that in attempting to introduce agricultural co-operation into England we were sowing it in the most unsuitable soil in the world, owing to prejudice against united effort. In addition, it has never been necessary for us to adopt some such method or perish, as in those countries where its success has been so marked ; there were peculiar difficulties of decentralisation for distribution, as opposed to centralisation for export ; our conception of it has included none of those regulations for enforcing loyalty to it, found so essential elsewhere ; we have tried to run it on the cheap by the kindness of benevolent amateurs, and no attempt has been made to study differences of temperament or conditions in our effort to graft it on to the agricultural community in this country. The conduct and management of many of the societies has tended to strengthen the strong prejudice against the movement that already existed, and to inspire the reverse of confidence in those whom it was hoped would be attracted to it. That a single society should still exist is a miracle and a testimony to the perseverance and devotion of those who have fought so hard in its cause.

The problem is, how can it be adapted to English conditions, and what stimulus can be found to replace the instinct for pecuniary gain or the instinct for self-preservation. The fact must be faced that agricultural co-operation has nowhere succeeded purely on its merits as an ideal, so this third great spur to human effort must also be ruled out. There only seem to remain convenience of marketing and advantageous prices, but as regards the former there are many farmers who actually look forward to the visit to market and the bargaining entailed ; and while it is true that prices would probably be worse if co-operative societies did not exist, yet private dealers have always succeeded in competing with them, and even if the co-operator's dream came true and the private middlemen were annihilated, what guarantee would there be, with things as they are, that co-operation itself would not become the loser by the lack of competition, which

would cause it to lose a great incentive to conducting its business on the most economic lines? It would not be difficult, in the light of past experience, to imagine the last state of the farmer worse than the first, under its undisputed rule, even as nationalisation, so pleasant in theory, has usually proved a more expensive luxury to the citizen than the depredations of private trading.

Therefore we are driven back to utilising one of the three great stimuli to enterprise, viz., pecuniary gain, self-preservation, and idealism. The last, as applied to business, is useful as an asset or a 'slogan,' but it is doubtful if it could be strong enough to stand alone and permanently in this connection, and moreover, in spite of the fact that the idealistic side of the movement has been especially emphasised, the English farmer has consistently ignored its (to him) somewhat abstract appeal. Self-preservation, on the other hand, is a motive of ample strength, but it has never made the insistent and clear demands on agriculturists in this country that it has elsewhere, and it would indeed be the counsel of despair to look forward to universal bankruptcy in order to secure an adequate buying and selling system if anything ever managed to spring up from the ruins. We want a less heroic remedy than this, for even when one farmer in every five in America was driven from his land by the bad times in 1923, it did not make them co-operate.

There remains the motive of pecuniary gain. This is the one which appeals most to our temperament, and has been the chief stimulus to business always. To apply it, however, in the name of co-operation is impossible, for co-operation stands for saving rather than gain, and to our mentality these two words possess a very distinct difference. But after all, from the farmers' point of view, combination is the chief thing that is required to improve his conditions and remove inequalities of trading. From a business point of view there is no particular virtue in co-operation beyond its benefits of united action; therefore there is no reason why a system of joint-stock companies should not replace farmers' co-operative societies and secure identical benefits. They exist in America, where conditions more closely resemble those here than in Denmark, Holland or Ireland, and they exist in Canada, where our kinsmen have preserved the same love of individualism. In practice it must almost certainly be found impossible to adapt co-operative societies to suit our temperament and circumstances without making them virtually joint-stock companies, and they could be designed to encourage farmers to become the chief supporters of them, with money and business patronage, conferring voting powers on farmer members that would give them some influence on the conduct of the business, but not to the total exclusion of the business interests that would provide their

driving force. There would be room in the scheme for implement manufacturers, feeding-stuff and fertiliser merchants and other firms whose clients the farmers are, and this would unify many of the divergent interests of agriculture. Money would be kept in the industry, it would be easier to refuse unsuitable goods offered, and profiteering would be impossible owing to the keen competition that would continue to exist, both from abroad and from rival firms at home. In any case the profits would go into the pockets of the farmer-shareholders. These would have concrete encouragement for dealing through their company and producing goods of high standard quality, and it would help them to realise that their responsibility does not end with growing the thing that is most easily grown and dispatching it from the farm in any condition. The nation would also benefit by the money thus kept in the country through the encouraged production of an article that it wants, and will therefore buy, and also by the prosperity that would automatically return to the countryside if the scheme were successful.

We have soil and climate among the best for the general purposes of agriculture. For many years our farmers were the leading agriculturists in the world, and to-day the technical knowledge of many of them is unsurpassed; there is a demand for what they can produce that exceeds the home-grown supply by more than in any other country. But for lack of a proper system for buying and selling and stimulating marketable production half this wealth is going to waste and we have to pay foreigners to produce it. Possibly agricultural co-operation may yet be modified sufficiently to our needs to do all that is asked of it, and if that could be done no one would support it more warmly than the writer of this article. But amid the parrot-like and peevish cries of 'Why *don't* they co-operate?' and 'We *must* co-operate' it seems rather more pertinent to ask the questions '*How* are we to co-operate?' and '*Why* have we failed to cooperate?'

For at least fifteen years there has been a concerted effort to introduce it, so far with pitiable results. Surely it is time we asked ourselves how, where and why there has been such a lack of success, and *faced facts*, which we find so difficult to do, instead of indulging in pious hopes and misplaced Micawberism. This side of the agricultural question is a business problem, and we need business men to solve it, either by remodelling agricultural co-operation on lines better suited to our national genius and particular conditions, or by introducing another system altogether which will preserve for this country some of the untold millions we annually fling away by our short-sighted inefficiency.

L. F. Easterbrook.

THE GOLD STANDARD EXPERIMENT

In spite of the assurance with which Mr. Winston Churchill introduced the Gold Standard Bill in the House of Commons on May 4, the majority of the members, including certain Cabinet Ministers, regard this Bill as an experiment—an experiment attended with a certain amount of danger. It is true that, in reply to a criticism by Mr. Snowden that the Government had 'shown too much precipitancy in its decision,' Mr. Churchill declared that 'never had a step been taken by a Government more characterised by design, forethought, and careful preparation. Now is the moment which from every point of view should be seized for the introduction of the gold standard.'

I

This Bill is the result of the recommendations made by the Cunliffe Currency Committee, the members of which were, with but one or two exceptions, connected with the banking profession. Those who have studied the Committee's reports, as well as the articles which have appeared from time to time in support of the gold standard, will have noticed an absence of any reference to its effects or to those of the policy which has led up to its re-establishment upon trade and industry. Indeed, these articles and reports would convey the impression that the maintenance of the gold standard is an end in itself rather than a means to an end. The object of a financial system should be the promotion of trade and commerce, and the system which achieves this object in the simplest and safest way ought to be considered the most desirable. A 'sound' currency should tend to promote and increase trade, and the currency which periodically leads to trade depression, or repression ought to be regarded as 'unsound.' So far none of the Committees appointed by the Government to consider the financial system has given this subject of the relation of the gold standard to production the attention that it deserves. Indeed, the subject has scarcely been considered, save in the most superficial manner, and the impression conveyed to the ordinary reader is a complete inversion of their proper relations—viz., that the object of our trade and industries should be the support of the gold standard.

It will be remembered that the members of the Cunliffe Committee were not altogether certain as to what the results of their proposals would be, and they were careful to say in their first interim report that the whole subject ought again to be reviewed 'not later than ten years after the war.' Since this was written there has been a serious weakening in the opinions of some who formerly were the most ardent champions of the gold standard, whilst a few have openly declared war on this policy. Professor Maynard Keynes has recently condemned it as suicidal, whilst some of our daily and weekly journals, which five years ago clamoured for its re-establishment, are now questioning its wisdom. It is now five years since the Lloyd George Government adopted the recommendations of the Cunliffe Committee, and in the opinion of a large and increasing number of business men the industrial depression and unemployment with which the country is afflicted is the direct result of the financial policy adopted and continued by each succeeding Administration since 1920. There are numerous reasons for associating these two, as cause and effect. The trade slump started shortly after the announcement by Mr. Austen Chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Government had 'set its heart on deflating the currency.' It will be remembered that he also requested the bankers to assist him and the Treasury Department in their work of reducing prices, and 'destroying speculation,' by curtailing bank credit and advancing the Bank rate. The effects were both speedy and disastrous. 'Checking speculation' meant killing trade and enterprise, whilst lowering the general price level meant reducing, and in many cases cancelling, orders. Few purchasers care to buy goods on a falling market. This led to a slackening of the wheels of production and of employment. Thousands of operatives were discharged, whilst others were put on short time. Wages were reduced, and the seeds of future strikes and labour troubles were thus sown. With the reduction of wages and the hours of labour and the increase in the numbers of the unemployed the demand for goods in the home markets was similarly reduced. Moreover, the raising of the value of the pound sterling with the object of bringing it to the level of the gold standard acted as a tax on our exports. When a pound's worth of our goods could be purchased with three dollars and fifty cents, or with thirty francs or forty-five lire or ten rupees, orders from the United States, from France, Italy, and India were pouring in. But as soon as the pound was raised 'to look the dollar in the face' American orders fell off, in common with those from all other countries. Sir Auckland Geddes, as President of the Board of Trade, in answer to a question from a Committee representing the manufacturers, who had called to inquire whether the Govern-

ment intended to carry out its promise of protecting the industries which had been created during the war, replied that our cheap pounds were in reality a protection to our foreign trade and constituted a bounty upon export. But this advantage was deliberately thrown away by the Government in its adoption of the Cunliffe Committee's proposals. The great trade boom which this country enjoyed for nearly two years after the Armistice was deliberately destroyed by the Government and the Treasury officials. As stated by the *Morning Post* in a recent leading article, whilst Germany was building up and strengthening her industries at the expense of her financial system, we were sacrificing our industries for the sake of our financial prestige. The result is that whilst Germany is rapidly conquering the world's markets and has become the second industrial nation in the world, our industries are falling into decay and we are faced with national ruin! The foundations of a nation's greatness are its trade and industries, and not its banking system merely.

II

The fact that the gold standard is exclusively the creation of the financial world leaves it open to suspicion on the part of the industrial classes that whilst it may be advantageous to the banking interests it is not necessarily beneficial to the producing classes. It has frequently been remarked that whilst the average banker may be well versed in the *art* of banking, very few of them really understand the principles of monetary science. Mr. Henry Ford has written on this subject in various articles, and has even gone so far as to say that the last man he would ever consult on business affairs is the banker. And whilst in the main and in the long run the interests of the banker and those of the industrial classes are identical, there are many exceptions. Indeed, it is quite certain that if the deflation policy had been considered at all likely to affect bank shares and bank profits as it has affected those of the farmers and manufacturers generally, this policy would never have been recommended. Whilst the past four years has been one of the most disastrous periods in the history of British trade, it has also been one of the most prosperous in the history of our banks. To the unprejudiced person it would seem that there is something radically wrong with a financial system that can flourish on the ruins of trade and industry!

The question therefore arises whether the gold standard policy is not based upon a gigantic fallacy. There must be something wrong with a theory that fails in practice. Nobody who is familiar with the results of our monetary system since it was established by Lord Liverpool and Sir Robert Peel can regard it as an unqualified success. It has failed on four different occasions

to such an extent that it had to be suspended each time in order to save from ruin not only the nation but the banks themselves. It is surely time that this question was submitted to impartial investigation and treated as a problem of science rather than a policy advocated solely by our money-lending classes.

III

There are two avenues from which one may view this subject, although they lead to results which are diametrically opposed to each other. The one is the historical or traditional aspect, and presents the orthodox view. This was the view taken by Sir Robert Peel in his famous speech delivered in the House of Commons on May 6, 1844, prior to his introduction of the Bank Charter Act. Sir Robert traced the monetary unit, the pound, to the reign of William the Conqueror, when the pound weight of silver was also the pound of account. 'The pound,' he said, 'represented both the weight of metal and the denomination of money, but in the year 1816 gold was established as the exclusive standard.' The orthodox view amounts to this, that since gold has been the principal medium of exchange in all countries, and can be traced back to ancient Greece 4000 years ago, there is no need to seek or even to discuss a substitute. The bigotry and superstition with which this subject is surrounded, even at the present day, may be found in the writings of many of our modern so-called 'authorities.' It will be remembered that a certain professor of economics at a London University created great amusement at the commencement of the war by urging the prosecution of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for having consented to the issue of the Treasury notes, which were to be paid out in place of golden sovereigns! In the opinion of this professor the value of money depends not upon its utility but the material with which it is associated. Needless to say this view of the subject is a *cul-de-sac* and leads us nowhere. It is a barrier to all progress.

The other view represents the scientific aspect, and is still regarded as unorthodox. It presents monetary systems from the utility standpoint—that from which we consider every invention, convenience, and article of use. It is to this method of investigation that we owe all our progress. Where would mankind and civilisation have been if every branch of knowledge had been permanently controlled by the orthodox schools? It was the orthodox writers who tried to retain slavery on similar grounds to those urged by our present gold standard advocates for its re-establishment. 'Slavery,' they said, 'has always existed from time immemorial. It has been fought for since the world began.' There is scarcely a social or industrial evil which cannot find support from history. The traditional arguments are opposed

to all discoveries, inventions, and progress. All our modern inventions and discoveries are due to imagination, to believing that the old ways and methods are not necessarily the best. Our present economic evils are mainly due to this attitude on the part of our schools and colleges in keeping economic science confined to the past. It is the method of looking backward instead of looking forward. What we need to-day above all else are statesmen with imagination, men who are able to devise means for overcoming our present difficulties and solving our modern problems. History can only help us by showing where our forefathers struggled with somewhat similar problems—and failed! Our orthodox writers who have been advocating the revival of an old system which has failed every time it was exposed to any abnormal strains are merely confessing their inability to understand and deal with this subject. The call to-day is not for the historian nor the self-styled economic authority, but the inventor. For ages men have been struggling with the problems of wealth production and distribution. The problem of wealth production has been solved—thanks to the host of inventors and discoverers of the past two centuries! By employing all our modern facilities the world can produce far more of the necessaries of life than are needed for maintaining its present inhabitants in a high degree of comfort. But because the system of distribution belonging to a past age has been retained, and because our laws have prevented the necessary changes and improvements from being applied, we have millions within sight of starvation in a world of plenty! The old science of scarcity preached by the early economists, and even taught to-day, has become obsolete and must give place to the science of plenty.

IV

The fundamental objection to the gold standard is that it places an artificial restriction upon production—first, in limiting demand and consumption by making money scarce and dear, and, secondly, by placing an unnecessary burden upon production, *i.e.* increasing costs. *Our productive system can produce far more goods than the present monetary system can exchange.* The great problem, therefore, is to provide some financial system commensurate with modern production.

To appreciate fully the fallacies upon which the gold standard has been established, one has only to read the speech of Sir Robert Peel above referred to, in which he asked his famous question, 'What is a pound?' and for an answer gave a definition which common sense and experience show to be one of the most egregious fallacies ever uttered!

> My first question, [said Sir Robert Peel] is what constitutes this measure of value? What is the significance of the word pound? Unless we are

agreed on the answer to these questions it is in vain we attempt to legislate on the subject. If a pound is a mere visionary abstraction, a something which does not exist either in law or practice, in that case one class of measures relating to paper currency may be adopted; but if the word pound, the common denomination of values, signifies something more than mere fiction—if a pound means a quantity of precious metals of certain weight and certain fineness—if that be the definition of a pound, in that case another class of measures relating to paper currency will be requisite. Now, the whole foundation of the proposal I am about to make, rests upon the assumption that according to practice, according to law, according to the ancient monetary policy of this country, that which is implied by the word pound, is a certain definite quantity of gold with a mark upon it to determine its weight and fineness, and that the engagement to pay a pound means nothing, and can mean nothing else, than the promise to pay the holder, when he demands, that definite quantity of gold. What is the meaning of the pound, according to the ancient monetary policy of this country? The origin of the term was this: in the reign of William the Conqueror, a pound weight of silver was also the pound of account. The pound represented both the weight of metal and the denomination of money. By subsequent debasement of the currency, a great alteration was made, not in the name, but in the intrinsic value of the pound sterling, and it was not until a later period of the reign of Queen Elizabeth that silver, being then the standard of value, received that determinate weight which is retained without variation, with constant refusals to debase the standard of silver, until the year 1816, when gold became the exclusive standard of value. . . .

This definite quantity of gold is the mass of standard gold, eleven-twelfths fine, contained in our golden sovereign, namely, 123·7447 grains. This is the legal definition of the pound, and constitutes the British standard unit measure of value.

One has only to put this definition of the pound to a practical test to see how absurd it is. Ask any tradesman, wage earner, manufacturer, or professional man—in fact any person outside of the banking, bullion, or money-lending profession—the weight of gold in a sovereign, and there is not one in ten thousand who could answer without referring to a text-book or a banker. According to Peel's definition, the pound sterling is a definite weight of gold. Suppose we take a hammer and carefully deface the inscriptions on a golden sovereign, or suppose we melt it and reduce it to a mere mass of alloy, where is the money? Evidently we have destroyed it; its monetary functions have vanished and can only be restored at the Government Mint by recoinage. Although the gold remains intact as far as weight and quality of metal are concerned, the legal tender functions conferred by the State having been destroyed can only be restored by the State. And if after melting the sovereign the coinage laws should be repealed and the mints closed, we should find the legal tender functions of the defaced sovereign have been destroyed for ever. Examples of this were given during the great silver agitation in the United States thirty years ago, after the silver coinage laws were repealed.

Silver dollars were worth the same as paper dollars, and five silver dollars were exchangeable for a five-dollar gold coin, but when a silver dollar was melted its monetary value was entirely destroyed, because the United States mints refused to recoin it. The silver of which it was composed was worth only its commodity value, which at that time was fifty cents. In short, the theory of Sir Robert Peel, that money is a commodity and its value depends entirely upon the material of which it is made was demonstrated to be entirely false.[1] Sir Robert Peel even disregarded his own definition, for in the very Act in which he was establishing the gold currency he actually provided for the issue of eleven million pounds of bank notes, which were to be legal tender and which were issued against Government securities. No provision was made for redeeming these in gold. If Sir Robert's definition of the pound was correct, the issue of these notes constituted a legalised fraud. This fiduciary issue, as it is now known, and which has grown to 19,500,000*l.*, is a complete refutation of Peel's financial theories. Further, within three years of the passage of the Bank Charter Act, Sir Robert's theories were again shown to be false, when the Bank was permitted to suspend its gold payments and issue bank notes without any gold backing, which stopped the panic and again saved the Bank and the country! The same thing occurred in 1857 and in 1866. Everybody knows that the gold standard system collapsed as soon as ever the shadow of war appeared in 1914, and before even a shot was fired in the Great War, and for a period of eleven years we have been able to carry on our industrial affairs whilst going through the greatest crisis in the history of this country without the use of gold, which the Government now regard as so essential to our welfare.

V

It must be evident to anyone who gives the subject the slightest consideration that the monetary pound cannot possibly be a certain weight or mass of gold. It would be just as rational

[1] The value of gold under the gold standard system is as follows:—

$$\text{Gold} = \frac{\text{Demand in arts plus demand for currency}}{\text{Supply}}$$

Now Peel's fallacy was in supposing that the demand for gold for monetary purposes (both for currency and reserves) did not affect its commodity value!!

Neither Sir Robert Peel nor his followers had the intelligence to see that instead of gold giving a 'fixed' value to money, he was conferring an artificial value upon this metal by making it legal tender.

The same fallacy was once taught regarding silver, but the moment the laws which gave to silver the same legal tender privileges since conferred upon gold were repealed, its value fell precipitately to about one-half of its former monetary value, notwithstanding that it was retained in all countries for token currency. It is fair to assume that at least one-half of the present value of gold is artificial and entirely due to the legislative privileges with which it has been endowed.

to define the standard of length as the weight of the bronze bar and the gold studs which fixes the British yard measure as to define the monetary pound in terms of so many grains of gold. How would it be possible to express or calculate our National Debt, or our national wealth for example, according to Sir Robert's definition, with any approximation to truth? Our national wealth, which is estimated at 15,000,000,000*l.* and in round figures is equivalent to 150,000 tons of pure gold, represents at least seven and a half times all the gold supplies of the world! What the value of this mass of gold would be if it were suddenly discovered no human being could possibly say. With such an enormous supply it is quite certain that its value would decline, just as it did in America during the war. In Sweden gold depreciated to such an extent that the Swedish banks refused to exchange their notes for it. To reduce Peel's definition to common sense, one must regard the pound merely as the *purchasing power* of the legal tender unit, and what we mean when we estimate our national wealth at 15,000,000,000*l.* is not the weight of gold which would be contained in this number of sovereigns, but 15,000,000,000 times the present value of the sovereign—which is a very different thing. If Sir Robert Peel had defined the monetary pound as *the purchasing power* of 113 grains of pure gold, or 123 7447 grains of standard alloy, he would have been nearer the truth and to common sense than when he defined it merely by *weight* of metal.

VI

Again, we are told by the orthodox school, and by Sir Robert Peel, that one of the main functions of the gold standard is to 'measure' values Without going too deeply into the labyrinth of the science of values, it is sufficient for this discussion to say that according to the classical definition of objective exchange-value—which is the kind of value with which money deals—the term 'standard' applied to value is nonsense. According to Professor Jevons value is the exchange relationship of commodities, and is expressed by a ratio of two numbers Jevons says:

> Value in exchange expresses nothing but a ratio, and the term should not be used in any other sense. . . Every act of exchange thus presents itself to us in the form of a ratio between two numbers; the word value is commonly used, and if at the current rates one ton of copper exchanges for ten tons of bar iron, it is usual to say that the value of copper is ten times that of iron, weight for weight.

In another place he says: 'Value—like utility—is no *intrinsic quality* of a thing, it is an *extrinsic accident or relation.*' Elsewhere he adds: 'Bearing in mind that value is only the ratio of quantities exchanged, it is certain that no substance permanently bears exactly the same value relatively to another commodity'—which

should have been sufficient to warn our statesmen against folly of selecting a substance as a 'standard measure' of va Jevons continues as follows:

> A student of economics has no hope of ever being clear and corre his ideas of the science if he thinks of value as at all a *thing* or an o or even as anything which lies in a thing or an object. People are led to speak of such a nonentity as *intrinsic* value !

And yet our monetary standard established by Parliament deliberately chosen because of its so-called 'intrinsic' va Values arise through human wants and desires. Values are i creations, not concrete magnitudes, and they can only be expre scientifically in terms of the ideal—numbers.

The difficulty which Sir Robert Peel encountered was in tr to combine two totally distinct subjects, namely, barter and cre In the days when the silver pound was the monetary uni standard the only form of trade known was barter, and the po of silver was merely a *standard commodity* for which other th could be exchanged. But it was in no sense a '*standard of va* Money, as it is employed to-day, is taken not on account of material with which it is associated, but because of its legal p chasing power and its legal power to settle debts, which has b conferred upon it by Acts of Parliament. The exact value of monetary unit is determined like that which determines the p of wheat, or any other commodity, namely, by the law of sup and demand. The quantitative theory determines the value of pound by the currency demand divided by the product of volume of currency multiplied by its velocity of circulati 'Currency' includes not only legal tender, but all forms of cre The amount of gold contained in a sovereign may link up the va of the pound sterling with that of a given weight of gold, but t does not fix the value of the pound any more than it fixes value of gold itself. The value of gold is affected, first, by its le privilege as the money metal which has created an almost limited demand for it; secondly, by the gold supplies availab and, thirdly, by the volume of credit which functions in a sim capacity. To talk of stabilising our monetary system by ty money to gold is very much like attempting to stabilise the po tion of a balloon with regard to the earth by fastening it to anot balloon which is free to drift with the wind. Since gold is a co modity that can be hoarded and is held as private property, t monetary unit changes its value at the will or caprice of any banl who chooses to withdraw from circulation or put into circulati any large consignment of gold. Similar results follow from t creation and destruction of credit. The claim, therefore, th gold functions as a 'standard unit' of values or 'measure' values is based upon ignorance and superstition. You cam

'measure' exchange values by placing one commodity against another. Values are *estimated* by comparing things of the same class with each other, and where comparisons have to be made between goods of different classes the values are obtained by considering and comparing their costs of production, the amount of available supplies, and conditions pertaining to the quantities available. In fact, *values are wholly quantitative terms and can only be expressed quantitatively.*

VII

There is another light in which to view this matter. The doctrine of relativity can nowhere be employed to greater advantage to humanity than in connection with monetary science—especially in exposing the fallacy of the stability furnished by the gold standard. It is claimed by men who ought to know better that a currency system based upon gold remains stable in value no matter how the values of other commodities may vary—which is just about as rational as the assertion that one can raise and lower one side of a balance without lowering and raising the other side. To say that prices have fallen is merely another way of saying that money has risen in purchasing power. Money can only remain fixed in value when the general level of prices of all goods remains fixed. Goods and money occupy the two opposite ends of a see-saw. Those who are working for the stabilisation of prices by advising the manipulation of money are working at the wrong end of the problem. The control of prices should be achieved through the manipulation of the commodities themselves, that is, by the commodity producers in conjunction with the consumers, and should not be attempted by the bankers. It is not the legitimate function of a bank to attempt to interfere with prices. Bankers are seldom good business men; they are usually the very reverse, and ought not to be permitted to interfere in the control of the price level. Recently, however, it has been announced by some of our financial leaders that it should be the work of the international banker to control world prices—a threat which ought to be resented and opposed by every manufacturer, merchant, farmer, and, in fact, everyone interested in economic freedom. This is a power which transcends that of any monarch or ruler that has ever existed. It is wholly due to this attempt to interfere with prices and business enterprise by the Treasury officials and the bankers that we are faced with our present industrial disasters.

The attempt to measure values with the golden sovereign as the legalised standard unit, has inflicted hardships and losses on our producing classes to an extent that is simply incalculable, as the following illustration will show. The assumption that the

pound sterling preserves its value during all commercial transactions causes variations in the estimates of wealth and deprives individuals of property to an extent which few people seem to realise.[2] Let us imagine a small closed exchange circle, in which a definite number of goods are brought for exchange. For convenience we will limit the quantity and variety to the following: 1000 bushels of wheat, 2000 yards of cloth, 3000 lb. of wool, and 33,900 grains of gold. Since 113 grains of pure gold is contained in the sovereign, and, according to Sir Robert Peel, gives it its value and stability, the number of grains in our exchange circle will be seen to be the equivalent 300*l.* Let us suppose that these various goods are all exchangeable with one another in the quantities stated when the market first opens, so that 1000 bushels of wheat = 2000 yards of cloth = 3000 lb. of wool = 33,900 grains of gold = 300*l.* Adopting the Peel pound as our monetary unit, it will be seen that the total value of all these goods is equivalent to 1200*l.* Now it is evident that since by our hypothesis this exchange circle is entirely self-contained, having no connection with any other, so long as these goods remain intact and nothing is added or taken away, the total value of the whole exchange circle must remain a constant quantity, no matter how the relative values of these goods may change from time to time in respect to one another, for the reason that whatever one class of goods may gain or lose in value the others lose or gain to an equal extent. In short, this is what we mean when we say that goods have fallen or risen in value—we mean in relation to some other goods, or in respect of money; and, according to the gold standard, money is as much a commodity as any other product and therefore is subject to the same laws. Now any monetary system adopted for expressing or registering values must, in order to be just and rational, fulfil this condition. *It must always register a constant amount, regardless of how the values of these goods fluctuate.* According to the conditions and relations assumed, the total value of all our goods is 1200*l.*, and a bushel of wheat is worth 6*s.*, a yard of cloth 3*s.*, and a pound of wool 2*s.*

[2] Jevons states that the value of gold fell 46 per cent between 1789 and 1809; that from 1809 to 1849 it appreciated 145 per cent, (which was the deflation period resulting in the 'hungry forties,' one of the most disastrous periods in English industrial history) Between 1849 and 1874 it fell again at least 20 per cent To talk of a 'standard' subject to such fluctuations is the height of absurdity. 'So palpable is this objection,' wrote Francis A Walker, 'that some writers who still cling to the term "measure of value" abandon that of the standard of value.'

It is interesting to notice that those periods during which gold increased in value were periods of trade depression, unemployment and social misery, whilst the years during which gold declined in value were marked by trade prosperity and social advancement Evidently Mr. Winston Churchill's recent remark that 'the gold-standard has no more to do with trade depression than the Gulf Stream,' shows that his knowledge of the one is as worthless as that of the other.

Now let us suppose that a few days later we have exactly the same stock of goods, but that the exchange relations have altered, so that 4 bushels of wheat = 12 yards of cloth = 16 lb. of wool = 113 grains of gold = 1*l*. sterling. Still using the golden pound as our unit, we find that the bushel of wheat is now worth 5*s*., a yard of cloth 1*s*. 8*d*., a pound of wool 1*s*. 3*d*., and by our hypothesis 113 grains of gold is still equivalent to 1*l*. Applying these prices to our total volume of goods we find that our exchange circle is now worth only 904*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*., which is 295*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*. *less* than when we started, and which, as our old friend Euclid would have said, is impossible!

Where is the error? It is in assuming that gold has remained stationary whilst all the other goods have changed in value. It is somewhat similar to our taking as a standard of position for measuring their relative altitudes one of a fleet of aeroplanes in motion, or as representing one end of a see-saw as moving through a certain angle whilst the other end is assumed to be stationary. What has really happened in our exchange circle is that the pound which we have taken as our unit is no longer worth 113 grains of gold, as the following will show By employing the Treasury notes, and working out the exchange relations as above stated under the conditions that 1000 bushels of wheat plus 2000 yards of cloth, plus 3000 lb. of wool, plus 33,900 grains of gold must under the conditions always remain equal to 1200*l*., we find that the pound is now equivalent to 85 grains of gold, so that gold has really gained in value nearly 33⅓ per cent., and 33,900 grains are now worth a little under 399*l*. as the result of this change in the exchange relations of these various commodities. Consider what this means to the world's wealth producers, merchants, and dealers.

A comparison of these two results will give us some idea of the evils which the gold standard monetary system inflicts:

With the Gold Standard.	£	s	d	*With a Scientific Monetary Unit (Treasury Note)*	£	s	d
1 bushel wheat . =	0	5	0	1 bushel wheat . =	0	6	7½
1 yard cloth . . =	0	1	8	1 yard cloth . . =	0	2	2½
1 lb. wool . . =	0	1	3	1 lb wool . . =	0	1	8
113 grains gold . . =	1	0	0	85 grains gold . . =	1	0	0

It will be seen that the gold standard system would rob the corn dealer in the above example of 1*s*. 7½*d*. per bushel, which means a loss of 81*l*. 5*s*. on his 1000 bushels. Similarly the cloth merchant receives 6½*d*. per yard less than he should, or 54*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. in all, and the wool merchant 5*d*. per pound, or 62*l*. 10*s*. less.

Now, whilst in our illustration the purchasing power of gold over the other commodities mentioned is about the same in both systems (everything being advanced proportionally in the

entire exchange circle), the real hardship arises from the compulsory payment of debts in money (gold). Farmers, merchants, and manufacturers have to buy money with their goods and services, so that when the corn merchant has to pay 100*l*., say, in taxes, under the gold standard system as above, he must sell 400 bushels, whilst under a just system as shown he would only have to sell 300 bushels. Similarly with the cloth and wool merchants. In short, the losses to the commodity dealers is the percentage which money has advanced in value. In the above example this advance represents about 33⅓ per cent. Of course the same injustice would be inflicted under any system in which money is made a commodity.[3] This will give the reader some idea of the frightful losses which the deflation policy adopted by the Lloyd George Government at the instigation of the Cunliffe Committee imposed upon the British public, and which will be found greatly to exceed the whole of the present National Debt. Raising the value of the pound sterling 'to look the dollar in the face' will prove eventually to have been a more costly business in monetary values (although fortunately not in human lives) than the whole of our expenditure during the war. And this policy was so absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for—except by the money-lending classes! Our Treasury note system, if continued and entirely divorced from gold, could have been developed into a scientific currency such as I have already indicated, in which the monetary unit would have been entirely free from direct commodity influences except as a register for indicating fluctuations in the values of all other goods.

VIII

There is another reason why gold is unable to function as a scientific currency would do. Money may be regarded as a scale on which the values of all commodities are indicated and compared. Now the first essential of a just scale is that it must be neutral. If, for example, a thermometer scale were made of some expansive metal readily influenced by the sun's rays, it would be worthless for indicating atmospheric temperature. The same is true of gold in respect of values. Gold has its own commodity value in respect of the arts outside of its money value, and rises and falls as other commodities. Consequently its own commodity value is constantly conflicting with its function as a price scale, and these fluctuations inflict extreme hardship on commodity dealers and producers. In order that it may perform satisfactorily its necessary functions—particularly that of a value denominator, by registering the variations in exchange values of commodities

[3] I have dealt more fully with this phase of the subject in my work entitled *A Fraudulent Standard*, written and published in 1917.

—money must be essentially a valueless token, similar to a railway or theatre ticket. The 1*l.* Treasury note meets, of course, this condition, provided its issue is not restricted by such absurdities as 'gold redemption' and so long as the supply is sufficient to meet all the demands of trade, industry, and commerce.

IX

A further and perhaps the most serious objection to the gold standard is the power which this system gives to financiers to influence and control the industrial and economic conditions of the world. As the late Sir Edward Holden once said, 'under the gold standard, gold controls the trade of the world' And this means that a few men are able, through the control of gold, to control the world's credit. And this also means the control of the lives and fortunes of the world's inhabitants Such power ought not to be in the hands of any group or class. It means the control of civilisation. Since economic power controls political power, it is possible for a group of irresponsible individuals by means of credit control to enslave the world! Every form of human activity is, to a more or less degree, dependent upon the use of money. The money monopolist can control the production and distribution of every commodity essential to human welfare. Senator Chauncey Depew once stated in the Senate at Washington that there were fifty men in the United States who had the power to close every factory, every mine, every telegraph office, to lay up every steamship, to stop every train on every railway from moving, in short to paralyse the entire industrial system of America, merely because of their control of the banking and therefore credit facilities! A somewhat similar power exists in this country. The rapid amalgamation of the banks, the control of which is now centred in London and controlled by twenty or thirty individuals, constitutes what is known as the 'money power' of this country. All this has been brought about by legislation, and largely by means of the enthronement of the gold standard. The advice given by the members of the Cunliffe Currency Committee in their first interim report, that the whole subject of our financial and banking system should be again reviewed, ought to be immediately acted upon, and the Government should at once appoint a Royal Commission consisting of men carefully selected from all branches of trade and industry and from all classes. Preference should be given to men of thoroughly scientific training, and, whilst the banking class should be represented, care should be taken to see that the banking interests are not allowed to dominate the Commission, as has hitherto been the rule. In no other branch of inquiry have the interests of any one special class been given the exclusive right of determining the Government's policy except in

financial and banking affairs. It is surely time for the wealth-producing classes who are the victims of the present system to take a hand in deciding what the future monetary policy of this country shall be It is a question of the most momentous importance, both to our national safety and industrial existence, as well as to the welfare of every inhabitant of the realm.

ARTHUR KITSON.

LORD BALFOUR'S LEGACY TO IRELAND

IRELAND made Lord Balfour's reputation when he revealed, in his term of office as Chief Secretary from 1887–91, the qualities of energy and decision that had not before been associated with his æsthetic and philosophical temperament. And his work in Ireland will probably remain the most permanent achievement of his political career A new generation has arisen in Ireland to whom he no longer appears as the proud aristocrat who challenged the Land League with ruthless severity, but who, looking back upon the astonishing economic progress in Ireland during the past forty years, are ready to acknowledge that no other English Chief Secretary in modern times did so much during his term of office to initiate large measures of economic development. George Wyndham undoubtedly did most to improve conditions in the country by the Land Purchase Act of 1903, which offered such substantial inducements to the Irish landlords to sell their estates to the tenants, that the creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland dates mainly from the years of his administration. But Wyndham's goodwill and enthusiasm would have availed for little without the powerful backing of Lord Balfour as Prime Minister, and most Irishmen will nowadays readily admit that much of the credit for Wyndham's reforms is due to Lord Balfour, who selected him for the position and sent him to Ireland with instructions to proceed on bold lines.

But while land purchase converted the Irish tenant farmers from a poverty-ridden and demoralised class into a hard-working and thrifty peasantry, the development that gathered momentum after 1903 owed much to the practical and constructive efforts of Lord Balfour himself during his Chief Secretaryship His most important legacy to Ireland was the Congested Districts Board, which he established after consultation with those who were trying to improve economic conditions throughout the country. The 'C.D.B.,' as it was popularly called, for the thirty years of its existence, has now come to an end and its work has been taken over by the new Ministries of Agriculture and of Fisheries. A comprehensive survey of its history has just been published in Dublin by the first Secretary of the Board, Mr. W. L.

Micks,[1] who was one of Lord Balfour's chief advisers in creating it, and who served with it until its final conclusion. The story of the Board, thus told with admirable modesty and complete knowledge by the man who was most intimately connected with its whole history, makes a singular tribute to Lord Balfour, and shows him in an unfamiliar aspect as the organiser of schemes for breeding donkeys and poultry in a primitive country and the enthusiastic promoter of cottage industries and local fisheries.

The term ' congested districts ' seems singularly inappropriate to describe the waste of barren mountain and bog land, interspersed with lakes and rivers, that makes up most of the West of Ireland ; where isolated farms and little villages along the coast, with a few small market towns scattered through each county, still represent the economic conditions of the people. The phrase was characteristic of the detached attitude of its author towards a primitive peasant people, whose life and beliefs were completely out of touch with the economic and social conditions of this country. Even their speech was largely incomprehensible to an English Chief Secretary, for the western counties even now remain partly Gaelic-speaking, and were considerably more so in the 'nineties than they are to-day. Congestion, as Lord Balfour saw it, consisted in the obvious fact that these backward and infertile districts throughout the west were incapable of supporting the population that lived in them as the result of historical causes. Ireland still suffers acutely from the consequences of Cromwell's drastic clearance of the Catholic peasantry from the fertile midlands to the other side of the Shannon ; and the rapid conversion of the central plains into grazing during the nineteenth century accentuated the over-population of the west. The Irish Free State is still confronted with the problem of migrating the surplus population from these poor lands of Connaught and West Munster and Ulster on to the depopulated grazing lands of the central plain ; but in the meantime a vast improvement has taken place in the conditions throughout the whole west, mainly as a result of the efforts of Lord Balfour's Congested Districts Board.

The Board was brought into being under the terms of the Land Purchase Act of 1891, its principal functions being to take steps for aiding and developing agriculture, forestry, the breeding of livestock and poultry, weaving, spinning, fishing and industries connected with fishing, and any other suitable industries. It was given authority to proceed with such work either directly or indirectly and by the application of its funds by gifts or loans. These consisted of the interest (41,250*l.* a year) upon a sum of 1,500,000*l.*, which was part of the surplus of the funds of the late Established Church, besides a further sum of about 84,000*l.* from

[1] *History of the Congested Districts Board*, by W L. Micks, Eason, Dublin. 15s

two Fisheries Loans. The area over which it was to operate included the whole province of Connaught, besides Donegal and parts of County Clare and West Cork. One of the chief reasons for the Board's success was that it was purposely kept independent of Government control. The Chief Secretary was to be an *ex-officio* member, and the Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle was to take his place if he were absent. The Lord Lieutenant was to nominate a member of the Land Commission and there were to be five other members appointed by the Crown; and also three other temporary members for business relating to fisheries, agriculture and other special matters. But Lord Balfour himself explained clearly in a minute that it was 'not in the ordinary sense a Government department nor is it subordinate either to the Chief Secretary's Office or the Ministry of the day.' It was entirely free to spend its income according to its own ideas within the statutory limits and subject to auditing by the Auditor-General.

So constituted, it commanded public confidence without any fear of friction through its association with the Government. All its members were unpaid, and the membership throughout all its history included men of wide knowledge of Irish conditions, whose devotion to public service was universally recognised. The first Board consisted of Sir Horace Plunkett, who was then starting his agricultural co-operative movement; Mr. Wrench, of the Land Commission; Mr. Cairnes, who was a director of the Bank of Ireland, of the Great Northern Railway, and of the City of Dublin Steamship Company; Father Charles Davis, a parish priest in West Cork, who had done much to develop local fisheries; Mr. Charles Kennedy, a well-known philanthropist and business man in Dublin; and Mr. J H. Tuke, who had devoted years to the relief of the West of Ireland since the terrible famine of the 'forties. Mr. W. L. Micks, an inspector under the Local Government Board, who had unrivalled knowledge of conditions in the west, was appointed Secretary, and the Board's programme of work was largely due to his initiative and energy. Various sub-committees were instructed to report on particular schemes for development, and the first year was occupied in collecting detailed reports on the eighty-four natural districts into which the area of the Board was divided. These reports were admirably detailed, and they contain the most comprehensive record that can be found anywhere of conditions in the West of Ireland at the time the Board began its operations.

A typical picture of conditions in most of the congested districts is contained in the specimen report on a district in Donegal which Mr Micks himself prepared for consideration at the first meeting of the Board. It is reproduced as a separate appendix in the book.

An ordinary tenant [he wrote then] grows about an acre (statute) of potatoes, or a little more, half an acre to an acre of oats; about a rood of green crops; and about a rood of meadow—that is, about two and a half acres in all. The tenants living in a great many townlands along the seashore have hardly any run for cattle, of which therefore they have very few. The people who live a couple of miles and more from the sea have ample grazing rights in common on the mountains and moors, and in a few instances tracts of unfenced moor or mountain are in the occupation of individual tenants

As for the possibility of reclaiming land, this could not be hoped for by the sea, but many tenants living by the seashore had purchased the tenant right of mountain 'cuts' several miles away, which they had reclaimed. Here also was abundant turf, which the seashore tenants had to fetch from distant bogs. Overcrowding in the townlands was appalling. For instance, the 100 families in Keadue (comprising 565 people) occupied land which was valued at 103*l.* in all. Yet owing to the wages earned in migratory labour the people 'are in ordinary years well fed according to the standard of the district and also comfortably clad and housed.' As for farming, there was not one plough in all the district, for the rocky land and deep bog could not be ploughed. The harrowing on corn land was done almost entirely with wooden rakes. Seaweed was the only manure available, and spreading it was almost the only agricultural work done in the winter. No wonder the crops were always poor!

No local employment for labourers existed under such conditions, but practically all the able-bodied men, girls, and children were migratory labourers—the men going to Scotland and the girls and children to more prosperous farms in the adjacent counties further east.

The men who go for the harvest [wrote Mr Micks in his survey] usually bring home about 6*l.*, and in a good year a man working from May to October would bring back nearly 20*l* Besides harvest work, many of them find employment in Scotland, in haymaking and turnip weeding, and a good many obtain temporary work in oil refineries and other occupations.

Some families could count on obtaining twice or three times the amount of these savings if there were two or three men available for migratory labour, and most families made a small income from the hired labour of their children. There is a vivid description in one of Mr. Patrick MacGill's early novels of a 'hiring fair' in the district which Mr. Micks actually describes. The wages earned by the children varied according to their physique and intelligence, but for a little boy or girl, or even a young woman, they varied from 2*l.* to 6*l.* for a half year. Taking into account all earnings from migratory labour, Mr. Micks estimates the average earnings of an ordinary family at 16*l.*!

As for subsidiary industries, he found only three or four

weavers in the whole district, but most of the women and girls knitted a great deal through the winter. This, however, would bring in only about 4*s*. a week for an average family during the winter and only 2*s*. a week during the summer. Even the manufacture of kelp from seaweed (the price of which was 4*l*. a ton) scarcely existed outside the islands on the coast. Turf for fuel was obtained almost entirely from strips of bog to which the tenants had acquired a right, and practically none was ever sold. Lobster fishing employed less than fifty men in the whole district, and there were not even any regular sea fishermen along the coast, although 'all the people from the mainland fish vigorously for their supplies when mackerel or herring come close in.' The boats in the district were nearly all used for gathering seaweed for manure Even the curing of fish did not exist, except for rough salting when large catches were made. Butter and eggs produced above the needs of the families themselves were seldom sold for money, but usually exchanged in the local shops at the market rates for tea, sugar, and tobacco and other goods. A detailed budget, representing the average expenditure and earnings of a typical family, which was prepared by Mr. Micks in his survey, shows an income of 43*l*. and expenditure of 42*l*. 15*s*. 5*d*. The dietary of the people was then almost entirely vegetable, with scarcely any variety, consisting of bread, tea, milk, sugar, potatoes, and porridge, with salt fish either at mid-day or at supper in the evening. Clothing was made chiefly from homespun tweed and flannel, and though the men wore boots always the women did so only to go to church on Sundays.

This report was made some ten years after the Land Act of 1881 had begun to improve conditions by giving the tenant farmers security of tenure and the right of appeal to rent courts if they were rented too highly. The long demoralisation which had resulted from the constant fear of rents being raised if any improvement were made had begun to disappear, and the people were already working harder and gradually introducing improvements The really rapid improvement did not take place until Mr. George Wyndham's Land Purchase Act in 1903 finally removed all sense of insecurity by enabling the tenants in great numbers to become possessors by purchase of the land they held. But the Act of 1881 had already given new heart to the people when Mr. Balfour turned his attention to the congested districts, and the time had come when real progress could be made by the introduction of scientific agriculture and the establishment of rural industries. Mr. Micks, in his report on his district in the north-west, suggested that the following improvements could be carried out: establishment of steam and other communication; agricultural development; introduction of good breeds of live-

stock and poultry; development of fisheries; provision of industrial occupation for the male population during the winter months; technical instruction of girls in needlework and kindred occupations; development of tourist traffic; migration of population; reclaiming of land; and promotion of minor miscellaneous occupations.

This specimen report made a profound impression upon Mr. Balfour, and it was followed by other similar reports dealing with each part of the congested districts. These became the basis upon which the policy of the Board was framed, and the general suggestions made by Mr. Micks were, in fact, adopted and methodically carried out in the subsequent years. It is impossible to estimate how much the Congested Districts Board contributed to the steady development of agriculture, since this was mainly the work of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, founded later by Sir Horace Plunkett, and of the co-operative movement in which his best energies were spent for thirty years. But the organisation of Irish fisheries and the creation of rural industries throughout the west was directly due to the Board, and the value of its work can be shown in actual figures. In 1891 sea fishing throughout the West of Ireland existed almost entirely for local consumption, and the amount of money earned by the sale of fish was negligible. Such fishing as there was depended entirely upon lines and small nets used from open boats, and most often from canvas curraghs. But by 1913 fishing had become an established commercial trade, with large fleets of decked boats using long train nets; and these boats were manned by local crews who had never been to sea in such boats until they were trained by the Congested Districts Board's instructors to manage the new craft and to use modern fishing gear. In County Donegal alone the fisheries brought in nearly 53,000*l.* from commercial buyers in 1913, while the county had five steam drifters and some twenty motor boats. The whole congested districts received over 166,000*l.* for its fishermen in that year, in addition to the large incidental earnings of fish merchants, curers, boat-wrights, and those engaged in transport. All this money, being spent locally, increased greatly the prosperity of the local traders as well.

The earnings of the rural industries fostered and created by the Board were also of immense assistance. In 1913 they earned some 30,000*l.* in wages. In 1922 the amount had grown to over 40,000*l.* These totals may appear insignificant in terms of industrial life, but they represent in the West of Ireland almost a clear profit, since the people are almost entirely self-supporting with their food supplies grown on their own farms, while they have their own fuel in the turf bogs, and their expenditure on rent is very small. The Board is entitled to full credit also for its effort to

mprove agriculture during the first eight years before the Depart-nent of Agriculture was established. By introducing better oreeds of horses, donkeys, pigs, and sheep, the general standard of these animals was greatly improved, with an immediate result n better prices at the fairs. Most successful was the introduction of better breeds of poultry, with the consequence that many poor amilies subsequently earned as much by the sale of eggs alone as hey had earned from all sources before. More important still, it was the Board which first made general the spraying of potatoes is a preventative against blight. Spraying with copper sulphate and lime was still an experiment, borrowed from the use of vine-dressing solutions in France, when the Congested Districts Board ried to introduce it in the West of Ireland. Its instructors met with a certain amount of superstitious opposition at first on the ground that such artificial interferences with Nature were a deli-berate provocation of Providence. But before long the results justified themselves completely, and, as Mr. Micks puts it, 'the main food supply of the poor all over Ireland was preserved to an extent that cannot be appreciated in money.'

But the most widely known and memorable work of the Board concerns the reorganisation of agricultural holdings, hrough the purchase of estates and their rearrangement and sub-division on a sound plan, to abolish the old system of small farms divided into many isolated and disconnected pieces. Such work was not originally contemplated when the Board was created; but Sir Henry Doran, a member of the Board who had practical experience of estate management, suggested the idea of spending part of the Board's grant upon the purchase of an entire estate n Galway as a bold experiment. The Congested Districts Board acquired the whole property, rearranged the farms on a reason-able basis, spent money upon roads, building houses and fencing and drainage, and then sold the new farms to the former tenants. t not only cleared all expenses, but made a profit of a few hun-dred pounds which were then devoted to further improvements. The great and indisputable success of this transaction led to the purchase of other small estates. Before long this part of the Board's work attracted so much attention that it became regarded as its chief function; and after Mr. George Wyndham became Chief Secretary in Dublin his Land Act provided for much wider powers of purchase and resale being given to the Congested Districts Board. Up to 1903 the Board had spent 536,000*l.* on acquiring states containing 6211 tenancies; and under the Wyndham Act . spent a further 1,685,189*l.* with 9516 tenancies. Much more progress would have been made under the Wyndham Act had the Treasury been willing to sanction the improvements which were necessary before resale to the tenants could be contemplated.

Another feature of this work of improving estates was the Parish Committee scheme, under which prizes and small grants were given to encourage improvement in each district. About 50,000*l.* was spent in such schemes during fourteen years, and the work done as a result of the inducements so offered was estimated as 223,000*l.*! Some idea of the standard of comfort existing when the scheme was started may be gathered from the fact that the stipulations required, before any grant or prize could be awarded, were that outhouses must be put up for cattle (in order to prevent their being kept in the dwelling-house), and that the manure heap or pit should be removed to an approved distance from the house. Some criticism of these grants was made on the ground that it was demoralising to bribe people by contributing towards improvements that they ought to undertake themselves. But the attitude of the Board is well expressed in a report by its senior inspector, who emphasised the immense moral effect that had been achieved in many places where a grant of 1*l.* or 30*s.* had induced small farmers to move their cows out of their dwelling-houses, build a byre, move the manure heap from before the door, and substitute a neat yard or garden surrounded with well-built walls. 'It seems to me that the 1*l* repays itself times without number, outside the money value, in the social education of that man and his family,' wrote the inspector, and the Board generally shared his opinion.

One remarkable proof of the general improvement was that the public expenditure on relief of distress in the congested districts fell rapidly in amount from 35,000*l.* in 1895 to only 10,500*l.* in 1907-8; while during the last fifteen years of its existence no expenditure whatever was made by the Government for relief of distress. The miscellaneous operations of the Board included great improvements in road and steamer communications and in steamer services, apart from railway extensions that were carried out by the Government. By giving guarantees it obtained numerous extensions of postal and telegraph services. Local nursing of the sick also received substantial assistance from the Board. It established harbour and fishery lights and beacons at a large number of places, and it undertook the expense of teaching boat-building, barrel-making, and net-making. But the most concrete measure of the improvement that was effected is given by the growth of deposits in the Post Office Savings' Banks. Statistics for the separate counties included in the congested districts are not given for later than 1912, and the amount of money in the Irish Savings' Banks increased enormously after that date. But even by 1912 the increase shown by the returns was prodigious. In County Kerry alone the deposits had grown from 25,000*l.* in 1881 to 381,000*l.* in 1912; in County Leitrim from 13,500*l.* to

147,000*l.*; in Mayo from 49,000*l.* to 519,000*l.*; and in the seven complete counties included in the congested area from 243,000*l.* to 2,265,000*l.*

Mr. Micks, looking back on the conditions which were prevalent when the Congested Districts Board was established, describes the change as 'simply marvellous,' and anyone who remembers the conditions even at a much later date will confirm his description.

> Unhealthy hovels [he writes] then broadcast in the districts have, in most cases, been obliterated or turned into cattle sheds Compact holdings of increased acreage have taken the place of small holdings in numerous scattered plots, some of the plots being no more than an unfenced single ridge in a small field The first steps (no more is claimed here) have been successfully taken by making new holdings and by improving the mode of agriculture and the breeds of livestock and poultry The farmers, as they now may be called, in East Connacht and similar areas, are in a position much more favourable for taking advantage of such future and far too long deferred agricultural developments as made Denmark prosperous in a very few years

One aspect of Mr. Mick's conclusions is of special interest in regard to the relations between the work of such a body and the Government

> I attribute such success as the Board has achieved [he writes] to its complete independence and to its power to take prompt and immediate action for carrying out its plans subject to keeping expenditure within its yearly income, and subject to the obligation to satisfy the auditor-general that the expenditure was within its powers and that all payments were duly and strictly vouched. I lay stress on the independence of the Board as its work is a most interesting and valuable illustration of what Irishmen, possessing full powers, though with relatively small funds, were able to do for the improvement of the poorest and most backward districts of their country within the very short space of thirty-two years The Board insisted upon its freedom of action, except for a few years in the first decade of the present century If such insistence had not been persevered in, or if the projects of the Board had been subject to the criticism of Dublin Castle and Treasury officials personally unacquainted with local conditions, the result would undoubtedly have been that nothing or next to nothing would have been effected I venture to say that the moral to be derived from a consideration of the Board's work is that in the future, as in the past, bodies charged with the development of the resources of the country should be given, within the limits of funds placed at their disposal by the Oireachtas, a wide and unfettered discretion, free from the objections or modifications of clever administrative or financial officials, but who are without the special knowledge that ought to be possessed by those to whom functions for development are entrusted.

DENIS GWYNN.

CONTROL OF THE NILE

THE control of the Nile waters has occupied mankind since the dawn of history. Water is the first and last consideration in a rainless land—it is the life of the people; and thus Egypt has witnessed a continuous struggle to utilise to the fullest possible extent the waters of the river whose valley and delta mark the limits of cultivable land. To the ancient Egyptians the sacred river presented the same problem as faces the modern engineer. How can the waters be best utilised during the flood months of late July, August, September, and October, and how may the sluggish river be harnessed to the needs of men during the season of low water?

Before the Emperor Nero had sent his expeditions to discover the sources of the mysterious river, and Juvenal had sung *Divitis ostia Nili*, the Pharaohs had introduced a system of irrigation which was hardly improved upon until the early years of the nineteenth century. From the banks of the Nile were cut deep channels, along which the water flowed during the season of the flood inland to the foothills. Parallel to the river, and forming a series of dykes, were built a number of embankments, which formed basins to retain the overflow. They retained the precious silt, brought down from the plateaux of Central Africa, spreading it over the land and rejuvenating the soil year by year in a far more efficient and thorough fashion than the modern agriculturist can do by artificial means. Each basin was connected with its neighbour performing the functions of a natural drain, and thus the saline qualities of the water were carried back to the river when the flood had played its part in enriching the soil. The peasant had the simple task of casting his seed to the winds, which carried it across the water-saturated soil. In the delta the process of flooding was simpler, owing to the ease with which water could be drawn from the many branches of the river; and in this area the land brought under cultivation was probably not less than that now utilised by a more efficient and modern system of irrigation. During the period of inundation the country was a vast lake, dotted with villages emerging from the banks and mounds upon which the inhabitants had constructed their mud-brick houses.

Clusters of date palms threw up their slender trunks topped by spreading leaves, while upon the land the silt of the waters slowly settled, reviving and giving heart to the soil.

For 7000 years the system of basin irrigation introduced by the Pharaoh Menes and his successors remained in use. Rome made Egypt the granary of the West, and from the banks of the Nile quantities of grain were shipped to feed the turbulent mobs of the imperial city. But succeeding centuries changed the course of the world's commerce, and when Mohammed Ali made himself master of Egypt, in 1811, he cast about for new means of extracting wealth from the soil. Cultivation had hitherto been a one-crop system, dependent upon the flood. To him must be given the credit of foreseeing the immense advantage to be gained from constant irrigation throughout the year, enabling crops such as cotton, sugar, and rice to be grown. The climate was eminently suitable for their cultivation, but they required constant and careful watering during the summer. To do this he introduced a perennial system of irrigation by constructing a number of deep canals, known as *sefi*, or summer canals, to carry off the water at low flood. Miles of these canals were dug throughout the delta, carrying water for long distances in deep cuttings, from which it was drawn by means of water-wheels turned by animals, or slung up in buckets attached to poles.

Hitherto the enormous quantities of water brought down during the flood had been more than ample for the needs of every cultivator. Indeed, it was not possible, nor was it desirable, to attempt to regulate the enormous mass of water and silt that invaded the countryside, as the crops cultivated were not sown till the receding flood had deposited some two to three feet of mud on the fallow-land. Sugar and cotton required more scientific methods. It was possible to overflood the soil, and it therefore became necessary to regulate not only the quantity of water irrigating the land during the low-flood season, but to buoy up and to prevent the complete swamping of the countryside during the season of inundation. This change in the processes of Nature carried in its train disadvantages and difficulties, which could only be overcome by experience. The careful regulation of water, though it brought untold prosperity and wealth to the cultivator, robbed the land of its full measure of renovating Nile silt. The sluggish waters resting in deep canals dropped their silt upon the beds of the canals, which quickly became choked, impeding the passage of the water. Canals became blocked for miles, and narrow ponds were formed here and there down their length. This lack of silt had the effect of diminishing productivity, and great efforts were required annually to keep the waterways open. As an inevitable consequence the scramble for water resulted in the rich man

utilising every means in his power to obtain a supply, while the peasant often left his crops on the field to dry up under the fierce sun that caked his land into a hard, compact mass cut here and there by long fissures.

Added to these difficulties was the important question of drainage. It was not enough to provide the means for cultivation; drainage outlets must be cut to clear the sodden soil from the effects of water-logging. Saline deposits rise quickly, turning good land into marsh; and although drains were dug, the improvident fellah (or peasant) more often used them as in-takes than as outlets to cleanse his land. An inspector of irrigation can imagine no more heinous crime than this, yet it was a frequent occurrence; and it was a matter for wonderment to the fellah why a duplicate system of canals was required, unless they were both intended to carry to his fields the precious fluid.

Every peasant knew the state of the river, and the height of the flood, measured by the rock-cut gauge at Assuan, was flashed from end to end of Egypt as the river rose during the early weeks of the flood season. In recent times readings are taken at many localities, even as far south as Khartoum and beyond, so that the available water is known long before the maximum flood reaches the delta. The longest series of records are the readings of the Roda gauge at Cairo, which runs from A.D. 641 to 1451, and from 1737, with one break, up to the present time. The early readings cannot be regarded as strictly accurate, as upon them depended the taxation assessments on land; and there would seem to be no doubt that the Arab cultivator managed to obtain a registration of incorrect readings for the purpose of evading the tax collector. To the peasantry a low year brought in its train disaster. Well might the Arab poet describe the *pics* measured at Assuan as 'The Angels of Death' and the marble column in the well at Roda, upon which twenty-four measurements were cut by the Caliph Al-Mutawakhil, as 'The Column of Destiny.' A rise of eighteen divisions on the column was generally regarded as the height of the lowest inundation; twenty was excellent; but at twenty-four the overflooding was ruinous.

Mohammed Ali early realised the impossibility of maintaining a complicated irrigation system without assistance. He called in the help of French engineers; and to one of these, Mougel Bey, must be given the credit for evolving the Cairo Barrage. Mougel Bey declared that the only method by which water at low flood could be obtained was to dam the apex of the delta below Cairo. By holding up the waters and by adding four metres to the water level sufficient could be retained to supply the entire needs of the delta. The plan was immense in conception and in 1842 the work was commenced. Two bridges were constructed, one across the

Rosetta branch and the other across the Damietta branch, pierced by a number of sluices which were opened and closed by sliding screens. Behind the bridges upstream are the entrances of the summer canals. Thus when water is required the sluices are closed, buoying up the waters and forming an enormous barrier stretching across both branches of the river. Unfortunately, engineering science was not then in a position to tackle the problems unexpectedly met with, and though the barrage was in partial use in 1863 the frequent settlement of its foundations caused it to be abandoned, and in 1883 it was officially declared useless.

The barrage was the beginning of a series of works which were continued and planned by British engineers from 1883 onwards. Their achievements must rank as the greatest series of irrigation works in the world; and in controlling the waters of the Nile from Assuan northwards they have saved Egypt from reverting to an impecunious State of struggling peasantry. It is true that other engineers may have solved this problem in a like manner, but the happy circumstance of having the principal departments of State staffed by Englishmen under the guiding hand of Lord Cromer allowed their task to be completed in a more thorough and ambitious manner than could otherwise have been the case.

The task of the newly constituted Irrigation Department may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into two portions, though it should be realised that both series of works proceeded concurrently. In the first place, the almost complete breakdown of the summer canals necessitated a thorough revision of the whole question of perennial irrigation in the delta. As forming a section of this work of reconstruction, the reparation of the barrage was of first importance. Secondly, the system of basin irrigation which had existed for thousands of years in Upper Egypt called for its substitution by the perennial system, in order that the maximum amount of land might be brought under cultivation and the land already cultivated be provided with a constant supply of water to grow more valuable crops. Mohammed Ali and his successors had in general confined their schemes to the delta, but here and there powerful pumps had been installed, and some canals cut, which gave the benefits of regulated inundations to small areas in Upper Egypt.

The chiefs of the department were British engineers with big reputations, known popularly as 'The Wise Men of the East,' who entered on their task with an energy and enthusiasm that conquered the inertia and distrust of the natives and overcame the physical difficulties of these immense irrigation problems. Lord Cromer, writing in 1908, pays a tribute to their work:

The British engineer unconsciously accomplished a feat which, in the eyes of a politician, is perhaps even more remarkable than that of con-

trolling the refractory waters of the Nile. He justified Western methods to Eastern minds. He inculcated, in a manner which arrested and captivated even the blurred intellect of the poor, ignorant Egyptian fellah, the lesson that the usurer and the retailer of adulterated drinks are not the sole products of European civilisation ; and, inasmuch as he achieved this object, he deserves the gratitude not only of all intelligent Asiatics, but also of all Europeans—of the rulers of Algiers and of Tunis as well as those of India. (*Modern Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 465.)

Reorganisation in the delta proceeded over a number of years. The problem everywhere was to improve the existing system without interrupting its action, to increase the head of water while work on the canals was in progress, and to relieve the sodden soil by drainage where the water had been brought to it. New canals were dug and old canals repaired. Levels were corrected, regulators introduced, and a proper rotation for cultivators drawn up. Yet these improvements would have been useless had not the officials been empowered to insist upon the observance of regulations, and been able to bring pressure to break down the wall of prejudice that met them at every turn. It was no easy matter to train a population, accustomed for many years to divert at will the head of water from a canal, or to cut the banks or to lift water from the summer channels, to the detriment of their neighbours, into more provident methods.

The success of these reforms depended upon the barrage itself. The great work of reparation was commenced during the low water season of 1884. The temporary repairs effected during that year met with immediate success, to justify a more complete restoration. At each season of the low water portions of the dam were enclosed by blankets of earthen walls, from which the water was pumped until the bed of the river was revealed. The foundations, resting on sand and silt, were strengthened, the great containing walls thickened, and the structure reinforced against the subversive action of water. The sluices were supplied with mechanically worked iron gates, a set being fitted to the Damietta branch of the dam which had hitherto lacked this one essential attribute , and when the work was finished the barrage held an amount of water in excess of that contemplated in the original project. A small weir was afterwards constructed north of the barrage at Ziftah, on the Damietta branch. The effect of these works was at once evident. There was now a sufficient depth of water at the in-take to increase the flow by gravitation throughout the miles of summer canals. Less water was therefore wasted in transit, and the increased velocity carried the precious silt to the fields in place of distributing it along the beds of the canals. Finally it was found possible to increase the depth of the cuttings radiating northwards from the barrage, and thus to economise labour in the cleaning and maintenance of this network of waterways. As a

supplement to the barrage temporary embankments are thrown across the mouths of the Damietta and Rosetta branches during the season of low water. By these means the lands in their vicinities are supplied, a last use to which the waters may be put. The embankments are cut as soon as the flood reaches the Cairo barrage, but previously to this the outlet of the Nile is completely blocked from the sea from some time in March till the middle of August.

The irrigation of Lower Egypt which enabled two million feddans—a feddan is 1·038 acres—to receive the blessings of a perennial water supply have their counterpart in Upper Egypt commencing with the Assuan Reservoir and continuing northwards in the barrages, or weirs, of Esna and Assiut. The project of the Assuan Dam was for many years the subject of discussion. The need for it was regarded as so urgent that Lord Salisbury's Ministry in 1895 postponed the reconquest of the Sudan on the ground that Egypt was unable to finance both projects.

Confronted with the alternative of allocating a considerable sum of money either to the Assuan Dam or to a possible Nile Expedition, the Cabinet plumped for the former, and Lord Cromer was told that 'there is not at present any prospect of the Government consenting to the despatch of an expedition to the Sudan' (*Life of Lord Kitchener*, vol. i, p 186)

The dam was completed in 1902, and was heightened ten years later. In its final state it is thirty metres in height, and twenty-four metres in width at the base and eight at the top. From December until March the sluices are closed, and the waters are held until its maximum capacity of two and a half milliards of cubic metres is attained From Assuan southwards for a distance of 200 miles the river is converted into a great reservoir. A short distance from the rampart of the dam, and within sound of its rushing waters, lies the island of Philæ, with its beautiful temple. The pagan columns lift their heads above the level of the reservoir, but beneath the stately building, within which the priests of ancient Egypt performed their rites before crowded pilgrimages, has disappeared—a sacrifice to provide comfort and prosperity for the modern Egyptian.

Above Assuan is the Barrage of Esna, and north of that again, some 250 miles south of Cairo, is the Assiut Barrage. From the latter runs the famous Ibrahimieh Canal, which gives summer water by gravitation to Middle Egypt. Both weirs provide water for land hitherto not reached by the Nile, and enable a million feddans of soil to obtain the benefits of perennial irrigation. It is impossible to exaggerate the effect of these works in regulating the river and harnessing its waters at time of need. In 1913, when the river registered an unusually low rise, many hundreds of thousands of people were saved from dire distress by

the water stored at Assuan and diverted at the weirs into the thirsty fields of Upper and Lower Egypt. Even so, the area under rice in that year was reduced from an average crop covering 200,000 feddans to 25,000, entailing the almost total suppression of the crop, a staple article of food.

The heightening of the Assuan Reservoir marks the completion of the first stage in the irrigation of Egypt. The wit of man has never devised a more thorough scheme for controlling immense quantities of water, yet the problem which confronts Egypt in the near future opens up difficulties of which the solution is even now being sought by her engineers. Briefly put, the position is that the population of Egypt, which to-day is approximately fourteen millions, is increasing at the rate of 200,000 souls per annum. The insistent demand for expansion is dependent upon water and upon a limited area of land capable of cultivation—that is to say, susceptible to irrigation. Politically Egypt extends over an immense region, but 'The Nile is Egypt,' and once the valley and delta are left a sand-swept desert blocks development, massing the population within narrow boundaries. The agricultural area is 7,390,000 feddans, the total area now cultivated being 5,250,000 feddans. There remain then approximately 2,000,000 feddans to be reclaimed, which, together with improvements in existing perennial and basin areas, is the limit governing expansion. If the calculations of Egypt's engineers are correct, she will have completed her development to the utmost limits in thirty years' time. Future development must proceed hand in hand with increased storage capacity. The possibilities of increasing the supply of water involves holding back the discharge during periods when there is an excess and diminishing as far as possible waste through evaporation. Important as it is to get the water on to the land and then to drain it off, there is one other consideration that is a continual source of anxiety. The danger of a high or abnormally prolonged flood is a menace that always hangs over Egypt, and the introduction of the perennial system makes overflooding a disaster of no less magnitude than a scarcity of water. The pecuniary loss in either case would be immense, and in Lower Egypt, with its level fields, a tragedy of this nature may at any time take place. The Egyptian Government has done much to prevent such an occurrence by constructing embankments along the river. An organised control guards the river day and night, and a telephone installation keeps the watchers in touch against any sudden break in the banks. Thus any scheme for the future must provide for overflooding in addition to storage capacity.

One of the many features of the Nile is that most of the water which comes from its tributaries enters the main stream 1900 miles from its mouth at or above Khartoum. Other great rivers

increase their discharge as they near their outlets, but the Nile wanders on through its narrow valley gradually decreasing in volume through evaporation and wastage. Excluding the Atbara, the Nile relies for its water upon two great tributaries, the Blue Nile and the White Nile. Entering the main river at Khartoum, they have widely different characteristics. The Blue Nile supplies an immense quantity of water which, in time of flood, rises rapidly, flowing onwards at a great pace. It carries down with it the silt which gives Egypt her alluvial soil. On the other hand, the White Nile has been cleansed by going through a filtering process as it passes from Lake Victoria through Lake Albert to the marshy swamps and shallow waters of the region around Lake No. The pace of its flow is retarded by vegetation, and these impediments to free passage cause its waters in times of flood to rise gradually. Also the bed of the White Nile, or Bahr-el-Jebel, as it is called in its upper course, is not well adapted for carrying water. The change in level from Lake Albert is an easy slope; its course runs through a hot country, its banks disappear under shallow swamps, and but for its affluent, the River Sobat, its discharge would be sensibly diminished through evaporation by the time it reached Khartoum. These disadvantages, however, must be weighed against the rapid flow of the Blue Nile and the inevitable massing of quantities of silt against the rampart of a dam built near its entrance into the White Nile

Comparing the two tributaries, the report of the Egyptian Government on the project for a second great reservoir says:

> The condition when the peak of the flood is reached (at Khartoum) is that there is a steady flow, consisting mostly of Blue Nile water, passing below the junction of the two rivers, and a huge pond just upstream of Khartoum in the White Nile valley prepared to pour out its waters as soon as the levels in the main river permit it to do so. By constructing a dam, or barrage, on the White Nile at Khartoum, it is clear that the waters in this pond can be held back and prevented from flowing down to Egypt till such a time as they can be released without danger of breaking the Nile banks

A dam thus constructed fulfils the fundamental requirement of controlling the water supply of the Nile, by giving a measure of flood protection and providing a very considerable increase to the quantity available for Egypt in summer.

The site selected is at Jebel Aulia, thirty-one miles south of Khartoum. Across the river a great wall of masonry will bank up the waters, storing some four milliards of cubic metres. At the commencement of the flood in late July the sluices are to be closed, being opened in November, when the Blue Nile begins to fall. By the time the new supply reaches the reservoir at Assuan evaporation and absorption will have reduced this quantity to 3200 millions of cubic metres. As the Assuan Reservoir empties

by the release of water for perennial irrigation it will be refilled during the months preceding the next flood by discharges from the Jebel Aulia. But the abstraction of the White Nile discharge during the flood must alter the level of the high flood in Egypt. The basin irrigation of Upper Egypt, which is dependent upon normal floods for its quota of water, may suffer; and it is proposed, as an essential complement to the scheme, to construct a weir at Nag Hamadi, midway between Esna and Assiut, whose function would be to maintain the water level.

The increased area in Egypt relying upon this additional supply does not, however, exhaust the possibilities of expansion. Other large reservoirs of water must be tapped. The late Sir William Garstin examined and reported favourably upon a proposal to create a third reservoir by damming the exit of Lake Albert:

> Lake Albert could be well used to store up water during the rainy season, which would be discharged into the river during the months of low supply. In this way a double purpose would be served; the volume of the river would be diminished in flood, and in summer would be largely increased. The lake has an enormous catchment area, and it seems probable that its level could be, without serious difficulty, raised to the required height.

This third reservoir would, in fact, perform the same functions to the Jebel Aulia Reservoir as the latter does to the Assuan Dam, provided the link connecting the two storage areas possesses the same clear flow as the main Nile between Khartoum and Assuan. The problem is immensely complicated, however, by the fact that the White Nile, or Bahr-el-Jebel, emerges in its upper reaches into a series of swamps and marshes terminating in Lake No, the remains of an inland sea. Here is an area of swamps covered with a dense growth of reeds and vegetation, receiving the sluggish discharge of three different affluents, the Bahr-el-Jebel from the south; a parallel spillway, the Bahr-el-Zaref; and the Bahr-el-Ghazel from the west. Compact masses of vegetation are formed, sometimes as much as twenty feet thick, and so solid that a man can walk on them, effectively blocking the flow of the river. If left undisturbed these blocks, or sudds, may compel the river to change its course. Evaporation and diffusion in the hot sun and sandy soil quickly reduce the quantity of water, resulting in a wastage possibly unsurpassed by any other river in the world. Immediately the conquest of the Sudan was completed Lord Kitchener gave instructions for the cutting of channels through the sudds. The work proceeded for many years, and navigation is now possible. Acres of rampart-like floating vegetation were removed and channels cut through thick masses of papyrus. The labour was prodigious, and when one large block was cut the upstream level fell five feet in four days.

It must be obvious that this area lying between the two proposed reservoirs acts as a sponge, and that any scheme embracing storage at Lake Albert must make provision for the flood to reach the Jebel Aulia Dam with as little loss as possible on the way. At the exit from Lake Albert a good passage exists, and the carry-off from Lake No to the reservoir is also adequate. But for the middle stretch, the Sudd region, a channel must be cut and dredged, and in places embankments raised, involving an estimate of 15,000,000*l*.

The irrigation defences of the White Nile and Lake Albert are primarily intended to conserve the water supply of Egypt alone. The dam at Jebel Aulia, which is to cost 3,000,000*l*., was begun and then abandoned. It should have been completed this year, but political distrust of Great Britain and an entire absence of appreciation of our aims in the Sudan decided the Egyptian Government to suspend the work indefinitely.[1] The capture of Khartoum by the Anglo-Egyptian Army resulted in our maintaining the legal rights of Egypt to the Sudan, but retaining the actual administration in our own hands. It is this last circumstance which has created the present deadlock. The crux of the situation is that whoever holds the Sudan holds Egypt. As the development of Egypt proceeded, the necessity for a military occupation of the territory through which the Nile runs, and near which its catchment areas are found, became urgent; but the Power occupying the Sudan establishes a stranglehold upon Egypt, and it is this fear, carefully exploited by agitators, that caused the work to be stopped. This unfortunate situation, which has arisen since the war, has been augmented by the action of the Sudan Government in utilising the Blue Nile for the irrigation of the Gezira Plain, formed by the junction of the two Niles at Khartoum. A great dam at Sennar has been completed this year. The wall of masonry is one and three-quarter miles in length, and raises the level of the river fifty feet to enable it to flow into a canal which, with a network of 600 miles of subsidiary canalisation, will irrigate 300,000 feddans, of which one-third will be under cotton each year. The soil is suitable for cotton, and the crops produced in past years with the aid of pumping installations are equal to Egypt's best.

The possibility of the Sudan becoming a great cotton area is naturally a matter of moment to Egypt. From the point of competition the demand for good cotton is so great that for many years Egypt's prosperity cannot be materially affected. Disagreement comes from the use of water in the Sudan before the full requirements of Egypt are met. In the first place, it is argued

[1] Since the writing of this article the Egyptian Government has granted the necessary credits for its continuance.

that any obstruction in the Blue Nile will decrease the volume o silt flowing northwards, thus depriving the Egyptian fellah of th mud upon which his prosperity depends. To obviate this rea difficulty the Sudan has undertaken to impound the waters of th Blue Nile during the months when Egypt does not require them The reservoir will be closed in November as the flood is receding and at a time when the river is almost silt-free. By then Egyp should have obtained her supplies of heavily silt-laden flood, an in January or early February the sluices will be opened to such a extent as to allow the passage of the river on to Egypt withou diminution. The Gezira Plain will then be fed by a gradua lowering of the Sennar Dam. There are, however, larger poten tialities in the scheme, as the irrigation of 300,000 feddans form only one unit of a total area of 3,000,000 feddans capable of ulti mate development by perennial irrigation. Whilst the ratio o Egypt's expansion becomes less until she reaches, in 1955, her limit that of the Sudan will be constantly increasing. By this date th Gezira Plain will have 1,000,000 feddans under cultivation, pro- vided her irrigation projects have kept pace with her commercia requirements. Statistics are being collected for the purpose o erecting another reservoir, with a capacity of seven milliards o cubic metres, on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile. To quote th opinion of Sir Murdoch MacDonald :

> The construction of this dam is essential for the future developmen of the Sudan, for, whereas Egypt can provide for her own needs from th White Nile, it is only the water flowing in the Blue that can be of use t the Sudan Gezira. But, for Egypt, the upper Blue Nile Dam is also a valuable feature of the Nile control works, for the Blue Nile forms the flood and this dam will be situated where the waters are as yet free from sil and can therefore be safely stored at the crest of the flood.

Within the period of a generation one of the longest rivers i the world, from its headwaters to the sea, should be completel harnessed to the service of man. Regulated, controlled, and dis ciplined, the achievement will be unsurpassed by any engineering feat, ancient or modern. How is the safety of these great works t be ensured ? Egypt demands the evacuation of the Sudan b Great Britain, and the creation of a semi-independent State unde her own direction. She demands that the water requirements o the Sudan, and thus its entire development, should be subordinate to her own needs. Great Britain offers Egypt a defensive alliance a partnership in the administration of the Sudan, and the placing of the control of the Nile in the hands of a neutral and inter national body. In the opinion of the many thousands of foreigner living in Egypt, who are in a position to form an unprejudice judgment, England's offer is generous in the extreme.

J. B. BARRON.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN NEPAL

The announcements that appeared in the British Press about the beginning of this year to the effect that the Government of Nepal had proclaimed its intention to abolish the system of slavery as there practised aroused considerable attention in this country. That an independent Asiatic State should, of its own initiative, take a step of this kind, is indeed a development of much interest both in itself and in what it implies, and the interest is enhanced by a study of a remarkable speech made by the Prime Minister, Sir Chandra Shum Shere Jung,[1] to a great assembly summoned to Katmandu from all parts of Nepal.

Most people in England would have somewhat vague ideas as to the nature of the institution that has now come under the ban of the Nepalese Government. In the Himalayas slavery has existed from time immemorial, and in some out-of-the-way parts it still lingers; but there it has little in common with the negro slave traffic, the abolition of which was one of the chief manifestations of a world conscience in the last century. Amongst Himalayan peoples slavery has, I believe, never been accompanied by such horrors as those that impelled Wilberforce and others to arouse the moral sense of the civilised world against the traffic in human beings—the 'seizure,' the 'march to the coast,' the 'middle passage,' and so on. The wicked old Mehtars of Chitral and the robber chiefs of Kanjut certainly used to sell boys and girls, their own subjects, as slaves in Badakshan and to the Mirs of Shignan and Roshan, till the practice was put an end to when the tribes of the Hindu Kush were definitely brought within the British sphere. But even these exceptional cases bore no similitude at all to the African traffic. The slave-dealing chiefs mentioned were, of course, Mohammedans, but of an unorthodox kind. Islam may condone, or even approve, the enslavement of the 'heathen,' but it certainly does not countenance a traffic in human beings who are followers of the Prophet.

[1] His Highness Maharaja Sir Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, G C B., G.C.S.I., G C.V.O., G.C.M.G, D.C L, Thong Lin Prim-ma Ko-Kang Wang Syan, Prime Minister and Marshal, Nepal, will be referred to in this paper by the designation most commonly used, 'the Maharaja' The King of Nepal (who does not govern) is called the Maharaj Dhiraj

In Nepal the State religion is Hinduism, and it may also be described as the popular religion, as the Buddhists who formerly constituted a large proportion of the population, seem gradually to be adopting the more ancient faith. The two religions at the present time indeed almost merge into one another. Hinduism, as is well known, goes further than any other religious system in controlling and ordering the secular lives of those born into it. Hindu children do not arrive into the world just human beings, but Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, or rather members of one of the indefinite number of castes into which these are subdivided; and from the estate into which they are born they may fall, but can never rise. On the top of this, there is in Nepal a tribal system of infinite complications with a strict order of precedence. To take as an example a single instance, that of the important tribe called Gurungs, from which are drawn some of the best fighting men in both the Nepalese and Indian [2] armies. *Quâ* Hindu, a man of this tribe ranks above Vaisya class but below the Kshatriyas. As a tribesman a Gurung would rank immediately below a Khas. Amongst the Gurungs themselves there is a difference in the standing of the clans into which they are divided. A Solajat Gurung will *salaam* a Charjat Gurung and even carry his load. Marriage between the two is impossible. How very uncompromising caste and religious rules may be in this country can be judged from the notorious case of a Gurkha officer in an Indian regiment who was sent to England to be one of the King's orderly officers. Now 'crossing the seas,' except for active service, according to the religious law of the country, entails outcasting, and this was the fate of this Gurkha commissioned officer. Nor could all the influence brought to bear on the religious authorities of the State avail to obtain a relaxation of the rule.

Under such a system it would not have been surprising to find slavery as an institution fully developed in the country, and the higher castes all owning slaves. As a matter of fact, according to figures given in the Maharaja's speech, slaveowners and slaves comprise no very large fraction of the whole.

Speaking generally, in Nepal slaves are not ill treated. The Hindu religion induces a humane spirit, and the lot of a slave in a Nepalese home is as a rule ameliorated by many kindly influences, so that in the majority of instances a slave is in little worse position than a servant who cannot change his master, or his status. That the position of slaves is far from being desperate is otherwise shown by the existence of a practice, not uncommon, by which people go into voluntary slavery for the satisfaction of debts. Volunteer slaves of this sort are termed *bandhas*, as opposed to

[2] Under an old agreement the Indian Army authorities are entitled to enlist Gurkhas in Nepal up to a limited number.

the *kamaras*, or born slaves. Correctly speaking, perhaps the *bandhas* should not be called slaves at all, as the essence of slavery is status and not contract.

The chief evil of the slavery system, as may be gathered from the Maharaja's speech, is that though no foreign slave traffic exists, yet within the country slaves are bought and sold. The practice is not general, but it exists—'in the hills,' *i.e.*, in the remoter parts. Some instances that have come to the Maharaja's own notice are related in the speech, the worst case being told in the following words:

> The mother, a slave, had given birth to seven children, and her master, despite her protests and tearful prayers, had already disposed of one daughter and four sons by sale. The woman in her petition through the Niksari Office wrote that the bitter lament of the children at thus being forced to separate from their mother sent a pang through her heart more acute than any she had ever suffered; that she summoned resignation to bear the misfortune and drew consolation from what was left her; that she submitted to it as the work of that fatality, the result of the accumulated *Karma* of her previous births, which had followed her like a shadow to her present existence; but that when, to her dismay, the hard-hearted master arranged to take away the baby slave that was still suckling at her breast, her endurance broke down completely: she supplicated and prayed—as parents do pray, as you and I pray to the gods on high when the dearest of our children lies in the clutches of grim death—to her master, the arbiter of her destiny, and to her as omnipotent in this crisis as fell Death himself. But all to no purpose The adamant heart did not melt, the master completed the transaction Then, maddened at a treatment which is resented even by irrational beasts, she came all the way to see if the Maharaja, 'the common father of all people,' could do aught to allay the consuming sorrow at her breast. As this was so different from the ordinary run of complaints, the people concerned were sent for, and the matter on investigation turned out to be true to the letter of the petition: the child had been sold by a regular deed, the *parambhatta* The master was asked if he did not feel pity for the poor woman, though a slave; what would have been the feelings of himself or the mother of his children if such an infant of theirs were either forcibly taken away or sold elsewhere? what reply could he make to his Creator when summoned to His presence to answer this charge of inhumanity? He replied, and the purchasers replied, that that was the custom in the hills, and the law did not forbid it. Now what does it mean to us all? That so long as we permit this sort of thing every one of us must bear a part in the sin, must share the curse of the weeping mothers, inasmuch as we tolerate the custom and uphold such laws. The poor woman was given the wherewithal to free her sold children according to the law which provides that on sale of slaves their kith and kin or those interested can liberate them on payment of the legal amounts to their masters.

Let us now glance at the arguments put forward by the Prime Minister to support his proposals, and in doing so bear in mind the teaching of history that his endeavours would be opposed by interested persons as revolutionary, an attack on the caste system,

a blow to agriculture, and, from a humanitarian point of view; unnecessary.

The Maharaja *ab initio* took it as a self-evident truth, requiring no proof, that the enslavement of human beings is wrong and immoral; and though the greater part of the speech, which must have occupied two hours in delivery, was taken up with other aspects of the question, again and again he returned to this as the one imperative reason why the practice should be abolished. That he should have taken this standpoint is as interesting as it is remarkable, for one might well have supposed that in a society where status governs the relations of all, the Brahmins at one end of the scale, the untouchables at the other, there would have been nothing at all repugnant to the moral sense in the lowest strata being slaves themselves and the sons and fathers of slaves, without hope of ever being anything else. Yet I am sure one would be very far from the truth if one supposed the Maharaja to have been insincere in his denunciations, or to have been merely echoing a Western sentiment. This is not the first time that moral considerations have weighed sufficiently with the Nepal Government to overcome the trammels of religion and custom. There is, for instance, the noteworthy case of the abolition by law of the practice of *sati* (widow-burning), which was carried through many years ago in the teeth of opposition from the religious orders. In the matter of slavery also laws have been passed from time to time intended to do away with or mitigate its worst features. One, for instance, prohibits the fresh enslavement of any free man, woman or child. Another pronounces that any action that would be a crime if committed against a free man would be a crime if committed against a slave. A third prohibits the recapture of slaves if they find life so intolerable as to be driven to take refuge in certain forest tracts deemed malarious. Slaves have also been accorded certain rights of pre-emption. If about to be sold, they may be freed by payment of the purchase-money by themselves or others. Slaves have also been given the right to own and bequeath property. The Maharaja, however, considered that these ameliorations were altogether inadequate.

Next in importance to the moral necessity, the case for abolition was urged on patriotic grounds. Slaves, the Maharaja said, were after all still Nepalese, part of the manhood and womanhood of the country, their 'brothers and sisters.' In spite of the efforts made to improve the condition of slaves, the status of servitude had a degrading effect on the mind, bringing about a state of hopelessness and a hatred of mankind.

> It would be idle [the Maharaja said] to expect the slaves to have the same patriotic fervour, to have the same interest, in short to shape themselves as true citizens like their brethren the free men.

The effect on the character of the owners was shown to be not less disastrous, but in a different way. After dwelling on the evils of slave concubinage and the immorality resulting from female slaves being owned like cattle, he concluded:

> To what depth has this institution sunk the morality of the people! You will scarcely find persons engaged in such trade prosperous; they cannot be, as the curse of the gods rests on sinners.

Slavery, in short, is shown to have a brutalising effect on the characters of all concerned and therefore to be inimical to the well-being of the country.

In the course of his address the Maharaja invited the attention of the assembly to the loss of the labouring population caused by slaves running away to India, an aspect of the matter which forms part of another local problem. There is in India and neighbouring countries an unlimited demand for men of an active, virile and dependable type for subordinate positions of trust. Besides the Indian Army and certain military police battalions for which Gurkhas are enlisted, the managers of mines, tea estates, factories, are all anxious to engage in their service the sturdy Highlanders of Nepal to whom this description pre-eminently applies. In such employment they get higher wages than are customary in their own country. In some respects also existence is hard in the mountainous tracts of Nepal. Though there are many rich agricultural valleys, in some parts it is hard to wring a livelihood from the soil. There is also the transport question. Men who have seen goods carried in railway trains and have experienced the ease of railway travelling themselves, as have large numbers of Gurkhas who have served in the Indian Army, no longer look on carrying loads on their backs as the normal and proper means of moving goods from one place to another. Yet in the mountainous parts of Nepal human shoulders are still the sole means of transport. When crossing the passes over ranges that separate the low country from the interior, amid the rhododendron forests, strings of men and women are met toiling under loads that would make a British dock labourer ponder very deeply indeed. Like ants dragging along a prize many times their own size, a crowd is seen man-handling up a loose hillside a grand piano or a motor car, and the waste of human labour is surprising. Railways in a country such as this, with a torrential rainfall, are perhaps out of the question. On the chief trade artery a steel ropeway is now being constructed, and it may be that in the future, with the help of unlimited water power, this will be the solution of the difficulty on most of the trade routes. At the present time the continuing drain on the population due to agriculturists seeking easier conditions in India is a serious matter.

Some of the emigrants return and bring their savings with them, and this is all to the good. Many, however, do not. As for the runaway slaves, the Maharaja pointed to the abolition of slavery as a first and immediate step to be taken.

While basing his main arguments on justice and patriotism, Sir Chandra did not neglect to present to Nepalese slaveowners a reasoned case for abolition on grounds of self-interest and expediency, his arguments recalling those put forward when the slave trade was the burning question of the day in the Western Hemisphere:

> The superiority [he urged] of free labour to slave labour is not a matter of mere speculation History has proved it, and I doubt not that the experience of those who have occasion to use both descriptions of labour in this country will bear out the fact. In the pre-abolition days, the history of the Hottentot colony at Kat River furnished a striking example of the difference in the quality of work of the same people in an enslaved and in a freed condition They were considered absolutely worthless as labourers, and even the African negroes despised them as a lazy and good-for-nothing people. In the colony the freed Hottentots proved themselves the most industrious people, and transformed the barren tract into a veritable garden, rich to overflowing in agricultural products. It is slavery which prevents the slaves from acquiring industrious habits, and which stunts their power of exercising the virtues of prudence, foresight and discretion.

In anticipation of fears that agriculture would suffer, the Maharaja went on:

> Is it that the owners fear that with the abolition of the status of slavery the slaves themselves will vanish ? This absurd idea requires only to be stated to be rejected. Such fears might reasonably have been entertained by slaveowners of the West Indies, Mauritius and African islands where the population were aliens forcibly taken from their homes and retained in slavery But even there it was found that the freed slaves did not go to their erstwhile homes, but remained to work on hire . . . But with us, with slaves who are children of the soil, who have family ties and who are generally employed on domestic and farm work in the homeland, such fears are baseless.

The precise means by which farmers would be able to manage without slaves was explained in detail, chiefly, it seems, by an extension of an existing system of co-operative labour, by which households render each other mutual help when there is stress of work, especially during the times of rice transplantation and harvest.

The Maharaja divided slaveowners into three categories: an aristocracy who have inherited slaves, and maintain them as personal retainers, treating them honourably and kindly 'as children'; agriculturists who depend on slaves to work their farms; and those who rear slaves like cattle and deal in them for profit. It will be noticed that each one of these had its prototype in America in the old days.

From the first two classes the Maharaja expected ready acquiescence and co-operation. For the benefit of the third class, he demonstrated by a sum in arithmetic (given as an appendix in the printed report) that capital invested in the country, at the rate of interest obtainable (quoted as 16 to 30 per cent. !), would yield a better return than the same amount invested in slaves. For the purpose of this calculation, the price of a child six years old was taken to be Rs. 35, say 3*l.* 10s., while the value of a female slave at sixteen years of age was assumed to be Rs. 350, say 35*l.* ! It would be interesting to know whether the figures given carried conviction to his audience. The Maharaja at any rate left those who practised the nefarious traffic 'on which rests the curse of Heaven' under no illusions as to the amount of sympathy they might expect from him.

In anticipation of protests against his scheme on religious grounds, the Maharaja with learned arguments showed that, though the institution of slavery was recognised in their sacred books, it formed no essential part of the Hindu system, while slave-dealing was undoubtedly repugnant to its whole spirit and teaching. One from several texts quoted will suffice :

> Those amongst the Dvijas [*i e*, those who wear the sacred thread] who out of greed sell a daughter, a horse, or a slave girl, born and brought up in their households, will be born on this earth as Vyadhas [the low class hunters] after having suffered endless tortures.

Before concluding his address the Prime Minister announced to the assembly the Government's specific proposals, no less than the purchase and emancipation by the State of every slave in Nepal and the total abolition from a given date of the legal status of slavery. A bold and generous scheme indeed !

The question whether, in order to make so drastic a change easier, the freed slaves should be apprenticed to their former owners for a period suggested as seven years, or whether the change should be made *per saltum*, was to be decided after the assembly had had opportunity to declare their opinion. In the event of the general council, as the body of *bharadars* (or seigneurs) may be called, being solidly opposed to the immediate emancipation of slaves, the Maharaja announced the determination of the Government so to act that the end of the system would at any rate be in sight, *i.e.*, by the immediate emancipation of all children under seven years old, while children born thereafter would of course be born free.

The speech ended with a peroration that even in its translated form must be quoted :

> Apart from the demands of religion, justice and humanity—no mean considerations in themselves—recollect that the best and vital interests of society, the good name of the country, the weal and woe of fifty-one

JAPAN'S SOCIAL PROBLEM

LABOUR troubles and social unrest are of very recent origin in Japan. Even so recently as ten years ago they were virtually unknown, but to-day they are the cause of considerable anxiety to the Japanese authorities.

For a proper understanding of the situation it is necessary first to examine the historical background, and to consider conditions as they were in Japan in the early days of the second half of last century.

Up to the time of Perry's arrival in the country in 1853, demanding the opening of commercial relations with the outside world, foreign trade, so far as Japan was concerned, was non-existent. A handful of Dutch traders, it is true, was allowed, on sufferance, to live on a small island off the city of Nagasaki for trading purposes, but, apart from this, Japan had no trade, or even diplomatic, relations with any Western nation, and she lived a life of self-imposed seclusion.

The story of her phenomenally rapid rise to power amongst the nations of the world is too well known to bear repeating. It is merely mentioned here in so far as it has a bearing on her present internal situation.

One of the first steps taken by Japan on being forced out of her seclusion was to build up an army and a navy, as she realised that without these she might soon be driven to share the fate of so many of the other Eastern nations and be at the mercy of the more scientific peoples of the West. Arms and ammunition, ships and guns, clothing and equipment—all these necessary items for the use of her fighting forces were ordered in large quantities from abroad, as she did not then possess the means of making them for herself. It was, however, an expensive and uneconomical method of providing herself with these necessities, and it was not long before she came to realise that it would be much more advantageous and profitable in every way to set about taking steps to manufacture these articles for herself. Shipbuilding yards and factories were therefore constructed, and Japan started on the first stages of industrialism.

Years went by, and industrial life, which had been brought into

existence largely as a result of the needs of her naval and military forces, expanded and came to take on a new aspect, destined to bring great changes in the whole life of the people. From being a race given over almost entirely to agricultural pursuits, Japan has become, in the short period of less than half a century, one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world. Materially this is all to the good, but, as was inevitable, it has had a deteriorating effect on the *moral* of her people.

Fifty years ago feudalism had but recently been abolished. Up to that time commerce and trade had been regarded in a very poor light, and the merchant was at the bottom of the social scale. One reason for this was that money-making was looked upon with scorn, and honour was regarded as of infinitely greater value than riches. Thus, a penniless *samurai* was held in very much higher esteem than even the wealthiest merchant. This may have been overdone, but its effect on the moral code of the people was, as can well be imagined, good. Instead of scrambling after wealth and being discontented with their lot, the people were quite satisfied to work their hardest and their best for those whom they served without any thought of reward other than enough to keep them in safety and comfort. The employers of labour, on their part, though they were stern taskmasters at times, took a real interest in those who worked for them, and saw to it that they lacked nothing that they required. Knowing nothing of constitutional rights, the working classes were happy and content under this paternal despotism, much as were the majority of the slaves in the Southern States of America prior to the civil war of 1860.

Although feudalism was abolished in 1869 after the Restoration, the feudal spirit did not die with it. The labouring classes continued to work uncomplainingly, despite their low wages ; but it was no longer for the lord of the fief to which they belonged. Instead, they had to slave and toil for the enrichment of the capitalists, who, in most cases, came from their own class, and had none of the paternal interest in their welfare as had their former masters.

In the case of the commercial classes, the merchant used to bear much the same relationship to his employees as the *daimyo* did to his retainers and to the peasant farmers working on his estates. Young men serving apprenticeships with a merchant or artisan would be at his beck and call, and would be under his direct control. As a rule they would be provided with food and quarters in his house, and would be treated as though they were part of the family. Their financial remuneration was generally unfixed, and varied according to whether the times were good or bad. When a man came to be of marriageable age, his employer would find him a suitable wife, and might even provide the young

couple with a separate house and money for its running expense; but even when this was done, the new household would remain subject to the control of the employer.

Thus it came about that a strong feeling of loyalty generally was engendered between the merchant, or the artisan, and his employers, and gains and losses were shared proportionately.

In some of the country districts this system is still in force, but in towns and in the large business organisations a complete change has taken place. The smaller employers of labour, such as carpenters and bootmakers, would like it to continue; but they cannot obtain apprentices on these terms. The younger generation prefer greater freedom of action, and object to being controlled in this way. They want a fixed salary and wish to be more independent. This is quite understandable, but, at the same time, they try to have it both ways, as they agitate for payment in good times and in bad, and consider that they are being treated unfairly if, owing to economic reasons, their masters have to cut down the number of employees and discharge them.

Under the old system the normal wages of the labourers may have been smaller than they are under present conditions, but the system carried with it the assurance that, whether times were good or bad, their employers would provide for their upkeep; but it is only natural that if they are given a fixed salary, as at present, they cannot expect their employers to pay them when their services are no longer required. Nevertheless the fact remains that a great many Japanese clerks and labourers fail to see this point of view, and stir up trouble against their employers accordingly. They also consider that their masters should give them plenty of notice beforehand if they are to be discharged, and that they should be given retiring allowances on discharge, though they themselves are quite prepared to quit at a moment's notice if a chance of more remunerative employment offers itself elsewhere.

Thus it will be seen that the fault does not lie entirely with the employers, as the employees are very often just as much to blame. The main feature in both cases is that the old moral relationship between employers and employees no longer exists, and all the old sense of mutual loyalty has gone.

Up to a point this is a phenomenon common to nearly all nations at the present day; but it is accentuated in Japan by the fact that the transition has taken place so suddenly.

It is commonly said that social unrest is greatest when times are bad. Up to a point this is true, but it is noteworthy that in Japan labour agitation is at its worst when business is flourishing. The reason for this seems to be that when trade is slack employees are afraid of losing their jobs if they agitate too strongly, and they know it will be difficult to find other work; in other words, they

know that their employers have the whip hand and will have no difficulty in replacing them with more docile workers. On the other hand, when business is flourishing the demand for labour is greater than the supply, and the men know that they can force their employers to give them better wages if they threaten to leave, as the employers will be unable to find men to replace them.

So much, then, for labour conditions in the towns; and now, before turning to the political aspect of the situation, let us see how conditions in the country districts are affected by the present tendencies. The Japanese are, after all, still mainly an agricultural people, and the foundations of Japan are based on agriculture.

Owing to the ever-increasing industrialisation of Japan, a great influx from the country to the cities and towns has taken place in recent years. When trade is slack a great many of those who have made their way to the towns to seek their fortunes return to the hamlets and villages whence they came; but they are no longer the sturdy, hard-working country folk that they were when they left. They have become accustomed to a higher standard of living, and their habits and customs are more luxurious and, therefore, more expensive. Far from having learnt to work harder, they find that their town experience has softened them and made them unfit for the long, heavy hours that an agricultural life entails. Their brothers and sisters who have never experienced town life can live much more cheaply than they can, and do not regard it as a hardship; but the man who has once tasted of the comparative luxuries of urban existence finds it very difficult to return to peasant life As, however, he is unable to increase his income sufficiently to enable him to continue living up to the standard enjoyed by him in the towns, the only alternative is to look about for some way in which to reduce expenditure without lowering his standard of living. The most obvious way out of the difficulty is to induce his landlord to reduce the rate of taxation on the land he is working.

The landlord, on his part, finds the ever-increasing cost of living a burden which is just as hard for him to bear as it is for his tenants. Land, even in the country districts of Japan, is ridiculously expensive, and costs very much more than land of the same quality does in England or America. The landlord is therefore unable to meet the wishes of his tenants even if he would like to do so. The result is that friction arises between the two, and each comes to bear a grudge against the other

Just as the countryman who has been spoiled by town life is dissatisfied with his lot when he returns to rural surroundings, so also are the University-educated sons of the landlords if, on returning to their country homes, they are unable to live and dress in foreign—or, at least, semi-foreign—style, such as they have been

accustomed to doing during the course of their studies in the colleges or abroad. If their parents wish to satisfy their wants in this respect, there may be no way of obtaining the necessary money other than by raising the rents of their tenants; but this they cannot do without increasing the discontent amongst these people. Owing to the high price of land, the most profitable thing to do would be to sell what they have; but they do not like to take this step, as it entails losing the respect which, even in these days, is attached to the landowner. They are therefore in a quandary, and find it difficult to contrive measures whereby they can afford to satisfy their children.

Thus it will be seen that, in town and country alike, there is an undercurrent of dissatisfaction amongst all classes, and this is where the danger lies. It is this spirit of unrest that political agitators, who have their own knives to grind, can use for their own purposes.

It is only in recent years that politics have been allowed to intrude into this situation. The late war is largely responsible for this political awakening, as so much was talked of the people's rights and of the doubtful blessings of democracy. In Japan, even the lowliest coolie reads his newspaper; and, through the medium of the Press, he has become impregnated with the general spirit of unrest that is prevailing throughout the world at the present time. Probably he does not understand half he reads, and herein lies yet another danger, which demonstrates the truth of the old adage which contends that 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing.' What he does learn is that the capitalists and the bureaucrats are supposed to be using him as a mere pawn in the game for their own ends, and that, therefore, he should rise up and combine with other members of the downtrodden classes, on the principle that unity is strength.

Labour organisations are a new phase in Japanese life, and are still in an undeveloped state; but they are increasing in strength yearly, and are making their presence felt. Even women are joining these leagues and associations, and are forming their own unions and societies. A noticeable feature in the recent May Day demonstrations that were held in Tokyo and in the main commercial centres throughout the country was the number of women taking part in the processions and the speeches that were made by some of them.

As in all Eastern nations, women have until recently been kept very much in the background in Japan; but they, too, like the men of the labouring classes, are beginning to demand emancipation. Women are now to be found in all walks of Japanese life —in business, in the medical profession, in the position of typists or of tram and omnibus conductors, and in many other kinds of work

formerly considered to be for the exclusive employment of men. Many of these women are proving themselves extremely capable, and I know of several instances in which Japanese women are showing themselves to be far superior to their male co-workers in every way, both in the work they turn out and in their capacity for hard work. Little wonder, therefore, that they too are becoming restless and are demanding emancipation.

Added to all this increasing spirit of unrest, which arises mainly from natural economic causes, is the harm done by the flood of cheap Russian and other Socialistic literature which is coming into the country. These books and pamphlets are read eagerly, and the principles enunciated in them are half digested, by the student class, who, like the Athenians of old, are always searching after some new thing. The doctrines of Marx and of Lenin are devoured whole, and the alleged wonders of Socialism and Communism are spread broadcast. The Japanese, for all that people say about them, are sentimentalists at heart, and are easily stirred by writings of this kind. So much so is this the case that some of the foreign instructors at the Japanese Universities and colleges declare that students have come to them with stories of how, in their dreams, they have seen Russians beckoning and urging them to join with them in the overthrow of capitalism and to spread the flame of revolution in Japan. These dreams are indicative, not only of a highly strung nature, but also of the danger that lies in the spread of Socialistic and inflammatory literature amongst the men of the student class, who are, in many cases, unbalanced mentally by the intensive study to which they are subjected.

The labouring classes may be dissatisfied on account of economic conditions, but they are not, in the normal course, imbued with revolutionary ideas They are still sufficiently close to the old days of feudalism to be affected by feudalistic principles and are willing, therefore, to follow the lead of any strong personality who cares to place himself at their head. If this leader be a man who is prepared to work in the best interests of his country, he can influence the situation for good; but the danger lies in the possibility of political visionaries, of the type just mentioned, working on their excitability and causing untold harm. Men of this type are generally fanatical, and nothing is more infectious than fanaticism when brought to work on mob psychology

The long-haired visionary is coming more and more into prominence in Japan. He is to be seen in the streets and in the second-rate cafés, which profess to serve European-style meals; and he was much in evidence, gazing with rapt expressions at the gates of the Russian Embassy, when Mr. Kopp, the new Soviet Ambassador to Japan, arrived in Tokyo at the end of April.

The Japanese authorities are, undoubtedly, worried about the undercurrent of social unrest in their country, and are deeply concerned as to the best measures to be taken for controlling the situation. The old theory was to adopt repressive measures, to strike hard on the first signs of trouble. The Press was muzzled, and labour unions and organisations were forbidden. The last few years, however, have seen a relaxation of this attitude, and although the Government still exercises a strict control over the situation, and has but recently passed a Bill for the suppression of ultra-Radical thoughts and actions, a great deal more latitude is given now than was allowed formerly. Probably it has done wisely, as it is dangerous to keep the safety valve screwed down too long; but it is still too early to judge the success of the new policy.

The latest step in this direction is the recent passing of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, whereby the number of voters has been raised from three million to an estimated fourteen million. This measure is an experiment which is attended by considerable risk, as the people are still lacking in political education. It gives them a powerful weapon, which may be dangerous if wielded wrongly. The next General Election is not due to take place till 1928, so steps may be taken during the intervening three years to help to remedy this defect, though it does not leave a very large margin of time. The recent voluntary retirement of the veteran constitutionalist, Mr. Inukai, not only from the Cabinet, but also from the House of Representatives, is said to have been brought about by his desire to assist in this work without being fettered either by Government or party ties.

Now that the people are to have a larger voice in the government of the country, and as the tendency in Japan is to oppose anything savouring of bureaucracy or militarism—that much-abused word—it may, at first sight, seem strange that the Seiyukai, one of the three main political parties, should suddenly invite a military man like General Baron Tanaka to be their President. Nevertheless this step was taken in April this year, and the General was allowed to retire from the Army in order to enter politics in this capacity. By a curious coincidence, Field Marshal von Hindenburg was being elected to the Presidency of the German Republic at the very moment that General Tanaka, the former leader of the military party in Japan, was being appointed as President of the Seiyukai—a coincidence upon which some of the Japanese papers commented at the time.

The general belief is that Baron Tanaka will be the next Premier, and that his party, which is temporarily in coalition with its normally bitter rival, the Kenseikai, is merely awaiting a favourable opportunity to break away from the coalition and

to form a new Government of its own, with its President as Prime Minister.

It so happens that this party, the Seiyukai, is generally regarded as the agrarian party, and has hitherto depended on the landowners and agriculturists for its main support. As Japan is still chiefly an agricultural country, with some 70 per cent. of her population engaged in agricultural pursuits, it follows that a large percentage of the newly enfranchised masses consists of peasantry. Although these are chiefly tenant farmers and labourers, who are at loggerheads with the landlords, they have more interests in common with them than with their industrial and commercial brethren of the towns and cities. Unless, therefore, a Labour or Proletarian party is formed in the meantime, they are more likely to give their votes to the Seiyukai than to the Kenseikai, who are mainly supported by the industrialists. The Seiyukai are quite alive to this fact, and are bent on doing all they can to ingratiate themselves with the country communities as opposed to the urban. Their proposal to transfer the land taxes from the central Government to the local financial administration is a case in point, and their unchanged policy of assisting and encouraging riparian undertakings also assures them of a large measure of support from the country districts.

Nevertheless they realise that, in view of the present undercurrent of unrest throughout Japan, these things are not, in themselves, sufficient. For the successful outcome of their schemes it is essential to have a strong and outstanding personality at their head. Their former President, Mr. Takahashi, was liked and respected; but he was getting on in years and lacked the necessary ambition and driving power to make him a good leader either of a political party or of the people at large. The late Mr. Yokota might have fulfilled most of the requirements, but his untimely death in February this year left the Seiyukai without any outstanding figure in their midst. Accordingly they looked elsewhere for someone whom they could adopt from outside.

Meantime—or so it would seem—those quiet, unostentatious statesmen who keep so much in the background in Japan, but who in reality exercise so much influence in the affairs of their country, were watching the course of events, and were alive to the fact that the undercurrent of social unrest was reaching a stage at which something had to be done to prevent a dangerous situation from arising. They, too, apparently considered that the chances of the Seiyukai extending their power were better than those of of either of the other two parties. They felt, therefore, that, if they could help the Seiyukai to get the right kind of man as their President, they would be serving their country in the best way,

as their President would probably be the next Premier, and it was essential that the holder of this office should be an outstanding personality—a man who could be a real leader and who could guide the people's thoughts and actions in the right direction. Under these circumstances it was considered that General Baron Tanaka was the most suitable man available. Accordingly the Seiyukai was induced to invite him to become its President, and he himself was urged to leave the Army in order to accept its invitation

What has been written above is, of course, largely a matter of conjecture; but everything goes to indicate that General Tanaka's sudden retirement from the Army and entry into party politics was brought about in some such way.

Those who argue that his rise to the Premiership, if it takes place, will be detrimental and will aggravate rather than alleviate the present situation, base their arguments on a wrong premise. That he is—or rather was—a soldier and a bureaucrat is as true as it is that the Army and the bureaucracy are unpopular with those who are at the bottom of half the present unrest, but it does not necessarily follow that he himself is disliked. On the contrary, he is assured of the support not only of the bureaucracy and of the Army—both very important factors—but also of a large number of the newly enfranchised masses, provided he plays his cards properly. Being a broad-minded man of liberal views, possessed of considerable sagacity and ability, and of a pleasing personality, it seems likely that he will rise to the expectations of those who chose him.

Feudalism was abolished less than sixty years ago in Japan, and its influence is still felt sufficiently to leave its mark on the characteristics of the Japanese. One of these is that an outstanding personality appeals to them very much more than any political creed or dogma, and they ask nothing better than to have someone who will really lead them. Part of the present unrest is due to the lack of a real national leader. If such a man appears, the mass of the people will follow willingly. There are those who believe that General Tanaka will prove to be the man required, and that he will be able to check the present tendency towards Socialism and ultra-Radicalism by directing the people's thoughts back to a more patriotic and loyal vein, in much the same way as Mussolini has done in Italy.

Some people accuse him of being an opportunist, and, up to a point, this may be true; but he is an opportunist in a good sense. If he considers it opportune to give the people a freer hand, he will probably do so; but he is sufficiently sagacious to know just how far he can give way to them, and can be depended upon to go no further.

A Russian friend, with whom I was discussing this question recently, said:

If a man like General Tanaka could have come into power when the revolution broke out in 1917, the situation would never have got out of control. He would have had the Army at his back, and, while giving way to the people's wishes in non-essential matters, he would have retained the bonds of discipline in the military forces, and could have kept the situation under control. Unfortunately, instead of a broad-minded, firm military leader like Tanaka, we had Kerensky, who gave way to everything that was demanded, and allowed the bonds of Army discipline to snap at the very outset. It was a mad act on his part, as it immediately allowed the situation to get out of control

Undoubtedly there is a great deal of truth in this comment. When social unrest arises there is a danger of trying to repress it by screwing down the safety valve. This may calm matters temporarily, but it is only staving off the evil hour and storing up worse trouble for the future when the inevitable storm breaks loose. On the other hand, it is just as criminally foolish to release all bonds of discipline in the way that Kerensky did.

The statesmen of Japan are no fools, and they realise that the time has come to release the pressure gradually The recent quadrupling of the number of voters is an indication of their decision to ease the situation, and General Tanaka's appearance on the political stage may be taken as indicative of their wish to have a potential national leader who, if and when the time comes, will be able to give the people their head whilst still retaining a proper control of the situation. A soldier himself, he will see to it that the Army retains its discipline and remains loyal. With the Army at his back, he will have nothing to fear, and, being broad-minded—call him an opportunist if you like—he will yield to the people's wishes in non-essential points, and will guide their thoughts into safer and healthier channels.

The Army probably has a greater influence on the internal situation in Japan than most people imagine. It is a kind of forcing ground for the inculcation of loyalty and patriotism, and its influence as such is far-reaching. Every year about 100,000 young men are conscripted, and for the next two years are put through a course of military training and discipline. Not only are they taught to drill and manœuvre, and to know how to shoot and how to march, but they are subjected to an intensive course of instruction in loyalty and obedience. This is done through the medium of the so-called *seishin kyōiku*, or 'spiritual training'

To the foreign officer who has the good fortune to carry out a period of attachment to the Japanese Army few things are more striking than the importance placed by the military authorities on this particular branch of the soldier's training. It is carried out in numerous ways—by lectures, by special parades, by visits to

places of historical interest, and by innumerable other means; and it is often done so subtly and skilfully that the conscript is quite unaware that he is being subjected to this intensive propaganda. A few men may kick over the traces, but it is probably no exaggeration to say that 99 per cent. of those who have served their time with the colours in Japan return, on the completion of their period of military service, to their homes imbued with a spirit of loyalty and patriotism which they spread unconsciously amongst their friends and relations in the towns and villages from which they come. This spirit is maintained, after leaving the Army, by the fact that even in the most remote country districts there are local branches of the *Zaigogunjinkai*, the Reservists' Association, which these men join. This organisation is controlled from Tokyo, and makes a point of encouraging the reservists to retain a high standard of *esprit de corps*. The President of the Association is Marshal Prince Kanin, and, until his resignation from the Army and entry into party politics in April this year, General Baron Tanaka had for some time past been its energetic Vice-President. The membership of this organisation is said to be about three million at the present time, and the great majority of these men can probably be counted upon to support General Tanaka if ever the occasion calls for it. They can be regarded as one of the country's greatest assets in combating the evil influence of ultra-Radical teachings.

It is probably due to the realisation of this fact that military training has recently been introduced into the schools and colleges throughout Japan. Whether by chance or by intention, the initiation of this new system coincided almost to a day with General Tanaka's entry into party politics.

By a recent Act of Parliament the strength of the Army has been reduced by four divisions; the reduction took place on May 1 this year. Nominally with the idea of counteracting the loss to the national defence scheme resulting from this reduction, the system of giving military training to students was started on the same date, and about 1400 Army officers, who had been disbanded under the reduction programme, were detailed to schools and colleges as military instructors. Some people professed to see in this move an indication of militarism, but it is more likely that the authorities will use these officers to introduce the Army system of *seishin kyōiku* into these institutions rather than try to imbue the students with militaristic ideas.

There are some who point to Japan's large Army as an indication that she is militaristic; but, in view of what has been written above, it will be seen that the Army is probably kept large, not so much for external aggression as for internal effect, as a kind of centre for the propagation and encouragement of loyalty and

patriotism. Similarly it is probably right to infer that the recent introduction of military education into Government schools and colleges has merely been done by way of extending this propaganda. If this inference is correct, it shows the wisdom of the authorities concerned, as it would be difficult to find a better way of combating the growing spirit of unrest and discontent.

A few years ago, when I was carrying out a period of attachment to the Japanese Infantry School at Chiba, I was very much impressed by a speech delivered by the Commandant on the occasion of a memorial service which was being held in connection with the death of some of the men during an epidemic of influenza. Referring to the fact that these men had died whilst serving their country, he pointed with regret to the present tendency of Japanese to forget the duty they owed to their country and to other people, and urged his listeners to remember that on their return to civil life they should set an example to their friends and relations by discouraging discontent and by acting up to the principle that the individual is nothing whilst the community is everything.

No doubt, when he said this, he had in mind the fact that too much consideration is being given at the present time to so-called 'rights,' to the utter exclusion of the duties that are owed in exchange for these rights. It is a phenomenon common to all countries to-day, and is responsible for a great deal of the social unrest and discontent. The Commandant did well, therefore, in impressing this point on the officers and men who were present on that occasion.

In addition to the influence that the Army and military education in general have in counteracting the general spirit of unrest in the country, there are several organisations whose professed object is to encourage patriotism and loyalty, and to nullify the effect of ultra-Radical teachings. Some of these institutions, such as the *Seinenkai*, or Young Men's Association, do excellent work; but there are others, like the *Kokusuikai*, the *Kokuryukai*, and the *Taikosha*, which in many cases, owing to their reactionary and super-patriotic activities, do more harm than good, as they not only interfere in matters which do not concern them, but not infrequently resort to personal violence and intimidation in an endeavour to attain their ends.

Another organisation which has, of late years, been exercising considerable influence in the realms of social politics, is the *Suiheisha*, whose membership is said to number as many as five million persons. These people all belong to the despised *Eta* class —people who, though Japanese, have been branded as outcasts for generations past. According to the present law, all former restrictions have been withdrawn from these people; but the

majority of other Japanese still discriminate against them in matters of social intercourse. This is much resented by them; and, as they are now sufficiently powerful to take retaliatory measures, they not infrequently resort to violence, and are a potential source of disturbance to peace and good order.

In spite of these and other such bodies being a menace to public safety, the police have hitherto been inclined to treat them with leniency. This attitude is apparently ascribable in part—at any rate, in the case of the reactionary organisations—to the fact that the members of these societies talk loudly of patriotism, and of counteracting ultra-Radical thoughts and movements. The authorities fear, therefore, to discourage them, despite the harm they do at other times. As, however, this super-patriotism is becoming used, more and more, as a cloak for less altruistic purposes, there have of late been signs of stricter control being enforced—a step that is all to the good.

From everything that has been written above, it will be seen that the situation in regard to social unrest in Japan is complex and requires careful handling. The old family system and its concomitant of a paternal despotism are gradually dying out; the fine spirit of sacrifice of the individual for the good of the community is becoming a thing of the past; Radical thoughts are being imported by the flood of cheap Russian literature and by the increasing contact between the people of Japan and those of Soviet Russia; and the spread of industrialism and commercialism is tending to deaden the finer qualities of the country at large. To a slightly less, though quite definite, degree, the cinematograph is also having a deteriorating effect on the moral code of the people, who are apt to judge Western standards by the actions of those depicted on the very second-rate films which pour into this country from abroad. The super-patriots may, in some cases, help to counteract the present tendencies, but they often do more harm than good. The main bulwark against Radical tendencies is the Army and the Navy, with their system of *seishin kyōiku* and of far-reaching propaganda, inculcating loyalty and patriotism in their truest forms. The bulk of the people are still at heart as loyal and patriotic as ever they were; but they require a leader to direct and guide their thoughts and actions into more healthy channels. Unless the situation is taken in hand in time, the present insignificant handful of Radical visionaries may, by their very fanaticism, spread the infection amongst their countrymen; but it is more likely that the authorities will act in time to prevent such a disaster.

In the final analysis it is found that the spread of industrialism is at the bottom of most of the unrest. It is threatening the old-established family system, which has, for centuries past, been

such an outstanding feature of Japanese social life, and which is the best protection against social disturbances. Moreover, it follows naturally that the more Japan becomes industrialised the less will agricultural pursuits be what Robertson Scott calls 'the foundations of Japan.' Industrialism is, therefore, striking at the very roots of Japanese social life. Little wonder, then, that the spirit of unrest and discontent is on the increase! This transition is, in its psychological aspect, similar to a revolution. History records no revolution—political, religious, or social—that has not been accompanied by civil disturbances. Japan can hardly expect to prove an exception to this rule, though she can take—and is taking—steps to keep the situation under control.

It speaks well for the labouring classes that they recently expelled the ultra-Radicals from their unions. By this action they have demonstrated that, although the labour movement has during the last few years assumed a political aspect, the unions have no desire to resort to extremist measures to attain their ends. If the authorities show a sufficiently sympathetic attitude towards the natural aspirations of the working classes, the labour movement is not likely to prove a menace; but if they adopt repressive measures, they will merely drive them into the arms of the small, but virile, ultra-Radical group, and the result may be disastrous. The spirit of social unrest is still mainly below the surface, and with careful handling it can be kept from breaking out into evidence. Happily the authorities appear to realise the seriousness of the situation, and can be counted on to deal with it to the best of their ability.

M. D. KENNEDY.

THE RIFF QUESTION

THE mischief began when France and Spain entered into an agreement in November 1912 for the partition of Morocco. Not only was Italy ignored, in spite of her prominent position as a Mediterranean Power and of her direct territorial interest in North Africa, but the territory of the Riff was treated as if it formed part of the Sultanate of Morocco, and was assigned to Spain as the chief portion of what was called 'the Spanish zone.'

It is a matter of history that the Riffi have never been subdued, not even by the Romans, who were too wise to venture into a hornet's nest among inhospitable mountains defended by a brave and hardy highland race.

French officials will say that this is a romantic legend—that the Riffi have in comparatively recent times paid taxes to the Sultan; and, in proof of this assertion, they point to what they call a chain of *kasbahs* extending into the heart of the Riff; and these, they allege, prove that the Sultan's officers did collect taxes from the Riffi. The 'chain' on examination is found to consist of three or four small forts built along the track from the River Muluyia towards Melilla. The *presidio* of Melilla lies at the extreme east of the Riff, and it is quite possible that at some period the Sultan did make a raid into this part of the country and succeed in extorting a contribution from the inhabitants. The fact that he had to build *kasbahs* to do it seems to prove that only by the protection of these small strongholds could he save his skin.

The Riffi, since their conversion to Islam, have always acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Sultan as Khalif, but equally have they always denied his temporal authority as Sultan. Their position is similar to that of many of the wild tribes of the Atlas, from whom the sultans have never been able to collect taxes except by taking an army, or *harka*, into their country, and, in the picturesque language of the vernacular, 'eating them up.' The Riff case is even stronger; for the sultans never ventured to do more than nibble at the eastern edge of the Riff country.

Maréchal Lyautey has been able to hold the tribes of the Southern Atlas in subjection by means of what is known as the

'Great Kaids' policy. By his winning personality and his brilliant reputation as a successful administrator of native races he has been able to secure the personal loyalty of the three great kaids, Glaoui, Gundafi, and Mtuggui; their loyalty even stood the crucial test of the Great War, when the protectorate was almost denuded of French troops to strengthen the Western Front. He has been prevented from pursuing the same policy in the Riff by the action of the Spaniards, and especially of their King, who in a speech at Rome gave to the Spanish aggression that religious character of a contest between the Cross and the Crescent that every other responsible person had been labouring to eliminate, It has thus been impossible for Maréchal Lyautey to enter into personal relations with the Riff leader and to come to an understanding with him on lines similar to his relations with the great kaids of the south. And it is particularly unfortunate for the French Government that their greatest assets in the pacification of Morocco—the prestige and charm of their distinguished High Commissioner—are ruled out by the fear of offending Spanish pride.

Abd El Krim, the Riff leader, served his apprenticeship to public affairs in the Spanish Government offices at Melilla, where he was on intimate terms with Primo de Rivera, then engaged on similar work, and now the generalissimo of the Spanish forces vainly attempting to force alien rule upon a brave and valiant people rightly struggling to be free. Abd El Krim has been chosen by the Riffi as their leader because he is a man of some education and experience of affairs, considered very level-headed by those Europeans who have had the pleasure of meeting him and of hearing his views on the present situation.

According to him, the Riffi desire nothing but to be left alone. They are prepared to allow Europeans to come into their country and open any mines they may be able to discover, but on the distinct understanding that they do not attempt any interference with the political status of the country, and that they honourably accept the position of privileged foreigners and do not seek to go beyond it.

In the 'sixties of last century, when Lord John Russell was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Riffi actually asked to be placed under British protection, subject only to the condition that Sir John Drummond Hay should be their ruler. This, of course, would have led to too many complications with our jealous neighbours, and so the proposal never got beyond the stage of a confidential communication. But it shows what the Riffi are when well treated and in contact with men they feel they can trust. And it seems to the present writer to give them some claim to our moral support in the impossible position in

Tetuan, as his representative, in nominal control of the foreign relations of the Spanish protectorate. Against this action the Spaniards have made futile protests, and have been referred by the French to the terms of their agreement, which do lend a certain colour to the French claim. But, as the Spaniards have now practically withdrawn to the coast and failed to establish any protectorate, there is no further need of these subtleties. The Riffi have effectively asserted their independence, which ought never to have been challenged. Let France and Spain acknowledge it and cease their wasteful expenditure on an unjust war, which neither of them can afford to continue ; let Spanish pride stand aside when its further indulgence may threaten the peace of Europe.

The latest news is that France and Spain are going to increase the strength of the *tabors*, or native military police, in the Tangier international zone, on the pretext that Abd El Krim might take it into his head to attack Tangier. But he is not likely to do anything so foolish so long as the European authorities in Tangier insist upon the neutrality of the international zone being respected. But the flagrant violations of its neutrality by the Spaniards, to which allusion has already been made, must cease if Tangier is to be safe.

Let it be frankly admitted that the Riff is an independent State, and let the accusation of rebellion be withdrawn—let the neutrality of the international zone be enforced, then there will be no provocation to any hostile action from the Riff. The Tangier-Fez railway could then be rapidly completed and would come into action as an important aid in the settlement of the, at present, disturbed region of the Jebala, and in the peaceful development of northern Morocco.

A. S. Moss Blundell.

THE RELIGION OF THE UNDERGRADUATE

[Two articles under this title by undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge appeared in the May number of this Review.]

A CLASS orator at Harvard, speaking with greater wit perhaps than verity, remarked that he understood there was agitation afoot for a new chapel, the inference being that the present chapel was too large. This sentiment is quite in keeping with the prayer which was offered at a conference of Christian students for 'Godless Harvard.' But why has Harvard this reputation—in some quarters at least—and is it deserved ?

In the first place, compulsory chapel was abolished many years ago. Harvard led in this movement, which is rapidly spreading to-day, and it is not without significance that Yale has adopted voluntary chapel for the coming year. This is all in frank recognition of the fact that compulsory chapel defeats its own purpose, unless, as in some smaller schools, its purpose is not primarily religious. Compulsory chapel in an age of voluntary religious belief is an anachronism, and it is patent that a college which sponsors independence of thought cannot logically be a party to coercion of belief. Without labouring the point, I think that voluntary chapel is a salutary and enlightened measure, that it stimulates a truly reverent attitude on the part of those who do wish to attend the chapel service. However small the attendance may be, it is better to have only ten devout worshippers than a thousand noisy, bored, or distracted students filling the pews Compulsory education is one thing; compulsory religion quite another.

What of attendance at this voluntary chapel ? Though I think the number who attend the services at the college chapel, or at any church for that matter, is no index to the number who believe in a God or who would include the Deity in some teleology, it may clarify the ensuing discussion to have the figures before us. Of about 3000 students who entered the college in the fall of 1924, 2488 signified that they were affiliated in some degree with a recognised Church or sect. But the average attendance at the Sunday morning service was only 282, while the number who were

present at the daily morning service averaged only seventy-five. Allowance must be made for three large classes who seldom or never attend chapel: first there are 278 Roman Catholics who attend their own church; the second class consists of 317 Jews; the third includes that large body of men who go to denominational churches. Thus we can partly account for the startling discrepancy between the recorded number of believers and the paucity of chapel-goers.

While Appleton Chapel is the stronghold of religion at Harvard, it is by no means the only agency for religious exercise. A series of twenty Sunday afternoon lectures were given last year by prominent men on pertinent religious topics, and these meetings, held in Phillips Brooks House, the centre of the philanthropic and religious activity of the University carried on outside of the chapel, attracted an average attendance of 300. Many of the men who went to these lectures did not attend chapel regularly. Likewise ten Monday night meetings were held exclusively for Freshmen, and on the average 138 came Five religious discussion groups met during the past year, and numerous small groups have gathered for study or prayer.

So much for statistics I fail to see that they prove much as far as religion goes, for you cannot reckon spiritual values numerically.

The title of this article suggests the idea of the religion of the average undergraduate; and by the average undergraduate I mean the normal undergraduate, the boy brought up in a reasonably propitious atmosphere, susceptible to the healthy influences which surround him in school—the reasonably thoughtful boy. What is the calibre of his faith? Even that is hard to answer without equivocation, for it must be recognised that there are as many different theologies as there are undergraduates. No two people have exactly the same idea of God, and philosophers tell us that even if they had they could never know it. If we admit the fiction of the normal undergraduate, has he a religion? Beyond the shadow of a doubt the normal, indifferent, and sometimes mundane undergraduate has a religion, if the incoherent and unresponsive belief in the existence of a Supreme Being can fairly be called a religion. And I think it can, for the essence of religion is faith, and this is faith, though it be of the passive and unambitious variety. In my four years' association with all classes of undergraduates I have not to my knowledge come in contact with one confirmed atheist. Their ideas of what God is may be radically different from mine; indeed, I have been surprised at the number of pantheists, but not one of them is prepared to maintain that there is no God. And so I am right in saying that the normal undergraduates, those fictitious persons one-tenth of whom

attend chapel while the other nine-tenths stay at home, have a religion which is postulated on faith in the existence of God and which consists principally in a Christian code of ethics. If religion implies regular worship and prayer, probably less than half of the student body would qualify. Why is this so ?

The normal young man gives very little thought to the great mysteries of the soul and the world to come. It all seems so remote, so unreal, until the grim spectre gathers in someone who is dear to him. But for most men this experience comes in later life, after they have quit the sequestered paths of college life. Then most men think on death and salvation, and with the advent of children and the necessity of their proper training their interest in the Church grows. Whatever their views may be as the mature and sober heads in their families, the plain fact is that in undergraduate days they quite consistently neglect religious duty despite a vague belief in a God. 'Why will the undergraduate not take time to think ?' the elderly gentleman who has forgotten his college days or who has been reared under a different *régime* will ask me. Why ? Why is youth normally care-free, and thoughtless, and happy ? Why do most young men prefer to dance Saturday night and sleep Sunday morning ? Why does the college man study or loaf until the small hours of the morning, and breakfast when he should be at chapel ? The best explanation I can offer is that it is in the nature of man. There are, nevertheless, certain contributing circumstances. One of them is that a large number of Harvard men come from private schools where church attendance seven days in the week has been forced upon them. In these schools they inwardly rebelled, but were powerless. On coming to college many have visited their wrath upon the college chapel by conscientiously abstaining from worship. Again, the undergraduate is subject to the vicious system of constantly meeting requirements ; as a result, too frequently he just meets those requirements and assumes no voluntary obligations. Quite aside from the merits of the argument, the majority of young men would repudiate the idea that there was any obligation upon them to participate in church worship. The blind machines which all colleges turn out in considerable numbers know that Divine worship is not required, and feel that what is not required is not profitable. I have no great faith in the inquiring mind of the normal undergraduate. He can study well enough, but he does not as a rule meditate. One is a process of acquisition, the other of clarification. Perhaps this is but another peculiarity of our age. Perhaps it has always been so, that youth is better at acquisition than at clarification. However that may be, it is patent that there is a vast difference between them, and that just as long as the undergraduate does not medi-

tate just so long will the recognition of his religious duties b delayed.

This train of thought suggests the appropriateness of asking i this is not what is wrong with our colleges. Meditation has been roughly shouldered out by activity. Undergraduates work for honours in their studies, and by honours I mean high grades; they work for success in extra-curriculum fields. This word 'work' connotes activity, feverish endeavour, acquisition, and where there is such a bustle there can be little meditation. Even good scholarship in our colleges is not synonymous with wisdom, vision, and introspective power. Meditation is rated low, for success is calculated in other terms of value. Success to the 'Vulgus,' and that includes many of us college men, is a tangible thing. Everywhere there is a lust for publicity, popularity and renown, and unfortunately meditation is not so acclaimed. It is not told in Gath and published in the streets of Ascalon. Hence there is no extraneous aid to meditation; it is an innate, and never an acquired, characteristic. I would regret having digressed so far from my original thesis if I did not think this comment partly an explanation of undergraduate Philistinism.

So far we have been dealing with tendencies and generalities. What now are the specific groups into which we can classify these undergraduates? We can divide the student body into two classes—those who go to church (by church I mean the chapel or a denominational religious service), and, second, those who do not go to church. In view of the fact that all men go to church some time or other, it is only fair that we denominate as church-goers those who attend other than special services. Of these two great classes I am loath to admit, though I am inclined to believe, that the second class is the larger. Those who think otherwise—for there is some room for doubt, as I shall explain—can console themselves with my former statement that church attendance is not a reliable index to a man's belief in God. There is room for a reasonable doubt, however, because while the statistics at hand can tell us the average attendance at chapel they cannot tell how many different men attended on different occasions, or how many worshipped in denominational churches.

In this large class are two smaller groups. First there are the curious and the inactive believers whose attendance at chapel is irregular and spasmodic, for it is prompted rather by a curiosity to see and hear some visiting preacher of great repute than by a sense of religious duty. They believe in God, but they are not over-impressed with the sense of any duty to Him. They are far more casual about it than they are about the requirement for elementary German. While they cannot be congratulated on

their religious fervour, they are establishing a habit, which does not preclude the fruition of a real faith in later years. The second sub-division is comprised of the truly devout. They think seriously on religious matters; they take sides in religious controversies, though perhaps not openly, and they worship regularly. This class is still comparatively small, but most observers concede that it is growing. It is growing because of the increasing conviction among the students themselves of the abnormal robustness of undergraduate 'activity.' It is growing, too, because there is in a very real sense a new reformation afoot, emerging from the theological ruins caused by the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy. There is an increasing stress laid upon the religion of Christ, and less and less importance is attached to creeds embodying theories about Christ. To the college man unencumbered with creeds and standing aloof from close affiliation with any one denomination this movement is bound to commend itself.

The second great class, those who do not go to church, has three sub-divisions. The first, and the smallest, is the group of atheists. They are inconspicuous and numerically small. Of course there is chance for serious error, for the character of their belief is such as defies tabulation. At a certain stage in philosophy some men are so blinded by sudden intellectual light that they are thrown for the time being into spiritual darkness, but I think that in every known case recovery has quickly followed. Then there are agnostics. A large number of undergraduates during their four years' course come to doubt the existence of God. They are a class of empiricists who would wish for further proof, and who refuse to be duped by an inheritance of fear. But there are not many serious-minded doubters who have weighed all the evidence available, and who have taken pains to investigate, who have decided in the negative. Rather, I will make so bold as to say that there are few thoughtful agnostics in our colleges to-day. Most of these doubters are too passive and too unenergetic to decide anything for themselves, and where they are not forced to declare their belief or unbelief they prefer to lose themselves in their own confusion.

Finally, besides that large unthinking class who regard nothing that is not required and much that is required as worthless, there is that great body of unimpressed and incoherent believers. These are the men who admit that they believe in God, who lead Christian lives, but who either deny the necessity for church worship or are uninspired by a religious service. Most undergraduates lead an intellectually hand-to-mouth existence. Few of them prepare their studies even a day ahead, and the great mass of them do the bulk of their studying the day before an examination. I am inclined to believe that they are following out the same method

in the matter of religion. They see no immediate necessity for religion, and they are not willing to waste any time on what is not immediately necessary: Consequently God is recognised at a distance and held in readiness for a later emergency. This is not a conscious process of reasoning. For this great class of men, despite their protestations, God must be unreal and unimportant. They must be jolted before they can be waked. We must conclude, therefore, that Harvard, though a large part of it be indifferent, is not quite godless.

I would be remiss if I omitted mention in this article of the large number of student preachers who were sent out to the surrounding cities and towns during the past year. Over sixty-five men were delegated under the auspices of Phillips Brooks House to speak and to preach in deputations of four or five. Many of these undergraduates had never preached or spoken before in public, and, though I do not wish to cast aspersions on their preaching, it probably did them more good than their audiences. There is nothing more sobering than responsibility, and somehow the truth of the matter comes to a man quicker when he tries to explain it to another.

PAUL WHITCOMB WILLIAMS

THE ORIENTATION OF STONEHENGE

EVERYONE interested in the subject of the orientation of ancient structures, whether buildings or earthworks, will welcome the very able article by Mr. Arthur R. Hinks, F.R.S., entitled 'Stonehenge and Karnak,' which appeared in the issue of *The Nineteenth Century* for July 1925.

In this connection should also be read the excellent paper by Admiral Boyle T. Somerville, C.M.G., entitled 'Orientation in Prehistoric Monuments in the British Isles,' lately published by the Society of Antiquaries in *Archæologia*, vol. 73, p. 193. These two papers deal with the whole subject very completely.

The present article is limited to a consideration of the orientation of Stonehenge, with special reference to the work of Sir Norman Lockyer in that connection.

Some persons have supposed that the 'intentional orientation' of Stonehenge is a theory invented by Sir Norman Lockyer. As a matter of fact, it has been the opinion of every authority who has dealt with the subject from an astronomical point of view for the last two hundred years.

Owing to the gradual change in the Obliquity of the Ecliptic, the point on the Stonehenge horizon at which midsummer sunrise occurs is, in the course of time, slowly shifting to the eastward. At some time in the remote past the point of sunrise, viewed from the Stonehenge site, would have been beyond the Axis line on the northern side. The midsummer sunrise now occurs to the east of the Axis line, having passed that azimuth some thousands of years ago.

At some date in the past, therefore, the midsummer sunrise undoubtedly occurred at a point on the horizon in line with the Axis of Stonehenge. This is not a theory, but is an absolute astronomical fact depending on the physical constitution of the solar system.

If we can ascertain the azimuth (bearing east of north) of the Axis, the angle of Obliquity of the Ecliptic necessary to cause midsummer sunrise to take place on that azimuth can

readily be determined. The (approximate) date at which the Ecliptic made that angle with the Equator can then be ascertained, and thus, incidentally, the date at which midsummer sunrise took place on the Axis of Stonehenge.

It is evident that this is a purely astronomical problem, and that its demonstration lies entirely outside the province of archæology.

This problem has been dealt with from time to time by different experts, and most completely by Sir Norman Lockyer. The methods adopted for this investigation and the results arrived at are set forth in the present writer's recently published work on Stonehenge[1] in the chapter on 'Astronomical Considerations,' to which the reader is invited to refer for further details.

Assuming that the Axis was directed to the point on the Lark Hill horizon at which midsummer sunrise occurred, the builders of Stonehenge would have no difficulty in marking out the line. They would merely have to set up a pole or a stone at the observed position on the sky-line at the top of Lark Hill, and anyone with good eyesight could readily range out a straight line thereto from the centre of Stonehenge. At Lark Hill distance an error of one foot in the position of the stone would represent a difference of about twenty-three or twenty-four years.

The description of the Avenue given by Stukeley two hundred years ago, when that work was in a better state of preservation, is still substantially correct. He says:

> 'The Avenue of *Stonehenge* was never observ'd by any who have wrote of it, tho' a very elegant part of it, and very apparent. It answers . . . to the principal line of the whole work, the north-east, where abouts the sun rises, when the days are longest.
>
> 'This Avenue extends itself, more than 1700 feet, in a strait line, down to the bottom of the valley, with a delicate descent.
>
> 'I observe the earth of the ditches is thrown inward, and seemingly some turf on both sides, thrown upon the avenue ; to raise it a little above the level of the downs.
>
> 'The two ditches continue perfectly parallel to the bottom, 40 cubits asunder' (*Stonehenge*, p. 35).

It will be observed that to ascertain the approximate date at which midsummer sunrise occurred in line with the Axis we have to depend on the degree of accuracy with which the azimuth of the Axis can be determined.

With a view to ascertain the alignment of the Axis the present writer has taken careful measurements on the ground, the results of which are set forth in his book on Stonehenge, pp. 131—133.

[1] *The Stones of Stonehenge* By E. Herbert Stone, F.S.A. (London, Robert Scott, 1924)

The Avenue extends in a straight line in a north-easterly direction for a distance of about 1780 feet from the ditch which surrounds the structure. More than twenty cross-sections were taken, and a long straight line was ranged out along the middle of the Avenue, passing through the centre of the sarsen circle and out beyond the stones on the south-western side. The result of this survey work showed that (as nearly as could be ascertained) the Axis of the central structure and the centre line of the Avenue were practically on one continuous straight line.

The long centre line thus ranged out was found to be nearly in agreement with the Axis adopted by Sir Norman Lockyer

The results thus obtained must, of course, be regarded as approximate only, and the exact centre line adopted by the builders cannot be determined until the Avenue ditches are completely excavated from end to end, as local irregularities in the digging of the ditches would otherwise lead to error But meantime the centre line thus set out may be regarded as probably a very close approximation to the true Axis.

As noted above, the Avenue extends in a straight line in a north-easterly direction on the line of the Axis for a considerable distance from Stonehenge At the far end of this long straight the track divides, one branch taking off in a northerly direction towards the Cursus, the other taking off in an easterly direction and going towards Amesbury.

A very interesting account of these branches, and of the discovery of parts of their routes by photographs taken from the air, is given by Mr. O. G. S Crawford, F.S.A , in the *Observer*, July 22 and September 23, 1923. The photographic plans are also reproduced in the *Illustrated London News*, August 18, 1923.

The existence of these branches has, of course, been quite familiar to everyone interested in Stonehenge and its avenue for the last hundred years. They were first described by Colt Hoare in his *Ancient Wiltshire*, published in 1812, and their routes (as far as then traceable) are shown on his general plan.

In reference to the air photographs Mr. Crawford however makes the following somewhat extraordinary remark:

'What does this discovery mean? In the first place, it puts out of court once and for all the fanciful astronomical theories of the late Sir Norman Lockyer and others. An avenue which splits into two branches, one leading to a racecourse and the other to a river (and neither branch straight), cannot be regarded as oriented to the rising sun for purposes of worship' (*The Observer*, July 22, 1923).

In making this remark Mr. Crawford entirely disregards the obvious facts of the case, some of which he could easily have ascertained by reference to a large-scale map.

It is difficult to see in what possible way the existence of these branches (making connection with the far end of the Avenue) can be supposed to affect the correctness of the azimuth observations which were made on the long straight axial portion which extends for a distance of 1780 feet from the outworks of Stonehenge. We do not even know whether these branches are of the same date as the Avenue.

In any case the main roadway of the Avenue clearly extends to a sufficient distance to define and emphasise the line of the Axis, and for such purpose there was no need to extend it further. It has been supposed that at some time a stone may have been set up on Sidbury Hill to mark the prolongation of the Axis, but no one has ever suggested that the Avenue itself might have been so extended.

On the data set forth in the writer's work on Stonehenge (pp. 24—28) Sir Norman Lockyer found the Obliquity of the Ecliptic which would cause midsummer sunrise to take place at a point on the horizon on the line of the Axis to be 23° 54′ 30″. According to Simon Newcomb (the eminent American astronomer), the date at which the ecliptic made this angle with the equator was about 1840 B.C.

Owing to want of precision in the data, Lockyer considered that the possible error might affect the date to the extent (plus or minus) of as much as 200 years. We may therefore conclude that (according to the results obtained by Lockyer) the date at which midsummer sunrise occurred on the line of the Axis of Stonehenge would be some time between 2040 B.C and 1640 B.C.

Now it will be observed that this is just about the date now generally agreed by archæologists as the probable date of the building of Stonehenge.

We may consider it probable therefore that the builders of Stonehenge did, as a matter of fact, direct the axis of their new building, as nearly as they were able, to the point on the horizon at which the sunrise at midsummer then took place.

The results of the observations made by Sir Norman Lockyer were published in a paper read before the Royal Society in the year 1901 (see *Proceedings*, vol. 69, pp. 137—147). This was nearly a quarter of a century ago, and at that time most archæologists were of opinion that Stonehenge was of Bronze Age date and that its purpose was in some way connected with the adjacent Round Barrows. This was then what may be termed the orthodox belief, and the opinion that Stonehenge might be of a much earlier date was therefore regarded as distinctly heretical. Besides, Lockyer was an astronomer, and it was felt that he had no

business to trespass on what was held to be an archæological reserve.

Hence Lockyer's work was the subject of much adverse criticism.

Dr. Rice Holmes in the year 1907, in his valuable work *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar* (pp. 216, 472, 473), delivered himself of a somewhat acrimonious attack. He set forth arguments in favour of a Bronze Age date, many of which are now known to be fallacious, and then proceeded with much confidence to demolish the position of Norman Lockyer.

These criticisms by Rice Holmes have been sufficiently dealt with by me in *The Nineteenth Century* for January 1922 (pp 113, 114) and in the *Antiquaries' Journal* for April 1923 (pp. 130—134). As the Bronze Age date theory of Stonehenge is now considered obsolete, this aspect of the question appears to call for no further remark.

Lately a fresh attack on Lockyer's work has been delivered from another direction by a much-respected Wiltshire archæologist. He is strongly in favour of the 'sepulchral purpose' theory of Stonehenge, and is vehemently opposed to the 'solar temple' theory which was held by Norman Lockyer. Hence he does his utmost to discredit Lockyer's astronomical work as having a tendency subversive of what he holds to be the true faith.

As regards the orientation of the structure he remarks:

'Some such [solar] cult is necessarily implied in the *intentionally* precise alignment of Stonehenge to the summer solstice. Hence the minds of the half-educated majority have been filled with crude notions of a temple, an altar, priests and sacrifices, to the detriment of any real knowledge of the pre-history of the country' (*Wiltshire Gazette*, July 17, 1924)

While he thus holds that the idea of 'intentional orientation' may have a deplorable effect on the 'minds of the half-educated majority,' he is apparently not prepared to refute the arguments by which that position is supported. In fact, he frankly admits that he does not understand them. On this matter he writes as follows:

'My present few words are partly to express entire agreement with what Mr. Stone writes of my *astronomical* attainments I am, as he says, "equipped with an absolute ignorance of the elementary principles of the subject"' (*Wiltshire Gazette*, July 31, 1924).

'I do not profess to understand the astronomico-mathematical computations, nor need I try to do so. If the supposed Axis is a figment of Sir N. Lockyer's fantastic imagination and undiscoverable, despite his obvious manipulations of the data, then the dependent computations are negligible' (*Salisbury Journal*, September 19, 1924).

The offensive insinuation contained in the last paragraph may be left without comment.

He thus proclaims himself as not only entirely opposed to the theory of 'intentional orientation' of the Axis, but is even inclined to suspect that the Axis itself may be but a mere 'figment of Sir N. Lockyer's fantastic imagination.'

But he finds that an eminent archæologist, Sir Arthur Evans, has himself noticed this remarkable orientation, and considers it to be based on the same idea as the 'sunward position of the primitive living house.'

Our respected archæologist therefore finds it advisable to shift his position somewhat, and to admit that the belief in 'intentional orientation' may after all be permitted as quite orthodox and proper. We are warned however that Evans must be regarded as the prophet—not Lockyer. He writes:

> 'For a reasonable explanation of the orientation of Stonehenge our choice need not hesitate between Sir N. Lockyer and Sir A. Evans' (*Antiquaries' Journal*, April 1925, p. 200)

In this connection we may recall the well-known passage in Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop*:

> 'Recollect the friend. Codlin's the friend, not Short. Short's very well as far as he goes, but the real friend is Codlin—not Short.'

In Conclusion.—The Orientation of Stonehenge has been so widely discussed that a treatise giving an account of the structure could scarcely be deemed complete without some space devoted to a consideration of the matter.

In his recently published book the writer has therefore devoted some pages to an account of the astronomical work done by Sir Norman Lockyer in this connection. In those pages the facts are stated quite impartially. The author is not an advocate for any theory. He merely presents the reader with a statement of the case.

Sir Norman Lockyer's work at Stonehenge (which has been much misrepresented) was simply the determination of the Obliquity of the Ecliptic which would cause midsummer sunrise to take place on the line of the Axis. We have here no concern with any theories which Lockyer may have held. We merely want to know whether the Axis line adopted by him may be considered (within a reasonable margin of error) to represent the line originally set out by the builders.

From his own observations the writer has satisfied himself that the alignment of the Axis as adopted by Lockyer is at any rate a very fair approximation to the truth.

The Rev. Stanley E. Percival, M.A., has made an independent examination of Lockyer's work, and obtains results for the Obliquity of the Ecliptic differing therefrom by only two seconds of arc (*Proceedings Somerset Archæological Society*, 1924, p. 125).

The present writer has set out a line which appears to be a very close approximation to the true Axis (*Stonehenge*, p 132 and Plate 35). This is nearly on the alignment adopted by Lockyer.

A more accurate result may be arrived at when the side ditches of the Avenue have been completely excavated from end to end. We shall then have a line nearly 2000 feet in length from the centre of the structure to the far end of the Avenue. This line would practically reproduce the original line set out by the builders. When this has been done all previous work on the determination of the Axis (including that of Sir Norman Lockyer) will, of course, be superseded.

In conclusion the writer trusts that, after the explanation given in this article, the attacks on Lockyer's astronomical work at Stonehenge may cease. Many of these attacks have been remarkably unintelligent; some have been even spiteful. But Sir Norman cannot answer back! Lockyer had a world-wide reputation in the domain of science, and (as Mr Arthur Hinks observes) 'died full of years and honour.' May he now rest in peace.

E. HERBERT STONE.

THE DRUIDS

At the present day, when attention is being directed to religions and mystery cults more thoroughly and intensely, perhaps, than at any time in the past, it is a little ironic that we of this country should fly to the traditions of India, of Egypt, and of Greece, when at our very doors lie the remains of a religious system which, in the period of its greatness, was as sublime as any—the system of the Druids. These remains are obscure and chaotic, and it is probably due to this fact that the study of Druidism has been neglected by all but a few enthusiasts. Nevertheless, by carefully comparing the evidence, documentary and otherwise, which is available, by endeavouring to unravel the secrets of stone circles, and the even more baffling ritualistic survivals preserved in folk-lore, finally, by throwing ourselves back in time and attempting to recapture the spirit of the religion itself, it is possible to retrieve from oblivion something of that grand and mysterious faith which, whether we are aware of it or not, still influences us.

It is probably this very obscurity which gives to the subject a peculiar fascination. Whether the line of approach be that of archæology, folk-lore, history, or philosophy, all that can be found is fragmentary and often apparently contradictory. In order to gain a comprehensive outlook it is necessary to consider Druidism, not from one point of view only, but from each in turn and, having done so, to compare the results of all.

The most obvious legacy which the Druids have left to us consists of their stone monuments and temples. Druidic sanctuaries were of two kinds—firstly, open temples of a circular form which were probably used for public worship, and, secondly, sacred groves to which only initiated priests were admitted. In addition to the circles, there are standing stones, single upright pillars usually of granite; cromlechs or dolmens, cell-like structures built of four or more large stones ; holed stones, and rocking stones.

The most famous of the circular temples, Stonehenge, consisted originally of an outer circle of thirty ' sarsen ' stones surmounted by lintels. Inside this was another circle of ' blue stones ' which enclosed a horseshoe composed of five trilithons, in front of the

largest of which lay a large horizontal slab, called the altar stone.

The axis of the temple runs north-east and south-west, and it is orientated to the sunrise at the summer solstice. Archæologists are not agreed as to its date, though about 2000 B.C. is accepted by some authorities as a probable conjecture.

The temple of Avebury must, in its original splendour, have greatly excelled Stonehenge. It consisted of an embankment three-quarters of a mile in circumference, 12 feet broad, and averaging 15 feet above the natural surface of the land, and a deep circular ditch, originally not less than 30 feet deep, containing an area of 28½ acres. Inside the ditch was a circle of 100 unhewn stones, generally about 20 feet in height. Within this circle were two smaller concentric circles formed by a double row of stones each 7 feet in height, standing side by side, the outer circle consisting of twenty and the inner of twelve stones. From the outer embankment two avenues ran, one in the direction of Beckhampton and the other in that of Kennet, where it ended in a pair of circles, in the centre of one of which was a standing stone, 21 feet in height, while the other contained a cromlech or cell.

The above is based upon a description of Avebury in Mr. Dudley Wright's *Druidism*, one of the most recent additions to Druidic literature. Though more in the nature of a compilation than a critical study, it contains a very interesting collection of facts, and, though Mr. Wright's conclusions may not be acceptable to all students, he has done a valuable work in collecting in a single volume the main elements of Druidic tradition. His book gives a good general view of the subject and has a useful bibliography.

There are many indications that Avebury is considerably older than Stonehenge. As will be seen later, the three circles of the main structure are interesting in the light of the *Triads*, while the fact that Stonehenge is built of dressed stones also points to a refinement on primitive practice.

There are also circles of a less elaborate nature, such as ' The Merry Maidens," near Boscawen, consisting of nineteen stones, the Rollright Stones in Oxfordshire, and many others throughout the British Isles.

The *maen hir*, or standing stone, was probably a symbol of God as The One, the pillar of the universe, and the only reality. The dolmen, or cromlech, may be a cell of initiation. Many of these structures appear to have had some connection with the Goddess Ceridwen, the Isis of the Druids, who was the presiding deity of their initiations, and from her mystic cauldron dispensed inspiration and wisdom The names Maen Ketti, the stone of Ked (Keridwen), Kit's Coity House, and the term ' quoits,' by which

cromlechs are known in Cornwall, go to support this supposition. To enter into the womb of Keridwen was to be born again through initiation. Some cromlechs appear to have been completely covered in with stones and earth, while other chambers of the same description were underground.

Of holed stones, there is little that can be said. The practice which exists in some places of passing children through them as a cure for rickets and the custom of lovers plighting their troth clasping hands through the stone are interesting.

Rocking stones are supposed to have been used for divination in connection with the administration of justice.

In connection with stone monuments, it is worth noting that in many districts the various isolated groups of circles, cromlechs, or single stones, seem to have some relation with other groups, often a considerable distance away, so that a whole area, often as large as a county, is circumscribed and intersected by the lines which join the separate sanctuaries. These are not always visible one from another, though this is often the case, but frequently also the line is marked by pointing stones. Here again is a field of almost untouched exploration for the antiquarian.

Leaving the problems of the stones and plunging into the labyrinth of folk-lore and tradition, we are quickly made aware that Druidism in some of its aspects is still alive among us, and far more extensively than is commonly realised. Many of the principal Church festivals were taken over bodily from the older faith when Britain was converted to Christianity. In many cases the Druidic deity became a saint, and the old usages of the feast were continued with perhaps a few Christian adaptations. The festival of St. Bride, which is kept in Scotland and Ireland on February 1, goes back far beyond the coming of St. Patrick, and the first Christian monks, to the days when Brighde, or Brigit, was worshipped as the goddess of 'fire and dew,' an aspect of the Great World Mother corresponding very closely with the Welsh Ceridwen.

The fires of Brighde have become the candles of Candlemas, the festival of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A circular temple at Kildare in which a sacred fire was kept perpetually burning by nineteen virgins became, after the advent of Christianity, a shrine of St. Brigit, its druidesses converted to nuns, but the sacred fire still remaining.

The principal festivals of the Druids were celebrated, not at equinox and solstice, but at points nearly midway between, corresponding roughly to February 1, May 1, August 1, and November 1.

This raises two very interesting questions: Were they originally solstitial and equinoctial festivals, and is it possible to

trace their antiquity by means of calculations based upon the precession of the equinoxes?

Of these four, the two principal were the 1st of May, or Beltane, and the 1st of November, or Samain. Beltane, or May Eve, was a time of rejoicing at the return of the sun. Relics of its observance remained until quite recently among May Day customs, among them being that of passing cattle between two fires in order to avert disease. In Oxfordshire, where there are strong traces of Druidism, May Day is still kept enthusiastically by the children, and the custom at Magdalen College, where, on May morning, the choir sing a Latin chant at sunrise on the top of the tower, has a distinctly Druidical flavour

Of the November festival there are also many survivals. This was the feast of the dying sun, when, with the waning of the light, the powers of darkness became more powerful. It was a time, too, when the dead were believed to approach more nearly to earth, and when divination was practised. Few of those who at Hallowe'en go upstairs with a lighted candle in order to see, by looking into a mirror, the face of their future lover are aware that they are keeping alive the last faint flicker of a Druidic festival. Samain, like all the others, was a fire festival, and the bonfires of the Fifth of November are probably the old 'peace fires' of the Druids, now lit in honour of the Gunpowder Plot.

References to Druidism among classical writers are few, and give, on the whole, little information. Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, book vi., speaking of the Gallic Druids, says:

> They take charge of religious matters, they manage the public and private sacrifices, and interpret the tenets of religion To them a great multitude of youths betake themselves for the sake of instruction, and they are held in great respect among them. . . . The institution itself is supposed to have been devised in Britain, and to have been thence transferred into Gaul.

Cæsar further states that the Druids were exempt from military service and taxation, that their teachings were not committed to writing, that they employed Greek letters, believed in the immortality of the soul, and reasoned about astronomy, natural science, and theology.

The Druidic priesthood consisted of three orders, the Druids, Bards, and Ovates. The functions of the two latter grades probably varied widely in different places and at different times. Possibly the two degrees of Ovate and Bard were at one time preliminary stages in the progress of the aspirant towards the rank of Druid, and later, as the institution became corrupt, were separated into distinct divisions, each with its particular honours and duties.

All the great priestly orders of the ancient world had three

main stages or degrees, as, for instance, the *akoustikoi*, *mathetai*, and *asketai* of the Pythagoreans, and the Druids were no exception. Later, when the true secrets were lost, the secular and exterior side of the institution would remain and be adapted to other purposes.

The training of candidates for the priesthood was as complete and thorough as any of which we have record; for (according to Cæsar) a course of twenty years' study was undergone in order to qualify for the highest degrees. These studies included philosophy, astronomy, geometry, medicine, and natural science. As was the case in Egypt, the priests were responsible for all education, and it was common for the sons of noble houses to attach themselves for a longer or shorter period to the Druidic seminaries.

Of the actual rites and religious practices of the Druids little definite information has come down to us. The Welsh Druids appear to have commemorated the Flood on May Day, or Beltane. On this occasion a mysterious object, called the Avanc, which may have been a kind of ark or shrine, a symbol of the 'enclosed sanctuary of Ked,' was drawn by oxen from the depths of a sacred lake and then carried in procession to the grove.

The oxen represented the oxen of Hu, Hu the Mighty, or Hu Gadarn, a deified patriarch of the island of Britain.

The mistletoe was to the Druids a profoundly significant symbol. It was gathered at the new moon after the winter solstice. The priest, clad in a white robe, ascended the tree and cut the mistletoe with a golden sickle. It was caught by others in a white cloth. Two white bulls were then sacrificed.

On the question of sacrifices, it must be remembered that the recorded observations of Druidic practices date from a time when the institution was already corrupt. It is difficult to imagine how, in the period of its purity, Druidism could have countenanced any kind of animal, and still less human, sacrifice. It may be remarked in passing that, although charges of extreme barbarism have been brought against the Druids in this connection, there is no definite proof that human sacrifice formed any part of the original religious practice of Druidism. The fact that the priests were also the administrators of justice and were responsible for the execution of criminals may have given rise to misconceptions in the minds of superficial observers, while there is no doubt that monastic writers, in many cases endeavoured to bring discredit on the older faith in every possible way.

Of the rites of Samain, or November Eve, one of the most striking was that of the renewing of the fire. All private domestic fires were extinguished on this feast, and might be relighted only from the sacred fire. Exclusion from this privilege was a very heavy penalty and equivalent to excommunication.

Samain was also a feast at which all disputes were settled.

The Gaelic term for it is *La Mas Ubhal* (the Day of the Apple Fruit), which, anglicised into lambswool, became the term applied to a drink composed of sugar, apples, and ale which was brewed at this season.

Among other Druidic ritualistic practices was that of walking round the altar in a sun-wise direction (*deisul*). Among trees the oak was especially venerated, and some etymologists have derived the word ' Druid ' itself from the Greek δρύς, though it is more probable that there is an older root which is the parent of both. The rowan, or mountain-ash, the hazel and the apple tree—which, like the oak and several others, is a host to the mistletoe—were also held sacred. In many localities a stick or cross of mountain-ash is still believed to be a protection against evil spirits. Rain water, which was collected in stone fonts, several of which are still in existence, was also used in their ceremonies, probably for the purposes of lustration.

We come now to the consideration of the philosophy of Druidism. Almost the only record of this which has survived is that contained in the Welsh *Triads*. The authenticity of these as Druidic fragments is questioned by some scholars But a consideration of the interior evidence contained in the *Triads* themselves sufficiently proves them to have been the work of profound philosophers and sages , moreover, the atmosphere of the thought expressed in many of them is quite different from that of any Christian writings, so that if they did not originate from the Druids it is difficult to imagine who the authors of them can be.

It is interesting to note that the same imputation of forgery has been cast on some of the most sublime of the world's sacred scriptures, such as the *Chaldean Oracles* and the works ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. The reason for this is obvious. The true secrets of the mystery teachings were never committed to writing, but handed down orally. The Druids, especially, were adepts in the use of the memory. Therefore, as long as the institution of Druidism was in a pure and flourishing condition, there would be no possibility whereby any fragment of the sacred wisdom would be inscribed. When at last any such record was made it would be long after the system had become corrupt In these circumstances it would be inevitable that the fragments, when at length collected by one who was probably more or less ignorant of their true significance, should be chaotic and obscure, containing much that is foreign to the original teaching.

The task, therefore, of separating the ancient from the modern is not easy, but when the basic doctrines are considered in the light of other evidence and other systems of thought, it will be found that in the *Triads* are embedded the remains of a profound and comprehensive philosophy.

The principle of triplicity was fundamental in Druidism, and one of the bases of its philosophy was that of the three Circles of Existence.

There are three Circles of Existence: the Circle of Ceugant (Infinity), where there is nothing but God, of living or dead, and none but God can traverse it, the Circle of Abred, where all things are by nature derived from death, and man has traversed it; and the Circle of Gwynvyd (Felicity), where all things spring from life, and man shall traverse it in heaven.

There are also

The three states of existence of living beings; the state of Abred in Annwn (the Abyss, the Great Deep); the state of liberty in humanity; and the state of love, that is Gwynvyd in heaven.

The soul of man is conceived of as being created by God in the state of Gwynvyd, but as falling from that blessed state into the Circle of Abred in Annwn.

Abred may be regarded as the objective physical world, the world of matter and hence of suffering, while Gwynvyd is the subjective world, the world of ideas, of archetypal perfection. Beyond is the Circle of Ceugant, the Absolute.

Three things are necessary in Abred: the least of all animation, and thence a beginning; the material of all things and thence increase, which cannot take place in any other state, and the formation of all things out of the dead, hence diversity of existence.

The three necessary occasions of Abred: to collect the materials of every nature, to collect the knowledge of everything, and to collect strength to overcome every adversity and Cythraul, (the principle of destruction) and to be divested of evil, without this traversing of every state of life, no animation or species can attain to plenitude.

Having been made familiar with the 'three principal calamities of Abred—necessity; forgetfulness; and death,' which are also 'the three instrumentalities of God in Abred for the subduing of evil and Cythraul, and escaping from them towards Gwynvyd'—man obtains—

The three victories over evil and Cythraul: knowledge; love; and power; for these know, will, and can do, in their conjunctive capacity, what they desire, they begin in the state of man and continue for ever.

By these victories he attains to Gwynvyd, with its three restorations—'primitive Awen (or Genius); primitive love; and primitive memory; because without these there can be no Gwynvyd.'

There is a close parallel between these ideas and the Greek conception of the soul's descent into the realms of generation for the purpose of becoming self-gnostic.

That pure Druidism was monotheistic is evidenced by many of the *Triads*.

There are three primeval Unities, and more than one of each cannot exist: one God; one truth, and one point of liberty, and this is where all opposites equiponderate.

Three things proceed from the three primeval Unities: all life, all goodness; all power.

God consists necessarily of three things · the greatest in respect of life; the greatest in respect of knowledge, and the greatest in respect of power, and there can only be one of what is greatest in any thing

The above quotations are from *Barddas*, by the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel.

Such, in brief, are some of the methods of approach to the investigation of this neglected subject. With the many fascinating questions which arise from it, such as those of the original home of Druidism, the nationality of the builders of the stone monuments and the date at which they were erected, the connection of the Druidic mysteries with those of Egypt and Greece, it is impossible to deal, for each one of these might provide material for whole books.

There remains that most important question of all: What influence has Druidism on our life to-day? We are living in an age of quest, of intense scepticism, when the basic principles of all that is most vital in human thought and conduct are being ruthlessly assailed. Science and religion are at war and there is none to reconcile them. Learned thinkers quarrel over the nature of man, his origin, his destiny, over the purpose of life itself. Is it then a small thing that in our own land, over 2000 years ago, there were men who had solved these problems, who had answered the riddle of the universe, and attained to the peace that is brought by true knowledge? One has only to remain near one of their old sanctuaries to be conscious of a quiet that is deeper than that of Nature, a serenity like that of a great cathedral. It is to the past that we must go for the solution of the problems of to-day—not only to Druidism, but to the mystery religions of Egypt and Chaldæa, to the religious philosophy of Greece. There are to be found the answers to all questions, the principles upon which all true progress depends. To do this is not to put back the clock of history, for the sages of these countries rose to heights of which modern thought is not even aware, nor is it to waste time in idle speculation, for nothing is, or can be, more practical than the knowledge of truth.

Druidism is not dead, for that which was highest in it still lives as the spiritual heritage of the land where it flourished. If the mere outer trappings of its worship still survive over 2000 years after its fall, how much more must the influence of those wise and

holy men who were its priests linger in the places where they worshipped. In the not far distant future, it may be, we shall awake to a realisation of the greatness of these forgotten priests of our own blood, and the secrets of Stonehenge and Avebury will be revealed.

G. H. Bonner.

BIRD NOTES FROM A SOUTHERN ESTUARY

I

GUARDED on the one hand by a long, well-wooded line of hills, on the other by gently sloping, cultivated ground, the estuary widens to the sea. A fair city stands at its head; a big sandbank almost blocks its mouth where the channel, narrow and tortuous, has shifted in the course of centuries from the west bank of the estuary to the east. Stretching away to either side and ruddy of hue, headland succeeds headland, each reaching further seawards, each more misty and undecided in outline until land melts into haze.

In days long gone by, even maybe a hundred years ago, what a paradise for sea-birds of all kinds must this estuary have been! Where now runs a main-line railway, with trains roaring by every few minutes, where now are busy townships and cultivated fields, in those far-off days for the most part were waste lands and marshes, the haunt of ducks and wading birds innumerable. Even nowadays the mud flats are extensive, and there is great diversity of shore; pools fringed by masses of sea-aster, with scattered oases of pebbles amid the sand; links covered by different grasses, starred with wild flowers and dotted with thickets of gorse; rush-clothed sand dunes, like mountain ranges in miniature, which stand as bastions against the sweeping seas of the channel.

For those who have patience and keenness to watch there is still no lack of interesting bird life at all seasons of the year. In spring and autumn hundreds of wading birds and others halt for a longer or shorter spell on their way to and from their nesting quarters farther north. In winter the estuary is visited by varying numbers of ducks, divers and geese, while even in summer are to be found unmated birds of very many species as well as those that nest in the neighbourhood. The mud flats are never dull for the ornithologist. There is always the chance that he may fall in with a rare bird, whether storm-driven or a wanderer of its own free will. In quite recent years an osprey was noted soaring high in air and slowly making its way westward; on another day a glossy ibis flew overhead like a black curlew and

alighted amongst some gulls on the mud. On yet another occasion four avocets, those quaint waders with recurved beaks, were stalked to within easy vision through field-glasses.

Far too many of these wanderers fall victims to the irrepressible and insatiable gunner; indeed, the mere rumour of their presence spreads no one knows how, and a charge of shot is apt to spell their doom. To a real bird-lover wanton destruction of this sort is totally inexplicable. Some poor corpses go into the 'pot,' which would taste just as well for the substitution of a common bird instead of a rarity, while others find their way into the local museum, which in all probability could very well do without them.

II

The most numerous birds in general on the estuary are the smaller waders—dunlin, ringed plover, sanderling, and the like. The massed flight of these birds is an amazing spectacle. Starlings in companies and battalions are wonderful enough on the wing; their evolutions are swift, and they wheel and swerve with speed and unanimity. But the small waders do all this and far more. Their bodies are much more slender than those of starlings; their wings are narrower and more pointed; hence their movements are in proportion more rapid; they cut through the air with far greater ease.

A great concourse of these small birds may be reposing on a shelving bank of variously coloured shingle. They will consist mostly of dunlins—in hundreds probably—with a few score of ringed plovers, and a dozen or two of sanderlings and turnstones. You approach the shingle, and in certain lights until you get quite near there may apparently be no living thing at hand, so still do they sit and so marvellously do they harmonise with the beach in their plumage. You draw a trifle nearer and are positively startled by the sudden rise of a cloud of birds springing from nowhere. They may all be half asleep, very many with head tucked behind, but the sentinel—there always seems to be a sentinel—gives the alarm, and in an instant they are up on the wing.

If in a lazy mood, they may just fly a hundred or even fifty yards and settle again. If they are full of energy, then is the opportunity for witnessing their capacities in the way of evolutions. Now they are really off—say five hundred of them—swinging along at tremendous speed with a thin, rushing sound as they go. In a few moments perhaps the huge body splits into two or three as if on the word of command, the smaller parties dividing sharply without the least hesitation or clumsiness. Sometimes the separate bodies go each its own way, but now and then they

perform manœuvres together, wheeling and darting about each other and weaving intricate patterns in the air. Soon after the cloud rises for the first time the turnstones will probably break away, not being so much given to these aerial exhibitions, and settle by themselves among seaweed and tide-wrack.

Meanwhile the spectacular display of the main body is astonishing. Forward and backward they rush, dividing, uniting, skimming low over the shore, wheeling suddenly high in air; it is almost bewildering. Now they look black against the sky, now shining white, according as they present their backs or breasts to the beholder. The change is as abrupt as sharply opening and closing a venetian blind. As they dart along they feint as if to wheel or double back, but no, they at once bear straight on, repeating this manœuvre over and over till it is reminiscent of jagged lightning. The birds seem utterly tireless. Words convey but little of the reality of this extraordinary exhibition of flight, but many questions present themselves. Leaders, of course, there must be, and notes of command loud enough to be heard all through the ranks, though they cannot be detected. But how the wonderful movements are brought to such a state of absolute perfection is a mystery. The exceedingly rapid swerving, feinting and doubling surely, one would think, must need much practice, and yet several species, not one only, take part in it, and in spring or autumn the ranks are depleted or increased by the departure and arrival of other birds. Still the exhibition continues as perfect as before. How is it achieved? We can only suppose that, just as young birds often find their way from this country to their winter quarters across trackless seas and unknown lands without the guidance of their parents, so does some unconscious inherited talent, some additional sense for which we cannot account, come to their aid for the simultaneous performance of such astonishing aerial flights.

There is still much, very much, in the science of ornithology as to which we are hopelessly ignorant. Indeed, in the solving of many problems, such as migration and the simultaneous action of massed bodies of birds, we have only just touched the fringe of knowledge. As yet we can only confess our incapacity by ascribing to birds the possession of a sense or senses which are unknown in the mentality of the human race.

III

Below the ruddy cliffs at either side of the estuary mouth waterworn strata of rock stretch out and down towards the sea like sloping irregular tables, deeply pitted with cavities of varying size and depth. There is little life in these holes save a small crab here and there lurking among weed, an anemone, or stray star-

fish. At the tide's edge the rocks are covered with masses of seaweed—great clusters that everywhere rise and fall with the movement of the water. They may be likened to long brown, unkempt tresses that, should the waves be rough, fling and toss themselves aloft, impatient of control. In bright sunshine their ceaseless movements create innumerable flashing points of light, like diamonds clustered in the hair, that sparkle and dazzle the eyes.

At the very edge of the breaking surf or gently lapping tide is the favourite haunt of the purple sandpiper, the tamest and most confiding of small wading birds. Here one or more—three or four are often together—may be watched at close quarters, within a few yards in fact, as they advance or retreat with the flowing or ebbing sea, always searching for food among the spray-washed seaweed or rock crannies. There comes a bigger splash than usual, and the little bird rises on fluttering wings for a moment, but as a rule takes no notice of spindrift: it is part of the game. From time to time he cocks an inquiring eye at you just to assure himself that you are harmless, and if you venture right up to him, he will gently move away a little; but his placid disposition is hard to ruffle. You may easily overlook a purple sandpiper in his chosen haunt, so well does his purplish brown and grey plumage blend with weed- and mussel-covered rocks. His movements, too, escape notice amid the perpetual motion of the sea-tossed weed. He has a way of disappearing into some small cranny, where the work of detaching his prey from the rock evidently takes time. You think he is gone altogether, but suddenly he reappears close at hand. His yellow legs twinkle incessantly as he runs about, and his dark-tipped orange beak is poked into every crevice, so that nothing eludes him.

Oyster-catchers are also very partial to this stretch of rock, though they usually feed a little further from the edge. A most entertaining person is the sea-pie, surely a far better name for him than oyster-catcher, with his wonderful coral-red beak and pink legs. He has a masterful character, and I have often noticed, when these birds are in company with curlews and black-headed gulls, that they impose their will on the others, by a smart peck if necessary. It is amusing to see a big curlew hop away protesting when a sea-pie requires more elbow room, or some tasty morsel that he covets. His shrill, sharp, musical cry is a frequent sound along the shore. The other day it sounded queerly from the top of an old bungalow facing the sea. I looked up, but the only bird visible was a starling, who peered at me from the roof and immediately repeated the sea-pie's note—a most exact imitation; but there is not much in the way of bird-cries that a starling cannot acquire if he so desires.

The sea off these same rocks is a haunt of those beautiful but inveterate fishers the red-breasted mergansers. Between October and April large parties—twenty-eight or thirty—may be found there, all very busy feeding as if for dear life. These birds work considerable havoc among small salmon and trout, though in this they are outdistanced by their near relation the goosander, a much rarer visitor in the south. It is larger and even more beautiful, to my thinking, than the merganser. Both species dive deep after their prey and pursue them under water with tremendous speed. Destructive to fish as is the goosander, in Scotland in spring and early summer it is not very common, and it should be spared for the sake of its most handsome appearance.

Grassy ledges on these cliffs afford secure nesting places for the rock pipit, whose tinkling song, more metallic than that of the meadow pipit, may be heard with frequency in spring, though some birds are there at all times Its small body, planing down on outspread wings, suggests a bird of the land, but its habits are more those of a wader It is seldom, if ever, found away from the shore, and loves to seek its food by rocky pools and the edge of the tide.

IV

During the winter months ducks in considerable numbers find their way from more northern climes to the estuary Every winter brings wigeon and mallard in hundreds, sometimes thousands, with a sprinkling of other species now and then, and the colder the weather in the north the greater numbers come to the estuary. In the severe cold during the first three months of 1917 vast quantities of ducks made their appearance. Enormous numbers of mallard and wigeon, their usual concourse greatly swelled by strangers, made huge dark masses where they flocked together off the western shore. The shape of these masses constantly changed as small parties got up on the wing and settled once more perhaps fifty or a hundred yards away. Now they were strung out in long lines, now in many irregular groups, but never the same for more than a few minutes. The curious whistling 'whee-oo,' carried to the ear from various quarters, betrayed the presence of wigeon, the mallard for the most part remaining silent. Tossing up and down on the heaving waters, they were seldom still even when not on the wing. Some sat up on end and flapped their wings; others splashed about and washed themselves. At or after dusk they would visit their feeding grounds up the estuary, rising in small or large parties as the mood took them.

Where the river narrowed slightly from the mouth enormous parties of tufted duck could be seen—the magpie duck of the wildfowler—with two or three flocks of pochards and surface-

feeding pintails, goldeneye in lesser numbers, and here and there a few dozen scaup. The tufted duck pochards and pintails showed little fear, and often settled near the shore, where they could be studied at close range at leisure in spite of the bitter north-east wind. The goldeneye and scaup were more wary, though binoculars brought them clearly into view, while brent and white-fronted geese occupied a long, narrow sandbank well in mid-stream. The same hard winter brought a small party of long-tailed ducks and one or two eiders. These remained in dignified seclusion off the eastern cliffs, not deigning to associate with common species such as mallard and wigeon. The eider drake, indeed, looks a thorough aristocrat. He is a handsome fellow of considerable size and has a haughty mien, due perhaps to the curious line formed by his head and beak. The long-tailed drake is a very dainty little bird, a pigmy in appearance beside the eider, but distinguished-looking in his rich chestnut brown-and-white plumage and long tail.

The ducks of many species are of course much more difficult to identify than the drakes, especially when they are bobbing up and down at some distance from shore in the dull light of a winter's day. Their plumage and that of immature ducks is mostly brown of different shades, and what distinguishing marks there may be are very frequently not discernible.

A familiar visitor at all seasons is the common scoter, or black duck, as it is locally named. Parties numbering many hundreds are often seen, keeping as a rule a mile or two from shore. Scoters are expert divers, and it would almost seem as if a leader were appointed to give the signal, so regular are they at times in their disappearance. A hundred or so may be visible on the surface, and in a moment they are gone, to reappear later in from fifteen to forty seconds or more, according to the depth of the feeding ground. If a boat draws near a large concourse of these ducks, they rise and divide into small parties, which scatter until danger is past, when they collect as before. Most of this species that remain off the estuary mouth during spring and summer are immature, though among them may generally be found some adults, presumably unmated birds.

In winter one or two velvet scoters occasionally join their more common kinsfolk, and these, if adult males, are easily marked by their greater size, a white patch near the eye, and a white wing bar. Last winter ornithologists on the watch had the luck to see a pair of surf scoters, an American species that at rare intervals visits our shores. It is possible that, as they nest in the far northern latitudes of America, they miss their way on their southward migration in autumn, and reach the British Isles instead of the Gulf of Florida. Such days as these on

the estuary are not frequent. But, considering the size even of our small country and the number of bird-watchers who are persons of leisure, it is probable that the rare birds which are observed bear a very small proportion to those that escape all notice. Were it possible to discover and record all the birds that visit and pass through our islands, we should doubtless have to reconsider our description of many species, and label some as 'regular visitors' or 'not infrequent' which are now supposed to be rare.

Of the five British grebes the great-crested and Slavonian are regularly seen in winter; the little dabchick now and then leaves the higher reaches and pursues his diving operations even outside the bar, while the red- and black-necked are fairly often observed. At some distance, the winter plumage being very similar, these grebes, like the ducks, are not always easily identified in rough water, especially when they so often disappear beneath the surface. The beautiful great-crested grebe generally assumes its full spring attire before leaving us to seek its nesting places on inland meres further north, but in these parts I have seldom seen the red-necked, black-necked, or Slavonian grebes in breeding plumage.

V

The corpses of birds washed up by the tide after severe storms are often found. Many species are from time to time overwhelmed by the elements and drowned. At the period of the great spring and autumn migrations millions of small birds are thus lost, yet comparatively few of these are ever washed ashore or seen again. Bad weather takes an exceedingly heavy toll of bird life round our coasts at all times, but most of the corpses found are those of species that might be expected to ride out storms fairly comfortably. I am not speaking here of birds done to death by being clogged with oil dropped by passing steamships. Disasters of this kind are of comparatively recent development, and I earnestly hope that measures may soon be taken to put an end to such pollution of the seas, at any rate near the coast. But it is a constant surprise to come upon dead bodies of guillemots and razorbills after a southerly gale. Now and then I have found a dead puffin too, or a little auk, a gannet, or a kittiwake. As a rule there is no sign to indicate the cause of death, whether by starvation or gunshot wounds. It surely must be unusual for an adult gannet to be overcome by stress of weather, but I found one in this estuary not long ago. By far the bulk of these dead birds are guillemots, and it can only be supposed that in some particular they are less hardy than their congeners, razorbill, puffin, and the rest, and less able to withstand exceptionally severe weather.

VI

The wide expanse of the estuary mouth lies shining in the winter sun, the merest flicker of a breeze gently rippling the surface of the sea. What bird life there is seems peaceful and lazy. Gulls float placidly or fly to and fro in a slow and aimless manner, while dark forms of cormorants or divers are visible here and there at some distance from shore quietly resting on the water. A couple of hours later, and all is bustle and excitement. A large shoal of herrings has come in. In their wake follow many of their natural enemies. About a dozen gannets, all adult birds and very conspicuous in their snowy white plumage with black wing tips, are busily taking their toll of the herrings.

Further out to sea, but evidently not beyond the shoal of fish, are visible now and then the arched backs of a number of porpoises, perhaps even more formidable foes of the herring than gannets. They advance at considerable speed in single file, their backs appearing at fairly regular intervals, so that imagination might easily picture them as a long, sinuous body writhing its way through the waters. Feeding no less eagerly than the gannets are three or four red-throated divers and a pair of great-crested grebes, the latter bearing even in winter some traces of their curious head adornment. From choice these birds would doubtless go for herrings of small size and for the sprats that often accompany them; and woe betide the fish singled out for a meal by either species! Both divers and grebes, the poorest of walkers on land, are expert swimmers under water; they can twist and turn with great rapidity, and seldom miss their aim.

Cormorants of course are there in numbers. Where herrings are to be found, there naturally are cormorants gathered together. Each seems to choose a spot apart from the others, as though fearful lest, with too much competition, his appetite, or rather greed, should not be satisfied. Quaint, ungainly birds are cormorants, and very suggestive of heraldic emblems as they sit with half-spread wings drying in the wind and sun. Less graceful in their fishing than the divers and grebes, they are not less skilful, and are certainly more voracious. Near inshore a few black-headed gulls and herring gulls are joining in the game. They take their prey for the most part just below the surface, but one black-head now and then actually disappears bodily into the water. It is often stated in books that gulls never completely immerse themselves, but on another occasion I watched a black-head diving repeatedly for more than half an hour, and almost every time it wholly disappeared, remaining under water for an appreciable second or two. The height from which it dived was moderate, say fifteen to eighteen feet, and many times it emerged with a

small fish. I have also seen the herring gull dive right under water; and probably other gulls on occasion will do the same.

VII

The vision of birds is an amazing thing. A vulture soaring almost out of view sees a carcase lying perhaps in a quite inconspicuous position; a kestrel hovering at a height of a hundred feet spies a mouse creeping about in the grass; a gannet cruising round two hundred feet above the sea observes a fish swimming some distance below the surface.

The gannet's sight is by no means the least remarkable among keen-eyed birds, for it has to penetrate water as well as air, unless it be that from two hundred feet or so aloft its vision is keener. But this I cannot think, for a high-soaring gannet will often suddenly reduce its altitude and scan the water from near at hand, as if it sought a clearer view under the surface. When it does mark down its prey its headlong dive is a marvellous thing. '. . . a gannet's hurtle on fish beneath' well expresses the action. At once it checks its flight, poises for a second, half closes its wings, and dives with tremendous speed. There is a curious corkscrew-like motion in the downward swoop, and at the moment of entering the water the long, pointed wings are folded. How often it misses its aim cannot be seen, since the fish is almost always swallowed under water, but probably it is generally successful.

The dive is still more wonderful during a raging storm, as I have witnessed off the mouth of this estuary. A tremendous south-easter was blowing; the sea, as far as eye could reach, was a mass of white crests; enormous breakers curled over and broke incessantly on the shingly beach with a roar almost deadened by the howling of the gale. In the midst of all this pandemonium some two dozen gannets were fishing near the shore as though it were a fair summer's day. The fury of the storm seemed to trouble them not a whit. On their long, pointed wings they calmly floated over the mountainous waves in their keen search for food, ever and anon diving clean into the boiling surf.

It seemed utterly ridiculous to imagine that any bird could see anything whatever in such a furious sea, and yet is it to be supposed that they dived on the mere chance of finding food? Birds in general do not act thus; they mark their prey before they attack it, and so the conclusion seems inevitable that these gannets really were able to do so, impossible though it appeared.

High winds in these exposed spots are frequent, especially during the winter months, but in compensation they often bring interesting bird wanderers that have been blown out of their

course. The dainty little grey phalarope is an occasional visitor from this cause. In its pearly grey-and-white winter dress it resembles a cross between a sandpiper and a tiny gull, but it has lobed feet like a coot. It is an unsuspicious and confiding bird, and allows a close approach as it swims near the shore or paddles about in the rocky pools. Indeed, it is too confiding, and not infrequently is done to death by a shot-gun.

Few birds linger by the tide's edge on very squally days, but sanderlings do not appear to mind rough weather. They seem to revel in being blown along, in fact almost blown over, by the strong gusts that sweep upon them. They delight in dashing down after a retreating wave, only to scurry back in pretended alarm with pattering feet and flickering wings as the tide returns and wets them with spray. Wavelets themselves, when breaking in the shallows and blown in a contrary direction by the wind, give a momentary impression of white birds wildly fluttering their wings.

The huge expanse of sandy mud, uncovered at low tide and gleaming lead colour in the dull light of a winter's day, is dotted with curlews busily probing for food with their long, curved bills, here and there a whimbrel or bar-tailed godwit, and always a number of herons, standing like sentinels or grey ghosts in the creeping mists, a-slumber on one leg. The plaintive cries of gulls come fitfully to the ear, a brown owl hoots from the wooded hill, and the dusk falls

W. Walmesley White.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF IMPRESSIONISM

THE object of this paper is not to criticise the achievements of the painters called Impressionists, but to discuss their aims I have no exhaustive knowledge of their works, though I have seen many and enjoyed one or two; and my purpose is to ask questions rather than to answer them. A question can just as well be asked by one who has not made up his mind about the answer as by one who has; in any case, it is important that some questions should be formulated and some doubts expressed, if we are to arrive at a clear and crystallised judgment Much vague praise and blame has been poured upon the Impressionist aim and achievement, and I am the more anxious to arrive at an accurate estimate because I have myself been guilty of some of the vague blame

In my article on 'Modern Landscape and the Tradition of Constable' in the March number of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, I tilted at the Impressionists in some phrases which I here wish to retract. I spoke of them as '*mere*' Impressionists, who had reared upon a misreading of the last phase of Turner's painting a doctrine that was immature in philosophy and a production that was inexpert in technique. Mr. Hain Friswell, in his interesting article on 'Constable as the Exemplar of a Landscape School' in the June number of *The Nineteenth Century*, took just exception to my remarks, and has earned our gratitude by distinguishing a scientific and scholarly from a popular and vague use of the term 'Impressionism.' I am very sorry to have been misled into obscuring the truth; I had used the word in its popular sense; I propose in this article to try to use it in the scientific sense which Mr Friswell has defined for us. For any kind of human endeavour is better judged in its best manifestations and professed ideals than in its failures and corruptions, even when these are inherent in its nature, and not the aberrations of unworthy imitators. Many amateurs have been so immature in thought as to suppose that they could register the impression on their physical retinas without the exercise of intellectual judgment and imagination; many more have been so inexpert in technique as to attempt to paint without being able to draw, compose, or handle pigment. These may call themselves Impressionists and be encouraged by

Impressionism, but Mr. Friswell would be the first to disown them, and to say that my strictures on them were in fact too obvious to be worth making. My only excuse (and I mention it not in exoneration of unscholarly rhetoric, but in illustration of a very interesting historical confusion) is that the opprobrious sense of the word 'Impressionism' is not only the popularly and even universally accepted one, but that it was the sense accepted by Holman Hunt in the last part of his great book on *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, in which he gives his judgments upon contemporary tendencies in painting; and Holman Hunt was himself, in one half of the strict sense of Mr. Friswell, an Impressionist. But when a very great painter and an able and open-minded man can be a protagonist in a movement and not only be unaware that he is involved in it at all, but actively hostile to its conscious professed exponents, then that movement is surely neither very clear in its aims nor conspicuously successful in its performances; and it is difficult to extricate a just and comprehensive judgment from the prevalent confusion. Some time has, however, now elapsed, and (if we keep our minds free from the cobwebs and dust of professional newspaper criticism) we may perhaps estimate the Impressionist contribution to modern art in its true proportions; historical perspective is becoming possible. At the same time (as I hope to show) some distinctions might have been and should have been made at the time, and would have been made but for the fanaticism which is so characteristic of the modern age. It is those distinctions with which this article is concerned.

Mr. Friswell states the aim of Impressionism to be twofold:

1. To represent an impression of a subject as a 'visual' unity;
2. To reproduce in paint, according to the scientific laws of optics, the actual outdoor colours of the visible world.

This is, he tells us, the strict aim of Impressionism, and I will admit that it is highly respectable. But in making that admission I am constrained to ask the question, Is such an aim artistic, or is it scientific? Is it itself an end which an artist can propose to himself, or is it a means of which he can make use for other ends? Does its attainment result in a work of art, or does it result in a body of knowledge? Does its incorporation in a painting satisfy the imagination (that is, our thoughts and feelings), or does it satisfy the reason (that is, our judgment and curiosity)? Is Impressionism, in other words, a contributory science, or is it an artistic phase—nay, its devotees would have us say, an artistic culmination?

This is the distinction, the distinction between art and science, between truth and realism, between *Kunstwarheit* and *Naturwirk-*

lichkeit (to use Goethe's famous phrase), which is the subject of this article, (though I can only suggest a few questions connected with it); it is a distinction always present to the minds of thoughtful persons, and one which ought to have been made when formulated Impressionism was first launched upon the world. As I have said, I think the distinction would have been made, and the impoverishment which passion and unreason bring with them have been avoided, were it not for the operation of modern fanaticism and the machinery of modern advertisement, which always unite in the generation of heat rather than in the diffusion of light. The distinction has always been made when the art has been enriched by contributory sciences before. There is no 'perspective movement' in the history of Florentine painting, though there is much strenuous and even boastful applied perspective, as in *The Battle of Sant Romano*; why, then, should there be an 'Impressionist movement,' if Impressionism is applied optics?—and applied optics are perhaps nothing more now than what our ancestors called 'aerial perspective'? The unself-conscious judgment and artistic simplicity of the Florentines saved even the 'father of perspective,' the ingenious and enthusiastic Paolo Uccello, from confounding the new-born science with the eternally unchanging, though ever various, Muse. I do not disparage the 'sweet perspective,' which is a most respectable science whose laws I hope I faithfully obey; nor do I disparage Impressionism (or 'aerial perspective'?). I only aim at critical and historical perspective in judging its nature and importance And may I here suggest a doubt (which I leave it to others to resolve after further discussion and consideration) whether its importance is at all as great as that of the older science, whether, in fact, we cannot still speak of 'mere' Impressionism?

That it is in itself a scientific contribution, and not an artistic phase, will, I think, appear upon analysis; but it is already implied by Mr. Friswell's reference to 'progress' For there is progress in sciences, but not in arts, just as there is progress in theology, but not in religion. Even that type of latter-day sentimentalists, Mr. Clutton-Brock, admitted this in the lecture on 'Progress in Art' which he (though not an artist) was asked to deliver and contribute to the fantastic volume on Progress which Mr. Marvin edited some half-dozen years ago. Knowledge may be added to knowledge, and the schematic power of the human mind may grasp a body of accumulated knowledge as a unified system; but the schematic power itself does not change. So we may profit by past—that is, vicarious—experience, but our power of so profiting depends upon ourselves, and is not greater than that of our remotest ancestors. Other men laboured, and we enter into their labours, but we cannot do more than labour as they did. Still

more, the fundamental emotions which are the source of the religious or artistic experience of the soul are the same in all ages and all countries; it is, for instance, even sometimes impossible to tell the date of a book upon mystical experience, as Dean Inge has pointed out. The theological scholarship of a Harnack is in advance of the theological scholarship of a Luther or an Aquinas (and it is a valuable gain), but the religion of a Wesley is not 'in advance' of the religion of a Francis or a Paul; so the science of a Leonardo or a Velasquez is in advance of the science of a Giotto or a Fra Angelico (and it is a valuable gain), but their artistic experience is of equal value for the imagination. If Impressionism is part of a 'progress,' then it is a scientific contribution, and not an artistic experience; and an Impressionist painting is, in so far as it is '*merely*' Impressionist, a scientific demonstration; if it is a work of art (as it may be), it shares in the spiritual experience which produced the works of art of all past ages. The painters of the past also used scientific knowledge in abundance, perhaps more than the Impressionists; but they were great artists because of the imaginative use they made of it. It is because they were great artists that Polluaiolo and Signorelli and Albrecht Dürer studied anatomy; but it is not because they studied anatomy that they were great artists.

But let us consider the two aspects of the Impressionist aim—visual unity and actual colour—more in detail.

The first aim, that of visual unity, either is not at all new, or it is not quite true. That is to say, unity has always been aimed at in art, or rather a subject has always of necessity been conceived as a unity before it could take form as a work of art; and, on the other hand, *visual* unity is an equivocal phrase, which in the sense of a unity perceived through the eye is otiose (since all pictures are seen through the eye), and in the sense of a unity perceived *by* the eye alone is meaningless, since our minds take the main share of the 'impression' and re-create, or rather create for the first time into a unity, the material which the eye, wandering over the field of vision, has gathered up. Let us go back and expand these points more at large.

Unity is, in the nature of things, an element in a work of art. It has been recognised as such since criticism began. It has been achieved in a variety of ways; and I will admit at once that the Impressionist way, first achieved by Velasquez two centuries before 'Impressionism,' is one of the successful and true ways; that is, Velasquez really conceived, or 'saw,' his later paintings in that form of unity and carried them out so as to convey the same impression to a spectator. But the phrase 'visual' unity is typical of the inexact phrases with which art criticism is involved. The kind of unity which Velasquez really was the first to achieve

might be called '*focal*' unity; that is, a point at one distance from the eye is painted with full realisation, and all those further or nearer are blurred, so that in looking at the picture that one point is the only place in which the eye is tempted to rest. But it was not new in the nineteenth century, and is not a special ground of vainglory to the Impressionists. And it is not only not the only unity, but it is not demonstrably the highest kind of unity. It is the focal unity which a photograph gives, which no one regards as very valuable, and with which painting cannot in any case compete. And although in looking at *Las Meninas* or *Las Hilanderas* our eye rests on one central point and only takes in the rest vaguely (as in a photograph), while in *Los Borrachos* and to some extent still in *Las Lanzas* it can wander with a diffused interest among competing objects equally completely realised to a close focus, it does not follow that the focally unified works, though more difficult to paint, are more interesting to look at, more impressive, more beautiful, or in a deeper sense more *true*. They are *perhaps* (though not to me) easier to look at; but is ease everything? And they are perhaps 'optically' more true. But our eyes do not as a matter of fact and habit look at anything in the way in which, by optical laws, they should. This sounds a paradox, but it is not, unless by optics we mean a tautology for the way we are in the habit of looking. For we do not in the strict 'optical,' focal, photographic sense '*see*' a picture, we *look at* it, that is, though we look for a moment at a time at some unity which takes in an impression as a whole (the Impressionist idea of unity), yet the next moment we begin to look about us at the parts, comparing different parts together or looking into very small parts alone Then we may—for a moment—'see' the picture as a whole again, and always every part affects every other; the picture *is* a unity, a whole, if it is a good picture; but we do not only see it thus, but in many various ways, and if it is a relentless focal unity, we are driven back so perpetually to the one focal point, with only a vague impression of the rest, that a great deal of interest of all kinds, technical and human, is sacrificed to the one small gain of ease and of repose, and many great truths sacrificed to one (in my opinion) minor truth, fundamental truth to superficial truth. It is, of course, a question of degree; excess of equal realisation over the whole field may be so distracting as to cease to be interesting, and I am not speaking of bad pictures, in which neither parts nor whole are interesting at all. In the finest pictures there has always been some sacrifice, both of parts to whole and whole to parts, chiefly, of course, I freely admit, of parts to whole. But the sacrifice has never been complete in the sense of focal blurring except in the focal centre, as it has to be in the Impressionist ideal. Moreover, the doctrine of

the single, momentary impression on the eye has been supported by a confusion of words; it is said that the impression of poetry or music is made in *time*, that of the plastic arts in *space*; but though the impression of painting is not made *by* time, in the sense of *succession and order*, it *is* made *in* time, in the sense of *duration*. A picture takes a long time to paint, and it takes a long time to look at. If a good book takes weeks to appreciate, so does a good picture, in both cases because there is a lot in them not appreciable at one glance or at many glances. Focal unity is not, then, the highest kind of unity: it is, at best, a scientific, not an artistic, element, though it is not even consonant with our habits and experience; and how can that which is not so consonant be called 'scientific'? It is one kind of unity, valuable at all times as an element in the far more comprehensive kind of unity known as 'subordination.'

'Subordination' is not an academic arbitrary rule of composition, even in the Bolognese schools, which attained it often with perfection; it arises out of experience in a more real sense than the focal unity does, for it arises out of the natural subordination of interest to the mind which exists when a picture is first conceived in the mind; and it must be maintained to the completion of the externalised idea in a work of art if the same interest or microcosm of interests is to be experienced by the spectator. The different parts of a painting are accented, like the phrases in a musical composition or the incidents in a book, according to their significance for the imagination far more than according to the degree of conspicuousness they would have if actually seen together in Nature by a camera. This is the most essential and rudimentary difference between art and photography. Art gives a higher and deeper truth, as has been realised ever since Aristotle. Thus a fresco by Giotto has imaginative unity which nothing could surpass and no photograph compete with. Without this unity there is no art, no 'style,' for style is the expression of a multiplicity of concrete experiences under the form of a unity of conception, 'seeking' (as Pater says) 'in an instant of vision to concentrate a thousand experiences'; every work of great style is a microcosm; and sometimes the intensity of the experiences and the intensity of the concentration of significance in their imaginative collocation, as in the work of Holman Hunt, may throw all 'focal' unity, all easy and superficial subordination, to the winds, and carry the imagination of the spectator with it whithersoever it will. It is this supremacy of style which makes Holman Hunt a supreme painter; he has the other and much smaller elements of style also: idiosyncrasy and technique; but he has the *great* element, *diversity of concrete experience expressed in a unity of significance*, or particular material truths seen

together as a universal spiritual truth ; and beside that unity all others are small and trifling.[1] Moreover, in art, as in metaphysics, unity is the creation of the mind in its schematic activity; diversity, plurality, is all that Nature gives ; but in art, as in metaphysics, it is neither the passive empirics nor the dogmatic, abstract Brahman Monists who attain the truth ; it is the Platoe and Kants, the Titians and Rembrandts, whose mental process is a perpetual interaction of schematic unifying and concrete experience of the diversity of Nature, who see truth. They have the rich variety, the satisfying unity. It may be assisted in its pictorial presentment by focal unity ; I do not deny that : it may also be assisted by academic and rhetorical devices for unity of effect, such as linear design and chiaroscuro ; but in the greatest works line and light are born with the initial conception as part of its inevitable expression, as inevitable as the rhythm or the *tempo* of a piece of music, though subordinate alterations may be made for the effect of a picture, as they were made by Beethoven in his scores. Line and light arise with the initial idea as its inevitable expression ; and usually colour arises in the same way.

This brings me to the second of the Impressionist aims, namely, actual outdoor colour. I do not speak of Impressionist practice, which usually seems to consist in an excess of cobalt violet never seen in Nature, but of the ideal of the reproduction of actual colour as a main element of a picture.

To this ideal, it seems to me, there are two main objections. The first I have just indicated—namely, that colour is for the artistic imagination chiefly an organ of emotional expression, an element of design, part of the language of art, not an optical phenomenon whose every conjunction has only to be ' chosen ' at random and reproduced as it happens in order to make a picture. The second objection is that the ideal, though not false, is exaggerated ; that colour is subordinate to form both as a means of identification and as an element of expression.

Neither of these objections can be formulated as an incontrovertible and logically complete argument. They can only be stated, offered as experiences common to many generations, which bear their own credentials to those to whom they have come, and are incapable of proof by appeals to logical argument simply because they are their own proof once they are felt. One strong positive experience convinces, and displaces a lesser one. Those who have really been moved by the great harmonies of colour in

[1] This conception of three degrees of style—idiosyncrasy, technique, and 'absolute'—though the terminology is modern, and is that used, *e.g.*, by Mr. Middleton Murry in his lectures on 'Style,' is in essence the old conception of Joshua Reynolds—the characteristic, the ornamental and the grand style. It is a 'natural' division, upon which the modern artist and art critic would do well to ponder long and hard. Idiosyncrasy and technique are not enough

the works of Titian, by the ecstatic radiance of it in those of Turner, or by the peculiar emotional moods expressed in the golden gloom of Rembrandt, the riotous glow of Rubens, the sober dignity of black and grey favoured of Velasquez, the cool beauties of Vermeer, the jewelled freshness of an early Florentine or Sienese, will not feel that these are mere idiosyncrasies of temperament, interesting only to the student of the varieties of individual feeling, nor that they are less universal and noble in their speech than the statement of the literal colour of Nature which is the aim of modern Impressionism. I do not disparage that aim. No scheme of colour arbitrarily devised by man, no harmony dramatically felt by him even when most deeply stirred, is greater than the colour offered to our eyes daily by the light of heaven; but that natural colour itself must stir an artist first to the creative impulse, must suggest to him a peculiar scheme, a particular harmony, expressive of a mood intelligible to his spirit, consonant with his moods. He learns from Nature—and we are grateful to any Impressionist who teaches us more of Nature's aspects—but 'art is man's nature,' and though in humility is his dignity fulfilled, it is his creative instinct, the accumulated emotions of his soul crystallised into a work of art and communicated to the souls of others, that is the greatest fact in Nature. Let us welcome all truths, and accept them in humility without imposing our egoism with arbitrary violence upon them; I do not advocate abstract design in colour or in any other element of the art; I do not imagine that our attitude to Nature should be '*Saluez, Messieurs, mais ne regardez pas*': all that I have ever written and painted is, I hope, my witness that it is truth, not dogma or caprice, concrete experience, not abstract idea, that I believe to be at once the aim and wellspring of art, as of philosophy. But the whole crux of the matter lies in understanding how concrete experience may be laid hold of and applied, how external truth may be inwardly received, understood and expressed. The Impressionist in art, like the empiricist in philosophy (and, we may add, like the 'man of the world,' whose undigested 'experience' is not experience at all, but leaves him still the slave of conventional opinion and imitated habits), supposes that truth comes of itself, that any fragment of the world is a truth and a reflection of the whole truth in its just proportions, and that no thought is needed to understand it. But he is no nearer the truth than is the abstract dogmatist, 'housed in a dream, at distance from the kind.' Experience is, in fact, in the words of Kant, 'a product of the understanding from materials furnished by the senses.' It was with this meaning that I spoke of the Impressionist as the victim of an immature philosophy—in the same sense as the empiricist and the man of the world are victims, for without the schematic activity of the

mind, without its creative agencies, Nature cannot be known. The mind must move like a perpetual current-reverser backwards and forwards between Nature and its own ideas, and the painter deficient in creative ideas is, as I said in my previous article, like a miller who should try to make flour without a millstone—an enterprise exactly as vain as the endeavour to make it without corn. And this is true, not only of colour, but of every element in art; natural resemblance is subordinate to artistic expression, '*Naturwirklichkeit*' to '*Kunstwarheit*,' though both are necessary. It is the mind which creates unity, it is equally the mind which creates significance.

The other objection to the Impressionist ideal of literal, optical colour is that it is exaggerated In one sense the objection above discussed is also an objection that it is exaggerated But I mean now that colour in *any* application of it, either in imitation of Nature or in expression of idea, is a subordinate element to form, and even in its highest use secondary The Impressionist will ask, Why? and truculently continue to juxtapose pigments and ignore drawing No one can tell him why, the dispute is as old as criticism, but great practitioners have seldom disputed it. Titian may, by the standards of Michelangelo, have drawn less well than he should, yet he drew as well as he could, which was superbly, and better than any Impressionist seems to think necessary at all Turner was a draughtsman of landscape form who will probably never be surpassed or equalled, and great as is the value of his colour in the expression of his later work, it is surely subordinate to the form, and in his earlier work the colour is purely conventional, yet absolutely sufficient. A Titian or a Turner in black-and-white give us almost all the intellectual and emotional impression that they do in colour, but their colour without their form would not only move us not at all, but could not even exist. As Ruskin said, a leopard is known, not by his spots, but by his shape. And expression is almost complete, even in the greatest colourists, without their colour There is permanent truth in the saying of Ingres, 'A picture well enough drawn is always well enough painted' Nevertheless, I would not be supposed to regard colour as negligible either as an element of expression or as a phenomenon of Nature. I love colour wholeheartedly; there is colour in sculpture, for various tones, in any vibration of light, are various in colour, and the element of beauty so given is far from small. Nor did I wish, in preferring expression by colour before verisimilitude in colour, to suggest that verisimilitude is negligible: I have spent weeks in painting, as far as I was able, the true atmospheric colour of Nature; but I do suggest that, though it is valuable, it is subordinate. Moreover, colour is so purely relative, or (if I may use such a paradoxical phrase) so

absolutely relative, that all that a painter can hope to do is to suggest a truth to the imagination which will satisfy it and reinforce the form by its expression. Corot's comment upon a young painter's despairing attempt to reproduce by cadmiums, spectrums and alizarins the colours of a sunset was, 'Why doesn't he do it in black and yellow ochre?' A de Windt looks true, and a Sargent looks true; hang them side by side, and the de Windt looks brown and the Sargent looks garish; the same effect would be visible if we hung a Reynolds beside a Holman Hunt. Raw umber will look blue, or violet, or pink, or green, or brick-red, or black, by the right juxtapositions Hunt is, according to Mr. Friswell's definition, an Impressionist in the second sense of an imitator of the actual colours of Nature (though not in the first sense of a recorder of a simple unified impression); but does anyone believe seriously either that his greatness is based on that literal use of colour, or that his pictures even depend for their great emotional effect on their colour? In the finest of Holman Hunt's works accurate reproduction of colour is always subordinate to emotional expression by means of colour; and, further, expression by colour is subordinate to expression by form. Colour is, I admit, an added greatness in these works, chiefly as an emotional organ, partly (surely very slightly?) as an aid in their conviction of reality; but *The Triumph of the Innocents* and *The Light of the World* would be among the world's glories in Bolognese bistre and bitumen, and, as it is, they have not got literal colour truth Such a work as his *Hireling Shepherd* (now at Wembley) gains something by its fidelity to outdoor light, but it is great even in a black-and-white reproduction. No doubt the Pre-Raphaelites valued such fidelity, and their enthusiasm for outdoor colour was a natural part of their young enthusiasm for all truth—a part of their greatness—but, again, they cared for it because they were great in many other ways; they were not great only because they cared for it. To the effect of some works literal colour is a distracting intrusion; yet I admit that a recurrent return to the study of *outdoor* light and outdoor Nature is one of the healthiest signs in the life of a school of painting, but in the sense that a normal healthy state of mind is engendered by it. I believe, for instance, that the Athenian and Elizabethan drama would not have been so great if the plays had not been performed in outdoor theatres; no adventitious glamour could be derived from artifice or illusion, studied darkness or factitious brilliance. But it is another thing to preach a one-sided *plein-airisme*, and to erect fidelity to outdoor colour into the main aim of painting. Is Bastien Lepage's portrait of his father great because it is faithfully painted in outdoor colour or because it is a profound and moving revelation of a human being? Does anyone miss outdoor lighting in his equally magical portrait of Sarah Bernhardt, which

is a revelation of an enchantress and a genius which no external fidelity of colour could enhance, and even the use of gold and silver colour as a means of expression only enhances in a small degree compared with the consummate drawing of the profile and hands and amazing delicacy of posing and accent? It is true, Mr. Friswell pleads for the Impressionist ideal chiefly as an ideal for landscape painters, but all that I have said is, I believe, as true of landscapes as it is of portraits and historical painting. In all branches we may be grateful to Impressionism for the new knowledge it has gleaned and garnered, scientific knowledge which artists may use, and should use, when appropriate No truth must be rejected. Art needs all the science it can learn, for art is 'Reason in her most exalted mood' But a sense of proportion must be maintained. Many of our best landscape painters would gain little by using it, and in any case '*il dono principal di Natura e libertà.*' Such a magnificent work as Mr. W. T. Wood's immense water-colour called *Wild Winter*, which was exhibited in the Royal Academy last year, and is one of the most marvellous landscapes of recent times, would gain nothing by focal unity of impression (so complete is its imaginative unity of expression), or by accuracy of optical colour (so perfect is its imaginative truth of tone). But I have seldom seen an Impressionist painting which would not have been turned from an unsatisfying experiment into a fine work by even a part of Mr. Wood's drawing and design. Mr. Wood values science more than most artists; but he does not say that art *is* science. Mr. Friswell and I are certainly agreed in a hope that the students at the proposed school of landscape at Flatford Mill will draw before they paint—and after it as well; still more, that they will think, feel, and create, as well as study and investigate. The greatest example of the union of scientific with artistic genius who ever lived was Leonardo da Vinci, no one ever valued science more—'*la somma certezza delle matematiche,*' '*vera scientia*'—but he knew that artistic creation was more than scientific research, and in his landscapes there is no mere copying, but infinite suggestion

My feeling, therefore, is that Impressionism, in its study of focal unity and colour accuracy, has earned our gratitude by contributing a body of valuable scientific knowledge to the store upon which artists can draw, but that it is not itself a phase of art, still less a culmination, and that its claims are exaggerated and one-sided, not only when tested by the performance of its disciples (who are artists only when they make the classical appeal to thought and the romantic appeal to emotion as well as their own realist appeal to curiosity), but that they are exaggerated in themselves as theoretical ideas. But for what they have contributed let us be grateful.

DELMAR HARMOOD BANNER.

SOME NOVELISTS OF MODERN SPAIN

Even in the days of the Greeks writers had realised that the function of art is to correct the shortcomings of Nature. Art must select its materials from the gross world of reality and build up another world of fancy, creating a just balance between the real and the ideal. There is thus a perpetual conflict between the real and the ideal, but nowhere more so than in the novel which has been well defined as 'the epic of modern life.'

The term 'epic' is a happy one to use when we reflect on the enormous influence in Spain of the fantastic romances of chivalry—an influence that only faded away when Don Quixote rode out on Rocinante. It was Dekker who had said of the Castilian hidalgo: 'The Spaniard was so busy in touching heaven with a lance that our Knight of the Burning Shield could not get him at so much leisure as to eat a dish of pilchards with him.'

The early Spanish novels approach near to the term 'epic' because they narrate, whereas our modern novel describes. *Don Quixote* stands at the parting of both ways. It is full of narrations that recall the old books of chivalry—narrations that the modern reader often skips through. But *Don Quixote* is also full of descriptions of actual characters that enchant in the same way as the ideal modern novel. And by descriptions we do not simply mean men and women like Sancho, Teresa Panza, the curate, or Maritornes, but also the enveloping atmosphere, the surroundings. As Flaubert said of the immortal work: 'Comme on voit ces routes d'Espagne qui ne sont nulle part décrites.' The modern novelist of Spain nursing in his heart vestal-wise the divine flame of Cervantes, tries to observe realistically modern life. The nineteenth century coming as it did hard upon the heels of the eighteenth, when Voltaire's temple of reason was thronged with European pilgrims, introduced the weighing machine of materialism. Everything must be measured by 'facts.' Even in romantic Spain the castles of fantasy were fading into thin air, and there appear on the horizon novelists like Fernán Caballero and later on in the century Galdós.

Galdós by his novels redeemed the people from the cult of reason, which was alien to Spain, and led them to the reality of

flesh and blood. Azorín, the subtle miniaturist of modern literature, says of him:

> Galdós appears silently, with his little eyes that pierce, his cold, scrupulous glance; he looks at everything, he examines everything—the cities, the streets, the shops, the *cafés*, the theatres, the fields, the roads. . . . For the first time reality is going to exist for the Spaniards

Galdós, the greatest novelist since Cervantes, leads us to our contemporary novel. His *National Episodes*, wherein he traces the epic of nineteenth century Spain, mark the dawn of Liberalism in a country notoriously traditional. Galdós had many great contemporaries in the novel, such as Juan Valera, Doña Emilia Pardo Bazan, Pereda, and Palacio Valdés, but they belong really to the nineteenth century, not to contemporary times

When we examine generally the great mass of Spanish novels written in the last decade of the nineteenth century, we notice great differences of atmosphere and local colour, due to the regional character of the works. It was with justice that Victor Hugo spoke of 'Les Espagnes' Nature by its succession of transverse mountain ranges has broken the Iberian peninsula into separate sections. Its dislocation of the country has imposed localism and isolation on its inhabitants. We find separatist tendencies not only in Catalonia, but also in the Basque country and in Galicia, and it is on account of this localisation that the modern Spanish novel is so interesting to us. We find in it a wealth of local colour that exists rarely in the novels of other more progressive countries, where the tendency has been to evolve a uniform cosmopolitan type of literature. When we read the works of Thomas Hardy, we are struck by his deep attachment to the soil of his native Wessex —the soil which he peoples not only with its modern inhabitants, but also with the phantoms of countless ancestors back to the days of the old kingdom. With this thought in our minds, we shall understand the value of the modern novelists of Spain. When the breath of popularity withers the bloom of inspiration which they have received from their own folk, they issue forth into the limelit arenas of Europe and trick out with trumpery their native muse, then must we write them down as poor workmen plodding the well-worn path.

To illustrate this point, let us take first of all Blasco Ibañez, who has obtained a greater share of notoriety, if not popularity, than any novelist living. Right from the outset Ibañez has been the stormy petrel of Spanish politics, and, unlike most agitators, he has made commercial success of his work. Born in the picturesque province of Valencia, the garden of Spain, his early novels are thoroughly Valencian in character and in custom. They paint in vigorous colours the lives of the middle class in the city, or else

the storm-tossed lives of fishermen or smugglers. In *Arroz y Tartana* he describes microscopically the *bourgeoisie* and their commercial life. In *Flor de Mayo* we enter the lives of the fishermen and share their hazardous enterprises. The fatalism of these folk, their rich fund of proverbs and phrases, recall faintly Synge's description of the west of Ireland. But there is all the difference between the modern realistic novelist, who only sees the appearances of things, and the realistic poet, who sees not the outer surface, but the essence, the kernel, and whose realism is of things recollected. *La Barraca* (*The Cabin*) is Ibañez's most striking work, because in it he reaches the folk. It is a remorseless picture of their relation to the rural problems of Spain After reading that novel we can understand the pride of race of the Spanish peasant, his superstition and ferocity when roused. With its vivid description of the unpopular landlord, the grumbling peasantry and the boycotting, this work reminds us of many regional novels of Ireland. There is the same pessimism and inexorable fatalism that we meet in *The Valley of the Squinting Windows*, by Brinsley Macnamara. Don Salvador, the miserly landlord, who is hated by his tenants, wrapped in his old cape even in spring, is a figure that commands our attention. He could be compared to old Père Grandet, but he is drawn in darker colours. His is the tenacity of the miser who wishes to be in contact with his property at all hours ; dogs bark when they see him afar off, as if Death were approaching ; children make faces at him ; men hide. Tío Barret is an interesting character, for he represents the old feudal peasant who is beginning to rouse himself to action against social conditions. There is no subtle portrayal of women in Blasco Ibañez, for his style is too rough. We must, however, make an exception in favour of the attractive Dolores in *Flor de Mayo*, the wilful, passionate Neleta in *Cañas y Barro*, and Roseta, the pathetic little drudge in *La Barraca*, who reminds us of Balzac's heroine Pierrette The brilliant colours of this naturalist of the Mediterranean must not deter us from finding fault with his lack of sincerity, the lack of proportion which makes his works seem exaggerated. He fails especially with regard to continuity of action ; some of his novels are full of endless description, such as *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* and *The Enemies of Women* His later works are works for the cinema, works for exportation abroad among peoples that are ever ready to welcome the cry 'New lamps for old!' The present writer in a visit to Unamuno at Salamanca in 1921 asked him what he thought of Ibañez as an artist. The sage replied that Ibañez was more an impressionist than an artist. Then, to illustrate his meaning, he related an anecdote about him. When Ibañez was last at Salamanca, Unamuno asked him to visit a second time some interesting parts of the city, such as the cathedral and the

University, but Ibañez replied: 'No; no me interesa aquello que no me impresiona en una primera mirada' ('I only take interest in what I see at first impression'). This, according to Unamuno, is characteristic of Ibañez: he is only a superficial writer, a writer of impressions. He does not know the technics of his art, but writes at once, spontaneously, without reflection.

Miguel de Unamuno is an extreme antithesis to the plethoric author of *The Four Horsemen*. It is not an exaggeration to say that the genius of Unamuno has dominated the intellectual youth of contemporary Spain more than any other He is rapidly becoming a European figure now that his great works of self-revelation, *The Tragic Sense of Life* and *The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*, have been translated into other languages Some time Rector of Salamanca University and Professor of Greek there, Unamuno has steeped his spirit in the classics. But he is not an elegant devotee of the Thessalian maidens, coming from the Basque country, with its fierce steadfastness and obstinacy, as of the oak, he tries to reject the jewels of style, the melodious cadences, as if they were the flowers of Klingsor's garden This is characteristic when we remember that Don Miguel is a-musical, to him sweet sound is but 'music celestial'—the Spanish synonym for nonsense. Perhaps, however, this rejection of style is but a courageous defence against the temptation of rhetoric, worthy of such a Puritan as Unamuno is. He is, however, a subtle humorist, whose humour meets Landor's definition when he says that 'genuine humour and true wit require a sound and capacious mind, which is always a grave one.' Very often he recalls Samuel Butler Like Butler, he likes to treat as absurd prejudice the ideas that are commonly held. Thus he defended idleness, holding the theory that lazy people are necessary for the world in the advance of civilisation. Poets, he says, are idlers, and it is to these principles of idleness that astronomy owes its origin, that is to say, when man, freed from the necessity of earning his bread, turned his eyes upwards and questioned the enigma of the skies And Unamuno quotes the example of Socrates, who was always seeking for some young man with whom to talk concerning the Human and the Divine. Like Samuel Butler, he has a mania for upholding impossible theories, and with the essay on 'Idleness' we can compare Butler's book wherein he proves that Nausicaa wrote the *Odyssey*. Unamuno and Butler remind us of the builders of the Middle Ages who adorned their cathedrals with gargoyles. Both of them often like to play the part of a gargoyle themselves, grinning amidst the solemnities of the universe, yet not incongruous. Unamuno might be called *l'enfant terrible* of modern Spain, in spite of his air of puritanical austerity at times, which causes

Salvador de Madariaga to compare him very aptly to an elder at an Eisteddfod.

Unamuno in the composition of his novels follows the exact opposite course to Ibañez. The latter shows all his power in descriptions *de brocha gorda*, descriptions which delight above all the peoples of misty Northern Europe who long to see a Southern, sensuous Spain, the Spain of Carmen. Unamuno avoids descriptions of landscapes, and even settings of time and place and local colour, in order to give the stories greater intensity, and by reducing them to dialogue he accentuates the dramatic character. In the preface to *Andanzas y Visiones Españolas* (*Wanderings and Visions of Spain*) he makes the following statement:

> Whoever reads a novel, like a theatre playgoer, is held by the development of the plot, by the interplay of the actions and passions of the characters, and is strongly inclined to skip the descriptions of landscapes, however beautiful they may be

One of the most characteristic of Unamuno's novels is *Niebla* (*Mist*), which has the additional merit of anticipating in a way the method of Luigi Pirandello. The plot is a plain, unvarnished story of love and jealousy But Augusto, the wronged party, does not end the story in the conventional manner. He follows the six characters of Pirandello and goes off to find the author. When he meets him at Salamanca he informs him of his intention to commit suicide. The author, however, tells him that he cannot die, as no such person exists in reality as Augusto. He must go on living in the fantasy of his author. Unamuno does not drive the idea so far as Pirandello, who says that when a character is born it acquires such independence even of the author that it can acquire a meaning which the author never thought of giving it. In *Abel Sánchez* Unamuno develops another paradoxical subject and draws a general moral for humanity. In Sánchez, the superficial artist, and Monegro, the subtle, introspective doctor, we are shown the two types of humanity: the man who skims the surface and the man who probes the depths. In *Tía Tula* (*Aunt Tula*), one of his latest novels, the author weaves his story round an elderly spinster, her resigned sadnesses and tribulations. It is surprising that Unamuno has not become a dramatist, for his novels approach near to the dramatic form owing to his habit of suppressing narrative and developing his story by ironical dialogues. On account of his steadfast purity of purpose, his vigorous, manly genius, he stands like a tower in modern Spain.

What a difference when we move farther along the coast to the kingdom of Galicia, whose inhabitants call the Irish their brother-Celts! Ramón del Valle Inclán is a fit spokesman for Galicia, the source of lyric poetry in the Iberian peninsula and the last abode

of the Troubadours. In his prose, as in his verse, we see no trace of the rugged, oaken steadfastness of Unamuno. Instead we listen to sweet, melancholy cadences that seem to be the echo down the centuries of knights in armour and maidens fair. Ramón del Valle Inclán, with his commanding presence, his splendid beard, his romantic personality, is well-nigh a legend in modern Spain ; to find a parallel to him we must turn our thoughts to Italy and D'Annunzio. But the likeness between the two writers is only superficial ; the Galician is one who has strayed from his native province and consciously walked in the shadow of the great Italian. Like D'Annunzio, he has by means of his culture, his æsthetic sensibility, created for himself an outer, literary personality. The charm in his writings lies in the combination, the interchange between that literary outer covering and the Galician spirit which he has inherited from ancestors descended from the Troubadours. Many critics, such as the erudite Julio Casares, have applied the bistoury to that outer personality in order to show all the derivations from D'Annunzio, Barbey D'Aurevilly, Casanova, Eça de Queiros and others. The most discussed novels of Don Ramón are the four famous sonatas called by the title of *The Pleasant Memoirs of the Marquis of Bradomín.* They were written between the years 1902 and 1905, and have only lately been made known to English readers in translation Though to English readers they will seem rather too reminiscent of the wicked 'nineties, their curious blend of sensuality and mysticism will arouse interest. The hero, the Marquis of Bradomín, ' ugly, Catholic, and sentimental ' throughout the four novels, endures the most amazing adventures He resembles Stelio of D'Annunzio, but a worn-out, gouty Stelio, a superman in his dotage His adventures are nearly always unsavoury, and there is a sinister canker which destroys the beautiful images. The harmonious style, polished and subtle, does not save us from a feeling of nausea at the morbid tendencies of such an art. But these works, with their redundant metaphors, their tricks of style imitated from Eça de Queiros, belong to the earlier period. Of later years he has retired more and more into his native province and tried to evoke popular types, or else he has tried in his epic novels dealing with the Carlist wars to picture the majesty of the people rising against the oppressive tyranny of social orders Here we are far away from the sadistic sonatas, and we reach something higher and finer in Ramón del Valle Inclán. It is interesting to compare works like *Los Cruzados de la Causa* with Galdós's *Episodios.* Ramón del Valle Inclán less than Galdós tries to describe the events of the war ; he makes the whole period live, however, by his vivid descriptions. Like Unamuno, he develops his work dramatically by means of striking scenes. There is no

doubt that Del Valle Inclán's style has gone on increasing in virility, and he has sloughed off by degrees the morbid covering which disfigured his early personality. The traces of the influence of D'Annunzio and Eça de Queiros fade away; the types, such as the proud noble Don Juan Manuel de Montenegro and his son Cara de Plata, are not puppets of fantasy, but real men of flesh and bones who live a life of their own. And in Del Valle Inclán's novels of Galicia we meet peasants, beggars and picaresque nobles that might have stepped out of a picture by Velázquez. Like Thomas Hardy in his Wessex novels, he has the power of casting his modern characters back into the dim past and making them seem the eternal offshoots of the native heath.

If Ramón del Valle Inclán makes us live the life of the Galician peasant and noble, Ramón Pérez de Ayala is the true representative of the mountain region of the Asturias. He is one of the most brilliant of the younger generation, and his novel *Troteras y Danzaderas* is without doubt one of the masterpieces of contemporary literature, and true to the traditions of the country that produced 'La Celestina' and 'Lazarillo de Tormes'—knight errants of the picaresque. What Emerson says of Goethe is true of Ayala: 'He sees at every pore'; by his eye he understands the world, and by means of his fastidiously beautiful style he is able to transmit his sensitive impressions to his readers. Well might Buffon apply to Ayala his favourite dictum: 'La manière dont une vérité est dite est plus utile à l'humanité même que cette vérité' He is always at his best when describing vague and queer individuals who for ever tilt at windmills, and his epicurean sincerity recalls at times George Gissing. But Ayala writes like a redeemed Gissing, one who could rise untarnished from the contemplation of New Grub Street, and there is not the uniform sadness. There is still left in the brothel scenes of his other powerful novel *Tinieblas en las Cumbres* a touch of Rabelaisian vigour inherited from Lazarillo that makes it a contrast to the typical modern novel of vice, always sad in its disillusion. And Ayala always closes his work with a spiritual moral which acts as a balm.

We shall now conclude our survey of the modern Spanish novel with a writer who is in every way a contrast to Ayala. Pío Baroja, who calls himself arch-European, tries hard to avoid all those precious literary qualities of style which are the Asturian writer's heritage. Coming from the Basque country, the most primitive part of the Iberian peninsula, Baroja prides himself on the boorish, stubborn traits of his race. But Baroja's boorishness is limited to his style, and it must rather be considered the product of his earnest desire to avoid rhetoric. We can imagine him repeating ceaselessly to himself: 'Spanish writers have always in the past run on the reefs of affected rhetoric; they have imitated the

worst features of their ancestors, the Romans. I hate Rome, and so I will have none of her writers' bombastic utterances.' Baroja thus never condescends to please, and allows his style to run on carelessly. He often even recalls to our minds Stendhal, who used to study the Code Civil in order to avoid the phrase. Salvador de Madariaga, in his study on the author, says: 'Baroja's style is but the twentieth century counterpart of a tendency which in the sixteenth century would have made him wear a hair shirt and eat stale bread and spinach boiled in water without salt.'[1] By his stubbornness he resembles Unamuno, also a Basque, but he is far more Socratic in his method than the learned ex-Rector of Salamanca. He is always ready to probe the minds of his learned compatriots, but he does so by means of the most innocent questions. In his autobiographical book, *Juventud, Egolatria*, he explains his humility.

> Great States, great captains, great kings, great gods, leave me cold. They are for the peoples who inhabit the plains which are watered by fertile streams, for the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Indians, the Germans or the French. We Europeans of the Pyrenees and Alps love small States, small rivers, small gods, with whom we can be on terms of familiarity.

In Baroja even more than in any of the authors we have considered can we note the deep influence of Spain's traditional picaresque novel. As Gómez de Baquero has shown, this return to the picaresque is not artificial in Baroja, but spontaneous, and is not due in any way to the ancient works. But it is certain that Spanish authors are naturally drawn towards the scenes that called forth the wit of Mateo Alemán and Quevedo. Baroja, like Quevedo, observes reality directly without any masks to hinder his vision. In the three early novels which make up what is called the 'picaresque trilogy' we find all the essentials of the ancient novel. The picaresque hero was always one who had to struggle for existence, and the novel described his varied experiences in his travels through the world. At one moment he is in the company of kings and princes; at another he is enduring blows of a bull's pizzle as he rows in the slave galleys. In *La Busca* and *Mala Hierba* Baroja excels all his contemporaries in his realistic description of characters drawn from the jetsam and flotsam of humanity. But against those waifs of the storm the author sets up others that are symbols of his moral purpose. Characters such as Roberto Hasting in *Mala Hierba* personify the man of will-power who is able to ride unterrified the storm. A Spanish critic has made some interesting observations concerning the fortunes of the Englishman in Spanish literature. He used to be the personification of extravagance and impassiveness, or else he wore the romantic self-conscious

[1] *Cf.* S. de Madariaga, *The Genius of Spain* (Oxford 1923).

mask of Byron. In our author, however, who draws from reality, the Englishman always contrasts by his energy and firm will with the rest of the characters, who are vacillating and unstable.

In novels such as *Paradox Rey* (*Paradox the King*), *Tragedias Grotescas* (*Grotesque Tragedies*), and the long series of works included under the title of *Memoirs of a Man of Action*, Baroja develops the most conflicting views. His mind seems to be a seething-pot wherein are jumbled together in glorious confusion the superman theories of Nietzsche, the anarchical individualist views of Dostoievsky, the Socialism of Zola, the irony of Anatole France, with a dash of the tender sentimentality of Dickens to make the whole mixture hold together. But it is always the same stubborn Baroja who appears before us, and the one literary quality above all others that remains with us is satire. Baroja's satire undermines all our social institutions, all our societies, all our pet conventions, all our sacred beliefs. It is not religion or art that he attacks, but science. Our old friend Silvestre Paradox, with other characters out of former Baroja novels, sets out to create a new State in Africa. With the colonisers go various other characters representative of different countries. The ship is wrecked, and the party is cast up on an island of savages. But the white men by their intelligence deceive the savages and manage to flee to another island, where they set up a Government. Paradox against his will is chosen king of the negroes, and rules efficiently until the French come and bombard the island. The moral of the work is that civilisation destroys everything it undertakes. While Paradox rules, the natives are happy and contented, but when official civilisation arrives it brings evil with it—drunkenness, syphilis, and vice of all sorts.

In *Paradox the King* it is possible to analyse the humour of Baroja—humour that approaches sometimes near to that of Swift by its passion. His satire at times makes him a 'social scavenger, working on a storage of bile,' and takes away the serenity of his humour. But it is on account of these qualities that he is the novelist of Spain who should make the widest appeal to the European public.[2]

When we sum up the tendencies of the authors we have considered, we can realise how individualistic is the Spanish genius. There are few schools or *cénacles* of literature in Spain where admiring pupils spread the master's message. The Spaniard is fiercely independent and refuses to follow the lead of any master. There is thus less artificiality than in the literature of the adjacent countries. When we consider poetry or the drama we find certain characteristics that have been imported from France or Italy, but

[2] To his latest novel, *La Nave de Los Locos* (1925), he has prefixed a very interesting introduction wherein he discusses the art of writing novels.

in the novel there is very little trace of foreign imitation. The novel is the form of literature which enables us best to understand the peculiar qualities of the Spanish character. As a writer has stated in a recent article on Spain: ' Spanish culture centres round the family. It is intensive and self-developing, not an expanding, proselytising force like that of the Anglo-Saxons.'[3] The writers we have taken as typifying the Spanish race direct their thoughts less towards their country as a whole than towards their local province. Ibañez at his best is always Valencian, Ayala always Asturian. Baroja is an exception, owing to his European views, but Baroja's Europe is confined to the region between the Pyrenees and the Alps, that is to say, his own Basque country Since the war the Spaniards have paid great attention to all the movements of European thought, and Madrid as a literary centre is one of the most cosmopolitan in the world. Spaniards are testing the value of modern institutions, but without pronouncing a verdict. And it is just this conflict in the minds of their writers that makes the modern Spanish novel one of the most interesting of literary manifestations.

[3] *Cf Quarterly Review*, April 1925

WALTER STARKIE.

THE ART OF THE TRIOLET

It was, I believe, George Macdonald who summed up his opinion of the 'gymnastics of poetry' in the terse exclamation, 'That triolet—how deliciously impertinent it is.' While another authority has decided that 'nothing can be more ingeniously mischievous, more playfully sly, than this tiny trill of epigrammatic melody turning so simply upon its own innocent axis.' And it was W. E. Henley who characteristically enshrined his opinion in a specimen of his own workmanship, thus·

Easy is the triolet
If you really learn to make it!
Once a neat refrain you get,
Easy is the triolet
As you see—I pay my debt
With another rhyme Deuce take it,
Easy is the triolet
If you really learn to make it [1]

The triolet is essentially a Gallic form, and the 'first-known,' the *Cléomadès* of Adenéz-le-Roi, who flourished between A.D. 1258 and 1297, extends to something like 20,000 verses! Even Froissart is credited with at least a solitary specimen ('*Mon cœur s'ebât en odorant la rose*'). Later on came Sarrassin, who '*par ses balades, ses triolets et ses rondeaux, qui par sa mort* [1648] *retournaient dans leur ancien décri.*' In 1651 Patrick Carey, a monk of Douai University, wrote triolets, and Rivarol, writing in 1788, speaks of Conjon de Bayeux, '*si recherché pour le triolet.*'

I have preferred to dictionary definitions the late and great Austin Dobson's description of the form to be followed in attempting this lilting lyric—eight lines with two rhymes, the first pair of lines being repeated as the seventh and eighth, while the first is repeated as the fourth. Mr. Dobson once told me that when, in 1874, he penned his 'Rose Leaves' for the *Graphic* (*A Kiss, A Tear, Circe, A Greek Gift,* and *Urceus Exit*), he believed he was the first to write triolets in English since Patrick Carey, until

[1] Compare the lyric by Théodore Monod, beginning:
'Connaissez-vous le triolet,
Ce gai babil de poésie'

he found he had been slightly anticipated by Dr. (now Sir) Robert Bridges, the present Poet Laureate. The latter had written two in the previous year (1873), and it seems appropriate to reproduce one of them here :

> When first we met we did not guess
> That Love would prove so hard a master.
> Of more than common friendliness
> When first we met we did not guess.
> Who could foretell the sore distress,
> This irretrievable disaster
> When first we met ? We did not guess
> That Love would prove so hard a master

Having quoted from Sir R Bridges, it is but fitting to take toll from Austin Dobson, whose delicate ' Rose Leaves ' set the fashion for revivifying this form in our language ·

> O, Love's but a dance
>   Where Time plays the fiddle !
> See the couples advance—
> O, Love's but a dance !
> A whisper, a glance—
>   ' Shall we twirl down the middle ? '
> O, Love's but a dance
>   Where Time plays the fiddle !

What may be termed the ' triolet tradition' was carried on in France by Alphonse Daudet (whose *Les Prunes* appeared in 1858), Théodore de Banville, Théodore Monod, and a host of others. In Germany it was exploited by Schlegel and Platen most notably, and an anthology of the subject was published there some 120 years ago. In our own country it is noteworthy that Sir Edmund Gosse followed the example of Austin Dobson and Sir R Bridges, and it is a pleasure to quote from that brilliant man of letters a verse (*Jucundum, mea Vita*) in which the poetic imagery is not less sustained than the choice of words

> Happy, my Life, the love you proffer,
>   Eternal as the gods above ,
> With such a wealth within my coffer,
> Happy my Life The love you proffer—
> If your true heart sustains the offer—
>   Will prove the Koh-i-noor of love ,
> Happy, my Life ! The love you proffer
>   Eternal as the gods above.

What, then, is the finest, most melodious, of all published triolets, whether ancient or modern ? The celebrated Giles Ménage (1613-92), who ' gave up the Bar for the Church but chiefly spent his time in literary pursuits,' awarded the palm to one written by Jacques Ranchin in the seventeenth century. This, according to Ménage, is ' the king of all triolets.' Yet M. Ranchin

is described as having been 'a grave French magistrate'; if so, he was a magistrate possessed of a very pretty wit. There has been more than one English translation of the versicle attributed to him, but, as the idiom has inevitably suffered in the process, I have preferred reproducing it in the vernacular. One may call it *The First of May*:

> Le premier jour du mois de mai
> Fut le plus heureux de ma vie :
> Le beau dessein que je formai,
> Le premier jour du mois de mai !
> *Je vous vis et je vous aimai.*
> *Si ce dessein vous plut, Sylvie,*
> *Le premier jour du mois de mai*
> *Fut le plus heureux de ma vie.*

After this it is practically impossible to exclude from quotation the following much more recent example from Mr. Griffith Alexander, who, while closely adhering to the law of metre laid down, has succeeded in linking it to a pleasingly happy sentiment

> She's neither scholarly nor wise,
> But oh, her heart is wondrous tender,
> And love lies laughing in her eyes.
> She's neither scholarly nor wise,
> And yet above all else I prize
> The right from evil to defend her.
> She's neither scholarly nor wise,
> But oh, her heart is wondrous tender

In the course of his varied and often dainty work for the theatre as librettist and lyric-writer Mr. Arthur Reed Ropes ('Adrian Ross') has dabbled in many forms of verse. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have adventured in the triolet form, as exemplified in an ingenious set of three which he entitled *An Advertisement*, but of which space permits reproduction of one only.

> My heart is to let:
> May the owner expect you?
> There's a chance for you yet—
> My heart is to let.
> If you run into debt
> I shall never eject you.
> My heart is to let:
> *May* the owner expect you?

But that the theme is not inevitably light or gamesome is amply demonstrated in the following example by Mr. Ernest Radford—by far the grimmest, most poignant triolet that I have discovered in the course of my research. Printed under the terse title of *Out*, it was stated to be 'founded on police reports of the release of George Hall from Birmingham prison':

I killed her ? Ah, why do they cheer ?
Are those twenty years gone to-day ?
Why, she was my wife, sir, dear—so dear.
I killed her ? Ah, why do they cheer ?
. . . Ah, hound ! He was shaking with fear,
And I rushed—with a knife they say . . .
I killed her ? Ah, why do they cheer ?
Are those twenty years gone to-day ?

The Transatlantic contingent of triolet-makers has included Mr Clinton Scollard, Mr. Arlo Bates, Mr. S. Minturn Peck, Mr. F. D. Sherman, and Mr. H. C. Bunner. We have to thank the last-mentioned poet for this touching little fancy :

A pitcher of mignonette
  In a tenement's highest casement ;
Queer sort of a flower-pot—yet
That pitcher of mignonette
Is a garden in heaven set
  To the little sick child *in the basement* ,
The pitcher of mignonette
  In the tenement's highest casement.

While Mr. Sherman has enshrined in a few delicate lines his view of the debt owed by the world of letters to the genius of Austin Dobson :

From the sunny climes of France,
  Flying to the west,
Came a flock of birds by chance
  There to sing and rest
Austin, it was you they blest
  Fame to you belongs !
Time has proven you're the best
  One to write their songs

In a tiny but delightful volume of *Cricket Poems*, first published in 1905, Mr George Francis Wilson included 'An Over of Triolets.' The six were variously entitled 'Caught,' 'Run Out,' 'Stumped,' 'Bowled,' 'Missed,' and 'Yorked,' and I regret that I cannot quote them all. The first, and perhaps best, runs as follows :

I felt a flick below the wrist ,
So, grudgingly, I turned about
Some red bird flitting by, I wist—
I felt a flick below the wrist—
Could Slip have caught it in his fist ?
The Umpire raised his hand. No doubt
I felt a flick below the wrist ,
So, grudgingly, I turned about.

Mention of the national game at once reminds me that Mr. Norman Gale is probably the best and most prolific of cricket poets, and that he also has employed the triolet form in singing its praises

Here, however, is a specimen from his pen having reference to other joys of the open air, not to the 'game of crease and wicket':

Come out in the air,
  Here's a love of a linnet!
Quick, Rosa and Clare,
Come out in the air!
He pipes in the pear
  And will stop in a minute.
Come out in the air,
  Here's a love of a linnet!

If the kiss has provided the triolet-writer with an inexhaustible theme, so also have the convivial delights. A case in point, and a very curious one too, is the following written by Henri de Croy in the thirteenth century. Sir Edmund Gosse believes it to be the oldest extant, and it is contained in eight words as well as eight lines!

Je
  Bois
Si
Je
Ne
  Vois,
Je
  Bois

After this Mr. Austin Robertson's daring little effort at love-making reads quite 'wordily,' albeit the metre and rhythm are irreproachable and the sentiment perfectly appropriate:

What He Said

This kiss upon your fan I press,
  Ah! Saint Nitouche, you don't refuse it
And may it from its soft recess
(This kiss upon your fan I press)
Be blown to you a shy caress
  By this white down whene'er you use it;
This kiss upon your fan I press,
  Ah! Saint Nitouche, you don't refuse it.

What She Thought.

To kiss a fan!
What a poky poet!
The stupid man
To kiss a fan,
When he knows that—he—can
  (Or ought to know it)
To kiss a fan!
What a poky poet!

I regret that I have failed to identify the author of a witty triolet entitled *Apology for Gazing at a Young Lady in Church.* It was published anonymously in a magazine:

The sermon was long
  And the preacher was prosy.
Do you think it was wrong?
  The sermon was long.
The temptation was strong,
  Her cheeks were so rosy.
The sermon was long
  And the preacher was prosy.

Again, in the list of Australian poets of the nineteenth century figured the name of Robert Daly. He was not, I believe, actually born in the Commonwealth, but was long domiciled there, and most of his work was done there. He was early attracted by the various engaging forms of old French verse, and this intriguing trifle from his pen has been justly awarded a high place:

'Glory calls me, I must go,'
Said the lover to his lady
(Noble words are these, I trow:
'Glory calls me, I must go').
Back he came—another beau
Toying with her tresses shady!
'Glory calls me, I must go,'
Said the lover to his lady.

Among latter-day poets who have ventured into this realm of 'ingenuity and easy grace' may be mentioned in passing Justin Huntly McCarthy, J. Ashby-Sterry, Cotsford Dick, Richard le Gallienne, Arthur Symons and Alfred Noyes. The last-mentioned writer's facile and versatile pen is responsible for the following:

Love, awake! Ah, let thine eyes
Open, clouded with thy dreams:
Now the shy sweet rosy skies,
Love, awake! Ah, let thine eyes
Dawn before the last star dies:
O'er thy breast the rose-light gleams:
Love, awake! Ah, let thine eyes
Open, clouded with thy dreams.

The triolet may be a frivolous form for embodying a tender sentiment, but it has now survived for hundreds of years, and time has proved that it is as difficult to compose a good as it is easy to produce a bad or indifferent one. It may be permitted to close with a subtly-phrased epitaph from Mr. Richard Stewart:

When my toes are turned to the daisies
  And the birds sing overhead,
I'll have rest from the turmoil that crazes
When my toes are turned to the daisies;
I'm weary of threading life's mazes,
  But easy shall be my bed
When I turn my toes to the daisies
  And the birds sing overhead.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

THE INQUISITION—II

THE men of the Middle Ages, says Henry Adams, troubled themselves about pain and death much as healthy bears did in the mountains.

This toughness of the mediæval mind in its attitude to physical suffering is unquestionably the main obstacle of the modern student to anything approaching a sympathetic comprehension of the period. Whatever admiration he may feel for their achievements in literature, architecture, philosophy, and so forth, however much he may be able to sympathise—whether as an outsider or as a co-religionist—with the faith that was the very cement of their whole social order, he is yet repelled and disgusted by their frequent lapses into callous and apparently calculated cruelty. Clearly the wrong way of approaching the matter is to indulge in a torrent of abuse or ridicule and to leave it at that. Such procedure is destructive of the whole purpose of historical study; and when in historical text-books such phrases as 'pious butchery,' 'the saintly homicides,' and so forth, are met with, the conclusion is drawn that the writer has lost touch with his subject.

Moreover, it is evident that any attempt to present an intelligible study of the past consists as much in getting rid of the prejudices and abnormalities of the present as in apprehending the peculiar characteristics of the past. The present has its '*Zeitgeist*' like any other age Much of our modern sensitiveness to physical suffering is probably due to a certain moral advance, an increased appreciation of gentleness and kindliness, an increased reluctance purposely to inflict pain on another. But there is also a far less wholesome element in the matter. For nothing is so characteristic of the present age as its intense preoccupation with the things of the body and its corresponding lack of serious interest in those that concern the soul. It is, we believe, a plain matter of statistics that, outside the Catholic Church, the only religions which are increasing in numbers to-day are those which promise the healing of bodily ills.[1] There is a constant outcry against the

[1] See an interesting article 'Healing Religions in the United States,' by J. J. Walsh, in *Studies*, December 1924.

supposed cruelty of capital punishment. The very idea of hell is more than many people can bear. And one remarks with astonishment that, in spite of the emphasis with which the sixteenth century reformers repudiated the doctrine of Purgatory, many religious bodies to-day have virtually substituted Purgatory for hell. Even on the tremendous story of the Passion and of Calvary there has fallen a gloss of unreality, a convention of timid reticence.

Nervousness [said Huysmans[1]] . . for no one knows exactly what is this disease from which everyone is suffering, it is certain nowadays that people's nerves are more easily shaken by the least shock Remember what the papers say about the execution of those condemned to death, they reveal that the executioner works timidly, that he is on the point of fainting, that he suffers from nerves when he decapitates a man What misery When one compares him with the invincible torturers of old time They used to enclose people's legs in wrappings of wet parchment, which shrank when placed before a fire and slowly crushed the flesh, or they drove wedges into the thighs and so broke the bones, they crushed the thumbs in vices worked by screws, raked off strips of skin with a rake, rolled up the skin of the stomach as if it had been an apron, put you in the *strappado*, roasted a man, watered him with burning brandy, all this with an impassive face and tranquil nerves unshaken by any shriek, any groan. These exercises being a little fatiguing, they found themselves with a fine thirst and a great hunger They were full-blooded, well-balanced fellows, whereas now . . .

Even this boisterous irony leaves the whole question more or less in the air Granted Huysmans' 'nervousness,' granted if you will a real moral advance, there is yet a deep difference in the fundamental philosophy of the two periods. If we attempt to analyse or explain it, we must do so with hesitation and diffidence.

Men believed something [says Mr Belloc] with regard to the whole doctrine of expiation, of penal arrangements, which they have not described to us and which we cannot understand save through the glimpses, side-lights and guesses through what they imagine to be their plainest statements.

We have noted the fact that the Church and all that she stood for was central and indispensable to the mediæval order. To attack the Church was to attack the very foundations of society. Thus religious persecution might often be, and frequently was, a mere vent for political animosity. The men of the Middle Ages were roused by heresy, particularly in the repulsive Manichee form of Languedoc, to a pitch of fury scarcely conceivable in the modern world. Possibly one might find rough parallels in the treatment of conscientious objectors during the war or in the lynchings of negroes in the southern States of America Yet even

[1] *Là-bas*, by J K. Huysmans, quoted by H. Nickerson, *The Inquisition*, p 59

in these cases the motive to violence was not so all-embracing or so deeply rooted. The men of the Middle Ages hated heresy first and the heretic second.

Even so, the ferocity of their action appals and revolts us. The recognised punishment was one of the most painful deaths that can possibly be inflicted. The heretic was burnt alive at the stake.

Several extenuating features must, however, be noticed. The penalty was by no means the most severe that could be imposed, nor was it confined exclusively to heretics nor instituted specially for their benefit. In the reign of Henry VIII. the recognised punishment for the poisoner was to be boiled alive in a cauldron In Holland, after the establishment of the Protestant ascendency, it was decreed that Gerard, the assassin of William the Silent, should have ' his right hand cut off with a red-hot iron, his flesh torn from his bones in six different places, that he should be quartered and disembowelled alive, that his heart should be torn from his bosom and flung in his face, and finally that his head should be cut off '[3] Burning at the stake was the regular punishment for witchcraft throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and as late as 1807 a beggar was tortured and burnt alive for sorcery at Mayenne

In the Middle Ages it is sufficiently clear that in burning heretics nothing was further from the intentions of these men than the deliberate infliction of pain Other considerations, the nature of which we can only guess, were uppermost. Constantly we find instances in which the people and the judges showed complete indifference as to whether the criminal was burnt alive or after death Savonarola is a case in point, and in the more familiar instance of St. Joan the chroniclers denounce the savage cruelty of the English, who had deliberately built the faggots and scaffold so high that the executioner was unable, as he usually did, to approach closely enough to hasten the end of the victim. There seems to have been some almost symbolic idea attaching to the consuming of the body by fire For in many cases—Arnold of Brescia for instance—it was thought worth while to disinter the body of some long defunct heretic and to commit it to the flames. It may even be suggested that in the later Middle Ages the burning of a heretic took on an almost ceremonial character, quite unaccompanied by hatred of the accused. When that fiendish ruffian Gilles de Rais was about to be burnt for his countless atrocious crimes he was overcome by remorse.

> Among other edifying signs of contrition, he begged the people whose little boys he had kidnapped, then debauched and then tortured to death by hundreds, to pray for him. Whereupon they marched in procession . . chanting and praying earnestly for the soul of the monster whom

[3] J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, iii, 612.

their authorities, with the entire approval of the paraders, were to burn on the morrow.[4]

Why these things should be we cannot say. We have to accept the fact that these men clearly saw no moral problem in the matter at all; and that, in spite of papal and episcopal protests which gradually became less insistent and finally ceased altogether, they regarded the burning of heretics as a just and obvious duty. St. Louis himself, the Christian monarch *par excellence*, reaffirmed statutes ordering that heretics handed over to the secular arm should be burnt Whilst St. Elizabeth of Hungary, gentlest and most lovable of saints, had for her spiritual director that same Conrad of Marburg whose fame rests mainly on the intense and often excessive zeal with which he belaboured the heretics as an inquisitor. Yet no other age has so passionately struggled after purity and charity, no other age was so completely lacking in hypocrisy.

Probably we may approach the root of the matter if we realise that no other age has matched the Middle Ages in the depth and intensity of two fundamental religious experiences—the sense of sin and the confident belief in a life beyond the grave Plainly these beliefs, intimately bound up with the whole question of punishments and expiation of guilt, exercised a profound influence on the attitude to heresy. When heresy is seen not so much as the unchecked freedom of inquiry in theological matters, but as blasphemy against the Most High, defiance of His Church, insult to Our Lady and the saints, when the salvation of the soul is regarded as appreciably more important than the comfort and well-being of the body, then many things are possible which are not dreamed of in our philosophy And amongst those things we must count not only the organised prosecution of heresy, but the building of a Chartres Cathedral and the writing of a *Divine Comedy*.

The great upward spring of the twelfth century was accompanied by the revival of Roman law.

As long ago as 1040 Anselm of Lucca had revived academic interest in the Code of Justinian; and before the end of the next century Roman law formed the basis of the legal training at the University of Bologna The puerilities of the Salic law and of the various Anglo-Saxon compilations fell imperceptibly into disuse. The old barbaric practice of settling disputes by the ordeal of fire, water, red-hot ploughshares and what-not, was legislated out of existence by the popes. It was but another step in the reawakening of Europe, conscious of an unbroken tradition and characterised as no other age had been by a spirit of conquering energy based upon an already cemented moral unity.

[4] H Nickerson, *op. cit*, pp 57, 213.

On the other hand, there was none of the modern muddle-headed illusion about the necessary excellence of change and the existence of a supposed law of progress. Moralists denounced; popes reformed; sovereigns legislated with vigour and sometimes with ferocity. With the troubadour poets came refinement of manners and the birth of lyric poetry. The Normans conquered England and Sicily, and set up systems of government and administration fitted to be models for all Europe. The Church, invigorated and purified by the genius of Hildebrand, filled men with a new sense of unity and common purpose—a purpose which hurled Europe against Asia in the great tidal wave of the First Crusade. Finally, with the growing *cultus* of Our Lady came the fuller development of the chivalric tradition, the blurring of the rugged, austere lines of Norman architecture, the beginnings of the soaring audacity of the Gothic—a vast movement which might be described as the transition from Mont St. Michel to Chartres

The Code of Justinian contained some sixty enactments against heresy. It also recognised the burning of Manichees, thus giving some sort of legal precedent for the sporadic outbursts of mob violence that had occurred during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Philip Augustus, who burnt a few heretics as enemies of society, was clearly influenced by Roman precedent. Even Pedro of Aragon, in his ferocious enactment of 1197, probably knew that he was following the policy of a Christian emperor.

But in claiming ecclesiastical sanction for his exuberant legislation the king was only partially justified. He had three precedents to guide him. In 1163 the Council of Tours had declared all heretics excommunicate and had called upon the secular princes to imprison them and confiscate their property. In 1179 the Council of the Lateran had reaffirmed these enactments, lumping heretics in with bandits and robbers as social pests In 1184 Pope Lucius III, presiding over the Council of Verona, ordered that all heretics were to be excommunicated and handed over to the secular arm, which was to inflict upon them the punishment that they deserved [5] Acting in co-operation with the pope, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa decreed the Imperial ban against them, comprising banishment, confiscation of property, and loss of all civic rights. The death penalty was nowhere mentioned or suggested.

In justice to Pedro it must, however, be admitted that he held out the death penalty only as a threat against non-compliance with the edict. The king had prescribed banishment and confiscation. Those heretics who refused to leave the country were to be punished, not as heretics, but on the purely general principle

[5] '*Animadversio debita*'—the stock phrase used in this connection

that they had wilfully disobeyed a royal proclamation. The distinction is real; it was not a mere equivocation.

Indeed, for the Aragonese heretics a short and comparatively easy journey would have taken them into a country where their presence would have been warmly welcomed. Languedoc, the stronghold of Albigensianism, seems to have been the one place in which heresy was wholly unopposed. A regular Albigensian hierarchy functioned in the larger towns and the heretical worship was practised openly. In Castelnaudary the Catholic churches themselves were often used for the celebration of the Catheran ceremonies. In Toulouse the heretics cheerfully robbed the unhappy bishop of his financial dues, and in Beziers they harassed the clergy and even molested the dean and chapter in the cathedral itself. We have already seen the heretics holding a council of their own with considerable pomp and circumstance under the presidency of one of their Eastern dignitaries. There were heretical convents for women at Cabaret, Villeneuve, Castelnaudary, and Laurac.

Even had the Catholic bishops and clergy of Languedoc possessed an energy which they certainly seem never to have exhibited, it is extremely doubtful whether much could have been done. The time for such mild correctives as pastoral visitations was long past The condemnation of Peter Mauran had been palpably futile in its effects. Henry of Clairvaux's little crusade in 1181 had left no sort of lasting impression In 1195 a papal legate at Montpellier had denounced the heretics with crushing vigour, but the thunders of his eloquence had died away without an echo. Like Arianism eight centuries previously, the Albigensian heresy had become the fashionable thing of the moment, the stylish court heresy of Languedoc Yet, although it probably derived its vigour mainly from the nobility, St Bernard declared that at the time of his visit almost all the nobles were heretical—it must also have penetrated deeply into all ranks of society. Unsupported by popular opinion, a mere aristocratic religious fad could not have established convents, supported a regular hierarchy, held councils, and robbed the orthodox churches In the closest touch with Moslem and Jewish influences, with an unbroken tradition stretching back to the days when Marseilles had been a Greek colony of the republic, wealthy, easy-going, and pleasure-loving, these southerners had long ceased to conceal their indifference to the affairs of the Church and their contempt, too often well-deserved, for her priests. To such people, as Mr. Nickerson remarks:

> Heresy may well have seemed like a grateful mist, a twilight serving to blur and soften the clear, unmistakeable lines of Catholic Christianity. And if, to such a people, the life of an Albigensian believer seemed easier

and more natural than that of a Catholic layman, on the other hand their self-mortifying eccentrics found in the life of the Albigensian 'Perfect' a stricter and more fiercely inhuman rule of conduct than that of any Catholic order. Councils and anathemas notwithstanding, the Church continued to lose ground[6]

Of course we must never lose sight for an instant of the repulsive and completely anti-social character of the heresy. Even Lea, 'almost always accurate on points of fact even when he is most exasperating in his utter lack of the realising imagination so necessary to a modern historian of the Middle Ages,' admits that—

The cause of orthodoxy was in this case the cause of progress and civilization Had Catharism become dominant or even had it been allowed to exist on equal terms, its influence could not have failed to prove disastrous It was not only a revolt against the Church, but a renunciation of man's dominance over Nature[7]

So matters stood when in 1198 Innocent III, the giant of the whole mediæval story, ascended the pontifical throne.

Within two months of his accession the new pope had taken Languedoc in hand. Two legates had been despatched to investigate the conditions and to seek the co-operation of the secular authorities in enforcing the established penalties against heresy. Throughout his reign Innocent made no alteration in these laws. Contrary to the confident statements of a number of nineteenth century historians—Lecky and Duruy are two whose names occur at once—he did not establish the Inquisition. As to all the high-flown rhetoric of such writers about 'quenching the lamp of liberty in blood' and 'crushing the fair promise of the Albigenses,' it is the merest moonshine, totally unsupported by evidence and arguing a lack of historical vision that is truly amazing

It is hard not to linger over the character and achievements of the great pope. The almost incredible range of his activities, the masterly statesmanship with which he guided the Church through the seventeen crowded and supremely critical years of his pontificate, these things alone mark him as one of the most remarkable men that have influenced the course of history. But to see him only as the man who raised the prestige of the papacy to the highest point it has ever reached is to see only half the picture. A scholar and graduate of the University of Paris, one of the most learned and widely-read lawyers of his day, the author of several mystical treatises of a deeply devotional character, he is remembered not only as the Pope of the Crusades, but as the Pope of the Universities and the Pope of the Hospitals.

[6] H Nickerson, *The Inquisition*, p 61

[7] H C Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, vol i., p 106

Finally, Innocent III. was a great gentleman. Even in the full heat of the Albigensian Crusade we find him interfering on behalf of an accused canon of Bar-sur-Aube. Severe as was his treatment of Raymond of Toulouse, it never exceeded the bounds of equity; and the pope expressly stipulated the restoration of certain confiscated lands to the count's heir should he abjure his father's errors. It would be easy to cite half a dozen instances in which, in dealing with sporadic cases of heresy in other parts of Christendom, he showed a similar leniency and kindliness. It is characteristic of him that, in spite of the pressure brought to bear on him by bishops and legates, he waited ten years before finally summoning the Albigensian Crusade.

From the first the papal legates in Languedoc fared no better than had the secular clergy Things went from bad to worse, and about midsummer 1206 the little band, assembled at Montpellier, talked despairingly of resigning their mission There had been small successes and great reverses Some of the nobles had gone so far as to throw open their castles to be the scene of wordy debates between the Catharan apologists and the Catholic missionaries. But however complete had seemed the dialectical triumphs attained, the effects had been negligible. None of the Languedocian leaders had taken the debates seriously, and such men as Raymond Roger of Foix, in whose mansion one of the most spectacular of these contests had been staged, had assisted at the proceedings with a sort of bored amusement Even the arrival of Didacus and St. Dominic—that amazing man—and the adoption by the legates of apostolic poverty had been attended by scanty success.

A striking incident at Champ-du-Sicaire throws some light on the general situation The labourers, in accordance with the heretical tenets, were accustomed to carry on their work without interruption on Sundays and festivals. On the feast of St John the Baptist St. Dominic, who was staying in the village, ventured to reproach one of the workers for this. A scene developed, and so hostile was the attitude of the people that the saint barely escaped with his life.

In 1207 De Castelnau, the senior legate, took a critical step—the culmination of a long series of evasions and quibblings on the part of the slippery Count of Toulouse He excommunicated Raymond and laid his lands under interdict, and Innocent, without any hesitation, confirmed both sentences. On January 15 of the following year De Castelnau was assassinated by one of Raymond's retainers.

The crime made Innocent master of the situation, and he acted with prompt and smashing vigour. Within three months of the murder the bugles of the Vatican sounded through Europe.

Flaming circular letters went to every bishop in Raymond's lands, recounting the crime and the strong presumption of the count's complicity therein, directing that the murderer be excommunicated, that Raymond be re-excommunicated and that the interdict laid upon Raymond's lands be enlarged so as to include any place that either he or the murderer might curse and pollute with their presence. This masterpiece of malediction was to be solemnly published, with bell, book and candle, in all churches, *and republished until further notice on all Sundays and feast-days.*[8]

Raymond's person was outlawed, his vassals and allies were released from all oaths of allgeiance to him, and he was forbidden to seek reconciliation with the Church until he had banished all heretics from his dominions. Meanwhile Arnaut Amalric summoned a chapter-general of the Cistercian Order, and in a characteristically fiery address called on the faithful throughout Christendom to join in the crusade. Innocent wrote in the same strain to the French bishops. The tardy capitulation of Raymond caused no hitch in the arrangements; and, even had he been able to do so, the pope had no intention now of calling off the crusade. The count, who after all was no heretic, was solemnly reconciled to the Church at St. Gilles. Less than a week after this humiliating ceremony the crusading army marched south from Lyons.

The Albigensian Crusade lasted a bare two months; the Albigensian War dragged on for more than twenty years. The period prescribed for the gaining of the crusading indulgences was forty days; so that after the great westward drive, which included the captures of Beziers [9] and Carcassonne, the vast proportion of the crusading army prepared to return home, 'gorged with spiritual graces and not altogether lacking in temporal booty,' as Mr. Nickerson puts it. From that time onward Simon de Montfort remained in command with the triple object of consolidating the occupied territory, of subjugating the reigning houses of the Languedocian nobility, and of providing a kind of police security for the spiritual labours of the preaching friars.

The religious aspect of the conflict, predominant at the outset, became gradually obscured by the political considerations that necessarily arose. King Pedro of Aragon, who in 1204 had been decorated by the pope with the title of 'First Standard Bearer of

[8] H Nickerson, *op cit*, p 96

[9] The looting, arson and massacre which accompanied the capture of Beziers are the events for which the crusade is chiefly remembered by many people. There are two definite reasons for doubting the completeness of the massacre: first, that the civic life of the town was so quickly reconstituted that it was soon able to resist the crusaders again, and second, that, as Mr Nickerson notes, 'the Church of St Mary Magdalene, where the slaughter is supposed to have been heaviest, is so small that not a third of the 7000 people supposed to have been killed there could possibly have packed into the place'

These total destructions of mediæval cities must not always be taken on their face value. Thus De Montfort formally demolished the walls and destroyed the fortifications of Toulouse twice within a period of eighteen months

the Faith,' appeared in battle against De Montfort and as an ally of Count Raymond, to whom he had become related by marriage. The erratic sovereign was killed in the famous battle of Muret in 1213—a zealous Catholic fighting against the armies of the Church.

Muret settled the fate of Languedoc. In 1224 De Montfort met a soldier's death before the walls of Toulouse. The war dragged on in desultory fashion for another five years, when a treaty was signed providing for the complete absorption of the Duchy of Toulouse by the French Crown.

The political nature of the struggle is worth noting. None of the leaders of the Languedocian forces were heretics. Raymond had been a Catholic all his life and died with all the consolations of religion. Pedro was the 'First Standard Bearer of the Faith,' and had zealously belaboured the Moslem infidels in Spain, besides legislating with unprecedented severity against the heretics in his own dominions. Raymond Roger had dabbled in Catharism, as a man might dabble in the fashionable cult of the moment; but even he had never openly identified himself with the heretics. In its later stages, at any rate, the war had been fought not between the forces of a united Christendom and the united armies of an heretical country, but between the French Crown and the Languedocian nobility.

Of course the war had not crushed the heresy, which seems to have been almost as rampant and widespread at the end as at the beginning. Even the great St. Dominic, after eleven years of missionary exertion, gave way to momentary expressions of despair and, like St. Bernard more than seventy years before, cursed the country and its inhabitants.

> For many years [he declared in 1217] I have exhorted you in vain with gentleness, preaching, praying and weeping. But according to the proverb of my own country, 'Where blessing can accomplish nothing, blows may avail' We shall rouse against you princes and prelates who, alas, will arm nations and kingdoms against this land, and many will perish by the sword, the country will be laid waste, the walls thrown down and you—oh grief!—you will be reduced to servitude, and thus blows will avail where blessings and gentleness have been powerless.[10]

The saint's words are a curious commentary on the essentially local and spasmodic character of the later war It was nine years since the first capture of Beziers and four years since the battle of Muret. The people of Toulouse had just risen in revolt, expelled Bishop Fulk, and were eagerly planning the formal restoration of Raymond—an event which was actually to take place less than three weeks after the preaching of St. Dominic's sermon. De Montfort, rapidly concentrating his forces, was moving to besiege Toulouse. Yet to the people of Prouille (a

[10] Jean Guiraud, *St Dominic*, p 88

village near Fanjeaux, in the heart of the occupied territory) the idea that swords and staves might be used against them was still, apparently, a threat

The political decision achieved in 1229 marked the end of organised resistance to the prosecution of heresy. And although it is impossible to pin down any particular date as fixing the formal establishment of the monastic Inquisition, yet that year forms a convenient landmark Like all considerable institutions in history, the Inquisition was not born in a day Many features of inquisitorial procedure may be noted years before the Albigensian Crusade. Lucius III. in 1184 had enacted decretals ordering all bishops or their accredited representatives to visit every parish in their dioceses at least once a year Where the existence of heresy was suspected they were empowered to demand the denunciation of every suspect or of any whose manner of living differed conspicuously from that of the ordinary Catholic. The suspected heretics were then to be questioned by an episcopal tribunal, if they confessed their guilt and persisted in their errors, they were to be excommunicated and handed over to the secular arm.

These measures, and others that we have noted, had proved hopelessly ineffective During the years between 1189 and 1229 we may trace a regular, clearly discernible process by which the stiffening of the attitude of the secular power was accompanied by the development of an ecclesiastical machinery capable at once of co-operating with and controlling the activities of the secular authorities.

A L MAYCOCK.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE INQUISITION'

To the Editor, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR,—The article by Mr Maycock, of which Part I appears in the August *Nineteenth Century and After*, draws needed and timely attention to certain defects in the treatment of certain theological, and partly-theological, matters by one school of historians As having long studied these subjects, I should like, with your permission, to make one or two suggestions with regard to two passages in Mr Maycock's essay.

'If,' says Mr. Maycock (p 265), 'the [historical] writer imagines, for example, that by vilifying the Inquisition or placing a halo round it he is thereby vilifying or placing a halo round the [Roman] Catholic Church, . then his work . cannot be more than second-rate, and it is thanks to the extravagant Protestant bias of such writers as Freeman, Froude, Lecky, and of the innumerable Continental anti-Clericalists, that the main task of the historian in these fields to-day is, as Mr Belloc has said, the shovelling off of rubbish inherited from the immediate past' In another passage Mr Maycock says (p 269) 'In the mediæval environment it is easy to imagine how heresy would be regarded The heretic of to-day strikes at the Church of God, but he does not strike at the foundations of the social order, since the social order is not based upon moral unity—or upon any other kind of unity, for that matter To the mediæval mind heresy was the ultimate sin, the scourge of Satan'

With regard to these matters the following considerations occur to one First, as to bias in historiography Of course, the definitely Protestant and anti-Clerical writers estimated things in a way which seems to Catholics grotesque Bias, however, is largely a matter of action and reaction A certain prejudice dominates one generation It colours the products of that generation's writers In reaction therefrom an opposite prejudice develops later It does not follow, however, that the later school should regard the earlier as mere 'rubbish' to be 'carted away' In adopting such an attitude, would it not betray that exaggerated degree of self-confidence which was the very fault it criticised in the earlier? I suggest that each school was (and is) doing good work, that neither should imagine it has absolute historic truth, but that objective verity is discoverable by discriminating between the theories of both

With regard to the Inquisition, there is no doubt that a good deal of it, and kindred developments, belonged essentially to a mediæval state of affairs which is unlikely ever to return, because it arose not from religious causes only, but from geographical The New World being undiscovered, Christendom was self-contained in a way it never can be again While, however, the actual practical developments of the mediæval Inquisition can never (or very probably can never) return, it would be a mistake—an exaggeration—to suppose that the fundamental Catholic teaching, which

lay at the basis thereof, has altered. As this is a matter continually misunderstood, it is well to be even meticulously clear with regard to it. The Catholic doctrine on liberty of conscience, etc., is to be found in all theological text-books appropriate to the subject, but was clearly summed up in public documents by, for example, Leo XIII. The following quotations will make it plain :—

'No one doubts that Jesus Christ, the Founder of the Church, willed her sacred power to be distinct from the civil power, and each power to be free and unshackled in its own sphere . with this condition, however,—a condition good for both, and of advantage to all men,—that union and concord should be maintained between them , and that on those questions which are, though in different ways, of common right and authority, the power to which secular matters have been entrusted should happily and becomingly depend on the other power which has in its charge the interests of heaven ' (Encyclical *Arcanum Divinæ*, February 1880)

' Justice forbids, and reason itself forbids, the State to be godless , or to adopt a line of action which would end in godlessness, namely,—to treat the various religions (as they call them) alike, and to bestow upon them promiscuously equal rights and privileges. Since, then, the profession of one religion is necessary in the State, that religion must be professed which alone is true, and which can be recognised without difficulty, especially in Catholic States, because the marks of truth are, as it were, engraven upon it [of course, the Pope meant *Ecclesia Catholica et Romana*] ' (Encyclical *Libertas Præstantissimum*, June 1888).

' If the Laws of the State are manifestly at variance with the Divine Law, containing enactments hurtful to the Church, or conveying injunctions adverse to the duties imposed by religion, or if they violate, in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, the authority of Jesus Christ, then, truly, to resist becomes a positive duty, to obey a crime ' (Encyclical *Sapientiæ Christianæ*, January 1890).

' Yet, with the discernment of a true mother, the Church weighs the great burden of human weakness , and well knows the course down which the minds and actions of men are in this our age being borne. For this reason, while not conceding any right to anything save what is true and honest, she does not forbid public authority to tolerate what is at variance with truth and justice, for the sake of avoiding greater ills. . But, to judge aright, we must acknowledge that the more a State is driven to tolerate evil the further is it from perfection, and although, in the extraordinary condition of these times, the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient to permit them, she would in happier times exercise her own liberty ' (*Liber. Præstant*)

The truth seems to be that, whether in regard to the Inquisition or other Catholic problems, the question as to writers like Froude, Freeman, etc , is really not so much as to whether they were bad historiographers, but as to their assumptions as philosophers Their bases, and those of Catholics, differ in essence In short, between the Church and modern philosophy grave fundamental questions are at issue. To the writers on either side those on the other will seem unduly biassed.

Yours obediently,

J W POYNTER.

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

No. DLXXXV—NOVEMBER 1925

THE PARLIAMENT ACT AND SECOND CHAMBER REFORM

T a meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Con-rvative and Unionist Associations held at the Hotel Cecil on ıne 30, 1925, the following resolutions were carried unanimously:

MR A. MACONACHIE.—That this Council records its gratification at the ospect of the present Ministry seriously tackling the problem of the form of the House of Lords with a view to providing the headquarters of e Empire with a Second Chamber able to restore to the people of this untry the powers of self-government which were filched from them by e passing of the Parliament Act.

MR. BASIL PETO, M.P.—That the Council reaffirms the urgency of a easure dealing with the powers and composition of the Second Chamber accordance with the unanimous resolution of the Newcastle Conference October 2, 1924, and desires to urge the Prime Minister to give it legis-tive effect at the earliest possible moment in the life of the present Parlia-ent, and to receive a deputation from the Council on the subject.

SIR HERBERT NIELD, K.C., M.P.—That the Parliament Act in its pre-

sent form is a danger to the State, and urgently calls for such amendment as will give security against the further weakening of the Constitution.

Lord Selborne spoke to the above resolutions as follows:

I have very little to add to what has been said, but I do want to make one point to this great Council which I have made before. Let me, first of all, state my preface. The policy of the Socialist Party is a revolutionary policy. It is the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and that policy is accepted by all the moderate members of the Socialist Party as well as by the extreme men. If that policy were carried out, or even partially carried out, it is absolutely certain that our present Constitution could not remain as it is to-day—King, Second Chamber, House of Commons. It must be profoundly modified, and with the disappearance of our Constitution it is also equally certain that the Empire itself would go. The Empire depends on the Crown, and on the Constitution in which the Crown works. Therefore, in the last resort, the whole of our Constitution, as well as our right to private property and the continuation of the Empire, depends upon the Parliament Act. Now, we are a democracy. If the majority of the electors wish for the Socialist policy with all its consequences the Socialist policy we shall have, and nothing that we do in the way of amendment of the Parliament Act or of the reform of the Second Chamber will affect that fact. But what you are never to forget is what you have been already told in this room, we are the only civilised country in the world where these tremendous things can be done against the will of the majority of the electors. In every other country that is civilised and free these great fundamental issues are protected, so that if they are dealt with and great changes take place it is perfectly certain it can only be done if a majority of the electors wish that it should be done. But if to-morrow Mr. Baldwin's Government incurred some great wave of unpopularity, if they made some great blunder, and a General Election took place, and a Socialist majority was returned, not because the majority of the electors had swallowed wholesale the whole Socialist programme, but because they were angry with Mr. Baldwin's Government, the very next year a Socialist majority under the Parliament Act could do any one of these things I have mentioned, even though the majority of the electors on reflection might profoundly disapprove. Tha is the legacy that Mr. Asquith has left to England. If England goes down under the Parliament Act, if the Empire goes down under the Parliamen Act, the blame, the real blame, will rest, not on the House of Commons, not on Mr Baldwin's Government, but on you, on every single one of you. What are you doing to tell the electors about these things? Nothing, or almost nothing. You are waiting. Waiting, what for? Waiting for a scheme from the Government. And when the Government bring forward a scheme the electors will say, 'We never heard of this question before; what is it all about?' because a completely new electorate has arisen since the war that knows not the story of the Parliament Act, that has not the slightest idea that their own sacred rights as electors are involved in this matter. They think it is some question of the privilege of the peerage. Of course, that is not a popular question. How should it be, or why should it be? But if once you make them understand that the question at issue is whether they or a temporary fanatical majority of the House of Commons is to have in its hands the ultimate destinies of England, then the question becomes at once a popular question. What are you doing? You are doing nothing. No Government, not this Government or any other Government,

can pass a Bill on a question so great as this, which will be fought tooth and nail by the Socialists, unless it has behind it a determined and convinced majority of its own supporters.

The purpose of this article is not to attempt to formulate a scheme for the reform of the Second Chamber—a task which will demand the combined wisdom and experience of the best brains in the State—it is simply to make some sort of response to the question asked by Lord Selborne, 'What are you doing to tell the electors about these things?' Lord Selborne's question was addressed to a meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, and, through the representatives of those Associations, to the whole body of Conservatives and Unionists throughout the country. The *Nineteenth Century and After* can follow up Lord Selborne's appeal by repeating his question to a wider audience still, an audience which knows no party limitations, but which is equally concerned with the maintenance of our Constitution and the safeguarding of the people's liberties.

Since the fourteenth century Parliament has consisted of two Chambers, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. In the seventeenth century the attempt of the Long Parliament to exercise autocratic powers, and to continue to govern after it had ceased to be representative of the people, was stoutly resisted by Cromwell, who in the first instance tried constitutional means and endeavoured thereby to induce the Commons to consent to a dissolution and accept his plea for biennial Parliaments. But it was not until the threat of a Scottish invasion in 1648 had thoroughly scared the English House of Commons that it consented by a large majority to Cromwell's demands; but the House of Commons proved to be as evasive as the King, and further pressure had to be brought to bear to compel it to fulfil its promises. In these circumstances Ireton drew up the famous 'Remonstrance of the Army,' which demanded that the Army should not be disbanded until after the meeting of the first biennial Parliament. In studying the records of this troubled and tragic period of our history, it seems clear that all Cromwell's earlier efforts were directed towards the re-establishment of constitutional government under King, Lords, and Commons. Charles I. proved impossible, and the Commons intractable, and Cromwell was gradually driven to pursue a course which ultimately led to his dictatorship and thus freed the country from the infinitely less intelligent tyranny of the House of Commons.

Under the new Constitution which he framed,

there was provision for a reformed House of Commons, but not for an Upper Chamber of any sort. Single Chamber government was continued and Cromwell found his Parliaments as difficult to manage as the King had

found before him. Quarrels between executive and legislature were as frequent as ever, and it appeared to Cromwell that the solution lay in the creation of an Upper Chamber as a moderating influence.[1]

The House of Commons was brought to agree to the creation of a Second Chamber, probably under fear of compulsion, and it was ultimately settled that

the other House should be composed of persons nominated by the Lord Protector.

No sooner was the other House constituted than the House of Commons fell to wrangling about its powers. Cromwell, to settle or postpone disputes, dissolved Parliament. In his speech of dissolution he referred to the constitutional question in these words: *'I would not undertake it (the government) without there might be some other body that might interpose between you (the Commons) and me, on behalf of the Commonwealth, to prevent a tumultuary and a popular spirit.'* [2]

The new Constitution, however, was ultimately upset by the Army, Richard Cromwell having proved himself incapable of carrying on the system created by his father; the old House of Commons which had fought the Civil War was recalled, and after a few months of trouble, negotiations for the return of the King were opened, and

so ended the historic period of constitutional experiment in England The Lords and the Crown had been abolished and the Commons had been dragooned by colonels and troopers. Yet, within the very period of the Revolution itself, it had been found necessary to replace the King by the Protector, the Commons by Cromwell's Parliament, and the Lords by Cromwell's Other House. Another turn of the wheel, and the rickety institutions of Revolution fell to pieces. Protector, Other House, and Commons disappeared. Stability was not restored, even for the people's Chamber, until the historic Constitution was brought back to Westminster. No further word was heard upon the constitutional question save the parliamentary recitation that the government 'is and ought to be' by King, Lords, and Commons. [3]

The traditional limitations of the powers of the House of Lords are thus described by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, late Clerk of the House of Commons:

1. The Lords ought not to initiate any legislative proposal embodied in a public Bill and imposing a charge on the people, whether by way of taxes, rates, or otherwise, or regulating the administration or application of money raised by such a charge.

2. The Lords ought not to amend any such legislative proposal by altering the amount of a charge or its incidence, duration, mode of assessment, levy, or collection, or the administration or application of money raised by such a charge.[4]

[1] *The State and the Citizen*, by the Earl of Selborne.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Parliament: Its History, Constitution and Practice*, by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., p. 205.

In 1909 a Finance Bill was sent up to the Lords which appeared to them to include many provisions which were outside the scope of a 'finance' measure; and they expressed the view that their House was not justified in giving its consent to the Bill until the measure had been submitted to the judgment of the country. It was in effect so submitted at the General Election of January 1910 (when the Liberal majority was reduced from 356 to 124), and after the election the House of Lords passed the Bill.

Mr. Asquith's appeal to the country in December 1910 left his majority practically the same (126 instead of 124) and enabled him to introduce the Parliament Bill. In March 1910 Mr. Asquith had committed himself to a complete reform of the Second Chamber; in the debate of March 29 he said:

> There are functions which can usefully and honourably be discharged . . . by a Second Chamber, questions of consultation, of revision, and, subject . . . to proper safeguards, of delay. The body which is to discharge these functions . . . must be a body . . . representative of, and dependent upon, the will of the nation It follows I do not put forward the resolution which we shall submit to the House as a final or as an adequate solution of the problem. . . The problem, therefore, will still remain a problem calling for a complete settlement, and in our opinion *that settlement does not brook delay.*

The preamble to the Parliament Act reads as follows:

> Whereas it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it at present exists a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation.
>
> And whereas provision will require hereafter to be made by Parliament in a measure effecting such substitution for limiting and defining the powers of the new Second Chamber, but it is expedient to make such provision as in this Act appears for restricting the existing powers of the House of Lords.

On April 3, 1911, in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith said:

> The Government regard themselves as bound not only in honour, but by the strict letter of their pledges, and by the actual terms of the Bill itself, to give effect to the preamble as and when the proper time arrives.

It will be made clear that the Constitution of the country has been radically altered by the passing of the Parliament Act, and it is beyond dispute that Mr. Asquith was enabled to put this Act on the Statute Book by assuring the electorate, the Houses of Parliament, and the Sovereign, that the Act was only a temporary or transitional measure, pending the settlement of the problem of the reform of the Second Chamber—'a settlement that does not brook delay.'

The threat to advise the creation of a sufficient number of new peers to enable the Bill to become law was the last weapon

employed in the unedifying struggle of a politician to impose his will upon the country, untrammelled by the constitutional checks imposed upon him by a Second Chamber. The threat was successful!

Nearly fifteen years have elapsed since these pledges were given. The present Government has an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons, far greater than Mr. Asquith had at his disposal when he attacked the Citadel of our Constitution. The breach then made will assuredly be widened by more deadly attacks unless this Government speedily makes up its mind that 'the proper time' to give effect to the preamble of the Parliament Act has already arrived, and to emphasise the temporary and transitional character of that measure by its speedy amendment.

The Parliament Act of 1911 not only drastically curtailed the powers of the House of Lords over legislation, but it practically established Single Chamber government.

The operative provisions of the Act relate to—(1) Money Bills; (2) other public Bills. The section which relates to Money Bills provides that

> A Bill sent up to the House of Lords one month before the end of a session, which in the opinion of the Speaker of the House of Commons is a Money Bill within the meaning of section 1 (2) of the Act, if not passed without amendment within one month after it is sent up, will be presented for the Royal Assent and will become law, though the House of Lords have not consented to the Bill.

The effect of this is to make the Speaker of the House of Commons the sole authority upon whose *dictum* that House may exercise the functions of Single Chamber government in respect to any Bill certified by him to be a Money Bill.

The second section relates to a Public Bill other than a Money Bill, or a Bill to extend the duration of Parliament. It provides that such a Bill

> which is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, not necessarily of the same Parliament, and rejected by the Lords in each of these sessions, will become law without the assent of the Lords, provided that two years have elapsed between the date of its second reading in the House of Commons in the first of the three sessions and its passing that House in the third of those sessions.[8]

By this provision it becomes possible for a majority in the House of Commons, within the lifetime of a single Parliament and without an appeal to the country, to pass into law any measure it pleases. This is Single Chamber government subject only to two years' delay—a limitation which the Single Chamber can at any time abolish by legislation.

[8] *Anson's Constitution: Parliament* (1922 ed.), p. 299.

When Cromwell characterised the Single Chamber government of the Long Parliament as 'the horridest arbitrariness that was ever exercised in the world' he was not up against such a serious situation as we shall have to face if a Socialist Government comes into power while the Parliament Act in its present form remains on the Statute Book. Such a Government could, if it chose, make use of the weapon which Mr. Asquith forged to abolish the Second Chamber altogether; this could be legally effected under the provisions of the Parliament Act in the space of two years from the time that a Bill for that purpose received its first reading in the House of Commons. In the meantime any Bill which the Socialist Speaker of the House of Commons should certifiy to be a Money Bill could be passed within a month of its going to the House of Lords. It seems probable that the wholesale nationalisation of the land, mines, and electrical power, of all means of transport and communication, docks and harbours, of all supplies of food and drink, of banking and insurance, would be carefully prepared for during the two years which it would take to abolish the Second Chamber, instead of any attempt being made to carry through such measures in a more summary fashion by certifying any of them as Money Bills.

The Conscription of Wealth, however, can obviously be dealt with summarily in a Money Bill; and although orthodox Socialists might hesitate to adopt wholesale confiscatory measures which their economic sense must tell them would be ruinous to the State, yet there are sufficient indications to show that the left wing Socialists are in complete sympathy with the Communists in such matters, and that the avowed determination of the latter is to confiscate all private property without distinction.

Of one thing we may be absolutely certain, and that is that a Socialist Government would at once grant a huge loan to Russia, under the pretext that by this means our industries would be benefited, trade developed, and unemployment mitigated. The House of Lords would be unable to prevent this from being done while the Parliament Act remains in its present form.

How the Communists would chuckle at the thought that Mr. Asquith had made it easy for them to carry out the orders of their masters in Moscow through the legal machinery of the Parliament Act in a Socialist House of Commons!

Intensive Communist efforts are now being actively made to undermine the loyalty and discipline of His Majesty's Forces. Under a so-called Socialist Government the Navy, Army, and Air Force would of course be rapidly 'socialised,' and discipline and efficiency would disappear. A different sort of discipline will no doubt be introduced when the Communist dictatorship replaces the ineffective Socialist *régime* which has served its purpose in

paving the way for its more advanced successor. As the Communist catechism edited by Bukharin pertinently remarks:

> Among the necessary though subordinate means of this struggle (i.e., the proletariat struggle for power) must be placed such methods as a revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism.

Mr. Cook having won the first round over the threatened miners' strike, pursued his sinister activities on the Continent with a view to securing 'a united front' when the second round is fought on May 1, 1926 (it may come sooner!), after which he informs us there will be a General Election before the end of that year—this is to be the third and final round.

Mr. Swales, President of the Trade Union Congress, concluded his inaugural address on September 7 with the following words:

> Who can predict the rate at which the conflagration will travel or how wide it will spread? . . . The new phase of development, which is world-wide, has entered upon the next and probably the last stage of development.

At the annual Conference of the National Minority Movement at Battersea, under the chairmanship of Mr. Tom Mann, claiming to represent 750,000 organised workers in Great Britain, the aim of the movement was declared to be 'unremitting and relentless war on the British Empire for its downfall.'

Mr. Saklatvala, the Parsee member for North Battersea, affirmed that it was 'foolish, wicked, and treacherous' to tell the workers to 'look upon the present Parliament with any respect or hope for the future.' He wound up with an impassioned declaration that he stood there as 'a determined and implacable enemy of the Union Jack and of British Imperialism, which is the greatest menace to the whole world.' Superior persons may smile at such vapourings, but it would be infinitely wiser to ponder on the significance of the fact that this Parsee Communist was sent to Parliament by the votes of 15,096 electors of North Battersea with a majority of 542 over the constitutional candidate, who received the support of both Unionists and Liberals; he was also included in the British group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to visit Ottawa and Washington, but was forbidden to land on U.S.A. territory.

The Conference concluded by passing with acclamation (three dissentients) the principal resolution:

> In order that the working-class movement should not be left at the mercy of any form of violence which the ruling class would resort to in its effort to crush the workers, . . . a Workers' Defence Corps should be established.

This is heady stuff, but it would be a grave error to dismiss it lightly as mere froth. An avalanche may be started by a very slight vibration, but no power on earth can stop it in mid-career.

The Communist catechism (Bukharin) lays down that a

> fundamental principle of the proletariat's struggle for power is that we must acknowledge the mass struggle with its inevitable sequel of *direct armed encounter* with the bourgeoisie.

And after a denunciation of the old trade union bureaucracy and its obsolete organisation, it is stated that,

> in view of the concentration of large masses of proletarians within the trade unions and the inevitable revolutionary character of the economic war which the masses are carrying on in spite of their leaders, Communists in all countries should enter the trade unions in order to transform them into conscious instruments of war for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Minority Movement is a growing danger. It has already shown its power in the unauthorised seamen's strike. The whole of the Labour movement is daily tending more and more in the same direction ; its official leaders are making pathetic attempts to hold the reins while the teams exercise self-determination.

Mr. Baldwin asks for 'Peace in our time.' Mr. Cook offers 'a sword.' The Trade Union Congress declares war to the knife.* Surely this is no time to dally with the question of reinforcing the stability of the Constitution and repairing the breach made by Mr. Asquith in 1911. The matter is urgent and certainly—to use the words of Mr. Asquith uttered fourteen years ago—'brooks no delay.'

The idea that 'peace' can be secured by making concessions to the enemy, in the hope that 'sweet reasonableness' will prevail, is of course no new thing in our history. The first recorded instance of its being put into practical shape was in A.D. 994, when Ethelred the Unready purchased exemption from the marauding attack of the Danes instead of fighting them, with the natural result that the Danegeld tax, which at first was at the rate of two shillings on every hide, was subsequently raised to six shillings, and was not abolished until the reign of Henry II. This early instance of the danger of a policy of concession is a somewhat sinister portent of what may now be in store for us in the mining industry.

Successive Governments have been slow to realise that the object of the class war is not to make 'peace,' but it is to make the world 'safe' for the Communists !

Successive legislation, embodying concession after concession to the trade unions, has created a most formidable engine, which,

* The importance of this resolution was perfectly understood by the delegates present. It definitely committed the Congress to approve the revolutionary programme of the Communists by a majority on a card vote of 2,456,000 against 1,218,000. A report of the proceedings at which this important resolution was passed will be found in *The Times* newspaper of September 10, 1925.

in the hands of Communists, may quite possibly be the means of wrecking the constructive work of many generations.

The Trade Disputes Act of 1906 legalised the wholesale intimidation which is euphemistically termed 'peaceful picketing,' or 'the right to persuade peacefully.' Was there ever such arrant hypocrisy and humbug? All who are in close touch with working-class conditions know the abominable cruelties that have been perpetrated under the shelter of this vote-catching Act. The most significant episode during the passage of the Bill through Committee was the complete surrender of the Government to the dictation of Labour in the amendment proposed by the Attorney-General on August 3 by the insertion of a new clause as follows:

> An action against a trade union, whether by workmen or masters, or against any members thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union, for the recovery of damages in respect to any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court

It is common knowledge that there is no secrecy about the ballot when the votes of members of a trade union are taken for or against a strike; the Trade Union Ballot Bill, 1921, was introduced to prevent this abuse, but was dropped after a debate on second reading, presumably because Mr. Lloyd George had received an ultimatum from the Labour Party which he felt unable to ignore

Similarly, the Trade Union Act, 1913, Amendment Bill—for which Mr. W. Greaves-Lord obtained a second reading on March 14, 1924, intended to put an end to the abuse of the political levy in the trade unions by making it incumbent on the executive to secure the consent in writing of each member before the levy can be served on him—failed to materialise owing, in the first instance, to the Government going out. It was introduced again by Mr. Macquisten early in the present year, but though supported with almost absolute unanimity by the Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, it failed to secure support from Mr. Baldwin's Government, on the ground that it might be regarded as provocative by the Socialist Party and the unions.

The octopus of the Wholesale Co-operative Society continues to hold a privileged position which enables it to go on from strength to strength, immune from taxation, in preparation for the day when it will hold a virtual monopoly of the essential trade of the country and become a Government department after the manner of 'Arcos, Limited.' In the meantime the various branches of the Wholesale Co-operative Society throughout the country are busy spreading the pernicious doctrines of Karl Marx, and are ready at the call of a general strike to form the commissariat

department of Mr. Wheatley's 'Workers' Defence Corps.' And this organisation is virtually subsidised by the State!

The jealousies between different trade unions and their internal dissensions are frequently pointed to by optimists who wish to show that no real cohesion can ever be attained by such organisations. As regards this argument, I would refer to a discussion which I had some time ago with the Communist manager of a Wholesale Co-operative boot factory; the manager made this remarkable statement:

> I do not wish you to think that I am under any illusion in regard to the cause for which I am working, I know that there is not a man in this factory who would hold out a finger to help anyone below him, but they would all unite as one man to pull down anyone above them.

The dry rot of a policy of concession has thus been going on uninterruptedly since the enactment of the Trade Disputes Act of 1906; the tragic blunder of Mr. Asquith in 1911, in passing the Parliament Bill into law, was due to political party frenzy blinding him to the fact that by depriving the Upper House of its constitutional powers he was actually providing machinery whereby a future Socialist Government could carry the process of disintegrating the Constitution a step further, and, in doing so, prepare the way for the complete usurpation of power by a Communist minority. The Government could neither then see, nor do they now see, that this Communist minority would control an organisation whose deadly efficiency would be due to the lack of vision of successive Governments which have failed, and are now failing, to protect the law-abiding majority against the violence and incitements to revolution of a numerically insignificant minority. At the present moment the apostles of revolution are allowed to infect—if they can—millions of people with the germs of their pernicious agitation; the crowds to which they appeal are by no means immune from infection, containing as they do large numbers of unemployed, and young men and women who have known no domestic discipline or training by fathers who served their country in the Great War, and in too many cases never returned to resume their place and influence in the family. Boys and girls whose services were eagerly competed for at extravagant rates of remuneration during the same period, but who have since had to find their level, offer an easy prey to the lying agitators who promise them a golden age when the hated capitalist shall have been exterminated.

The health authorities do not allow a person with smallpox to promenade the streets; why, then, should the Government permit the State to be placed in jeopardy through failing to segregate those whose unlicensed speech and incitement to revolution are contaminating the minds and exciting the worst passions of

thousands of men and women, to a point where nothing short of blood-letting—whether it be that of their supposed enemies or their own—will cool the fever burning in their veins?

Freedom of speech has already passed into action of a far more sinister character than the unauthorised strike movement; drilling is being actively carried on, and will, in its turn, give place to the free use of the weapons drilled with; the 'Workers' Defence Corps' is no mere figure of speech on the part of Mr. Wheatley—it already exists in a rudimentary form, if not already completely organised.

The Home Secretary has at last taken the action which the country has been demanding insistently for a long time, and it is to be hoped that there will be no slackening in his determination to protect the community from the revolutionary licence which has been too long masquerading under the mantle of free speech.

If the Government postpones decisive action in respect to the Parliament Act and reform of the Second Chamber the last opportunity of saving the Constitution may disappear.

A certain section of the Press which was largely responsible for the loss of the Conservative majority at the polls in 1923 may again play into the hands of the Socialists and Communists by putting this great issue before the public in a false and perverted light.

It cannot be too often repeated that the problem of the Parliament Act is not a question of restoring or retaining hereditary privileges of the Peers, but most emphatically the problem of safeguarding the rights and liberties of the people, by providing a means to prevent Single Chamber government from exercising autocratic powers, and passing legislation in haste which the country may bitterly regret at its leisure.

The amendment of the Parliament Act is obviously urgent; the reform of the Second Chamber would be dealt with most appropriately in a separate Bill which should proceed through Parliament side by side with the amending Bill (see Lord Selborne's address to the Unionist Members of Parliament May 12, 1925).

If this great issue is placed before an unprepared electorate, it is a foregone conclusion that it will be a lost cause, just as Mr. Baldwin's appeal to the electors to indorse his Protection policy was lost. Surely it is not too much to expect that all who love their country and would save it from such a fate as Russia's will do all in their power to bring home to everyone with whom they can get into touch the nature of the crisis which menaces our land. There is probably not one elector in a hundred who understands the position, and perhaps not one in a thousand would be nearer the mark.

The education of the electorate requires to be taken up and pursued with unflagging energy by all the supporters of the Con-

stitution, whether they are members of organised political associations or not; everyone can help. The Press has a great opportunity. Conservative and Unionist associations throughout the country will of course do their utmost, but they cannot cover the whole ground without a vast amount of voluntary help, personal or financial or both. There are also many non-political bodies which might, in defence of the Constitution, lend valuable aid by explaining the issues at stake at meetings and in their own Press.

Every individual can do something from day to day by discussing these issues with everyone with whom he (or she) comes in contact whenever opportunity offers, or, still better, whenever he (or she) can make opportunity serve.

Is it too much to hope that, in spite of the fact that Mr. Asquith's Parliament Act is at the root of our troubles, it may yet be found possible to win a certain amount of Liberal support for a measure intended to redeem the solemn pledge given by Mr. Asquith nearly fifteen years ago?

The extent to which Socialist agreement can be counted on will be dealt with later (see p. 654).

It has been stated above that the amendment of the Parliament Act is urgent; the urgency will be readily recognised by all who have carefully followed the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress at Scarborough. During the last seventeen minutes of the sitting on September 10, after a stirring speech by the Bolshevist delegate M. Tomsky, a resolution was adopted authorising the General Council to do 'everything in its power' to secure world-wide unity of the trade union movement through an all-inclusive federation. Briefly, the full and sinister significance of this resolution is that the General Council, under the skilful manipulation of the Communistic element, has obtained the authority of Congress to embrace the Red International of Moscow, with all that its doctrines and methods imply; and this in direct opposition to the declared policy of the Second International at Amsterdam, at which our Communistic trade union delegates were outvoted. And this British organisation, nourished in the bosom of the Liberal Party, exempted from the ordinary common law of the land by the Trade Disputes Act of 1906, defying the law when it interferes with its despotic action (abortive Trade Union Ballot Bill, 1921), exacting toll from the workers' wages to enable it to carry on its revolutionary war against the industries of the country, demoralising the whole working-class community with the hateful doctrine of ca' canny—this monstrous growth in our body politic is now the avowed instrument by means of which our ancient Constitution is to be brought down in the dust and our free institutions exchanged for a Communist despotism under the ægis of Moscow. And this will assuredly happen if a nominally

Socialist Government obtains power while the Parliament Ac
remains unamended.

Lord Selborne, in his address to the Unionist members of th
House of Commons on May 12, stated that what we had to aim a
was 'the minimum amendment of the Parliament Act which wil
safeguard the Constitution and preserve to the electors the righ
of final decision of fundamental questions.' This matter he con
sidered was one for the House of Commons in the first instance
and conclusively. By 'fundamentals' he meant such things a
the Monarchy, the existence of a Second Chamber, parliamentar
government as opposed to any system of soviets, liberty o
thought, liberty of speech, a free Press, the right of privat
ownership as opposed to the nationalisation of the means of pro
duction, distribution and exchange, a capital levy, compulsor
military service.

The reason why he considered that the amendment was 'con
clusively' a matter for the House of Commons was because no
amendment of the Parliament Act would be worth considering
unless it was approved of by the House of Commons. He pointed
out to the members of Parliament that no Government could pass
a Bill of this kind, which would be bitterly opposed by the Socialist
and Radical parties, unless it had behind it the informed and
determined support of its party in the country; and he pleaded
with them not to let this question slumber any longer, but to study
it themselves in every detail, to talk about it to their constituents
and above all to familiarise their constituents with it in advance
so that when Mr. Baldwin formulates his policy he will have
behind him the convinced and intelligent support of his party
not an ignorant amazement; 'and,' he added, '*it is the last chance.*'

The amendment of the Parliament Act by the Government
necessarily involves a measure for the reform of the House of
Lords; the Parliament Bill was introduced by Mr. Asquith as a
stop-gap measure pending a well-considered measure for the
reform of the House of Lords becoming law.

Lord Selborne asks, 'What is the maximum change in com-
position of the Second Chamber which the Peers would readily
accept in order to enable the necessary amendment to be made to
the Parliament Act?' He submits in reply that this is a matter
in the first instance for the House of Lords, 'but not conclusively,'
thus drawing a distinction between the procedure which he advises
in the case of the Parliament Act and in the case of the reform of
the Second Chamber; for he considers that the House of Lords
might accept changes in its own composition which commend
themselves definitely to the House of Commons and the Govern-
ment, although they might not be such as the House of Lords
would prefer; consequently the question of the composition of

the House of Lords is not one for that House 'conclusively,' though it is essentially one, in the first instance, for the Peers to consider.

The question of the *powers* of the Second Chamber necessarily comes under the amendment which may be proposed in a Government Bill to amend the Parliament Act; and a measure to deal with this question is more urgent and intrinsically more important than the question of the *constitution* of the reformed Second Chamber, though the two questions will undoubtedly be dealt with concurrently, since they are actually interdependent; in other words, it is necessary to predicate a reformed Second Chamber whose constitution shall command the confidence of the electorate before it can be decided what powers shall be entrusted to it.

If the Parliament Act is amended so that it be made impossible for the House of Commons to include anything beyond the ordinary financial services of the year in a Money Bill, there will be no occasion to raise the question of the powers of the Second Chamber in this connection; but it is necessary to safeguard the interpretation of the definition 'Money Bill' by entrusting it to a small Committee of both Houses instead of to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

It will obviously be necessary to prevent the House of Commons from passing any Bill involving constitutional changes in the powers or in the composition of the reformed Second Chamber without the agreement of the Second Chamber, and the Parliament Act would require amendment in this sense. In both the above cases, therefore, it is a limitation of the powers of the House of Commons rather than an increase in the powers of the Second Chamber that is to be aimed at. But it is greatly to be desired that the reformed Second Chamber may have the power, in case of disagreement with the House of Commons over a fundamental issue, to require a joint sitting of the two Houses, a Referendum, or a General Election.

Every constitutionally governed country has the safeguard of a Second Chamber, the constitution of which is determined by various factors and considerations peculiar to the country for which it is framed. There is one point which is common to the constitution of all Second Chambers, which is, that the Second Chamber shall not be a mere replica of the Lower House, but shall have sufficient authority and independence, and enjoy such a measure of the confidence of the country as will enable it to exercise its functions in the best interests of the country, even when its views do not coincide with those of the other House. To ensure this independence it is the universal practice so to safeguard the tenure of seats in the Second Chamber as to prevent a

dissolution of the Lower House from affecting the composition and continuity of function of the Second Chamber. The Second Chamber therefore in all countries represents stability and continuity, it is unaffected by evanescent waves of popular passion, sentiment, or prejudice, which may determine the composition or the life of the Lower House, and it is at the same time equally a bulwark against the assumption of autocratic powers by Presidents or Ministers who may too easily bend the Lower House to their dominating will and induce it to accept measures which are opposed to the common weal. In some cases the members of the Second Chamber are wholly removed from the influence of the caucus or party machine, and in all cases are less dependent on such influence than are the members of the Lower House.[7]

As regards the extent to which the Socialist Party would be willing to co-operate in passing any Bill for the reform of the Second Chamber (see p. 651), Mr. J. H. Thomas writes in *When Labour Rules*:

> I am frankly prepared to admit that there are very natural differences of opinion in the Labour movement regarding the value of a Second Chamber, but there is complete unanimity in Labour's assertion that all hereditary influence must be wiped out . . .
>
> I personally favour a Second Chamber, but . . . it should be elected by the people. There are two methods by which it could be formed: it could be a small body elected on a geographical basis, or it could be a body chosen from the House of Commons and containing proportionate representation of the political parties returned to the Lower Chamber. . . .
>
> I do not think an Upper Chamber should have more than 300 members, and unquestionably it should be dissolved concurrently with the Lower House.

This last stipulation is in fundamental disagreement with one of the most vital principles which have influenced all countries in framing the constitutions of their Second Chambers, and will certainly be strenuously opposed by the Unionist and Conservative Party and possibly by the bulk of the Liberal Party.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in *Socialism: Critical and Constructive* says:

> Socialism rejects the idea that any Second Chamber can be created which at any given time can bring to bear upon public affairs a superior wisdom and a larger view than democratic representation can command. . . . There may be something to be said for a Senate of men experienced in public affairs—men who have served the State in places of responsibility and who know the difficulties of government. But its function should not be to legislate, or check, or set itself up as a rival legislative authority, but to revise, co-ordinate, advise.

[7] It was stated early in this article that its purpose was not to formulate a ...eme for the reform of the Second Chamber; those who desire to study what ...ready been proposed in this connection would do well to refer to the valuable ...amphlet entitled *Second Chamber Reform*, which can be obtained from ...onal Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, Palace Chambers, ...eet, Westminster (price 6*d*., or by post 7*d*).

Labour and the New Social Order lays down that

The party stands for complete abolition of the House of Lords and for a most strenuous opposition to any machinery for revision of legislation taking the form of a new Second Chamber, whether elected or not, having in it any element of heredity or privilege or of the control of the House of Commons by any party or class.

The Webbs in their *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* say:

There is, of course, in the Socialist Commonwealth no place for the House of Lords.

It will be gathered from the foregoing extracts that while there is no sympathy with the idea of a Second Chamber which shall have any real control over legislation, it is against the hereditary principle that there is a united and strenuous opposition.

The most authoritative of the schemes which have been put forward for the reform of the Second Chamber is that which was drawn up by the Bryce Conference [8] and published in the form of a letter to the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) from the chairman (Viscount Bryce). The Bryce Report is of special interest owing to the manner in which it deals with the hereditary question. It proposes that the functions of the Second Chamber recommended for adoption shall only be exercised by a *reformed* Second Chamber, and that the preponderating influence in it should be based upon popular election, direct or indirect.

An historical link between the old and new Second Chambers might be preserved, perhaps temporarily, by the inclusion of a limited number of the present House of Lords, but the hereditary basis would by successive steps give place to an elected basis in the composition of the reformed Second Chamber.

It has been the purpose of this article to show that concession after concession to the trade unions and Socialistic organisations, instead of encouraging a spirit of co-operation for the general advantage of the trade and industries of this country, have resulted, instead, in perfecting a formidable machinery which is to be employed for destroying the very foundations of our complex civilisation and, in alliance with the Red International, for destroying the British Empire (see p. 647, footnote).

That the Parliament Act has put into the hands of the extremists a weapon of deadly potentiality, which will render it a simple matter to destroy the Constitution, bring the country to ruin, and the Empire to dismemberment—by parliamentary procedure.

That the emasculation of the House of Lords has deprived the

[8] See *Second Chamber Reform*, published by National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations.

people of this country of the constitutional bulwark of their liberties, which has hitherto stood between them and the menace of the abuse of Single Chamber government.

That since the passing of the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 the constitutional forces of the country have been steadily yielding ground to the foe they vainly tried to conciliate until a climax has been reached which finds them driven to their last ditch, with a weakened *moral* and depleted munitions of war.

If the constitutional forces surrender now, in the face of the supreme effort which is being prepared to destroy them for all time, there will be no recovery, and we shall all go down into the pit which the Red International has dug for us.

F. G. STONE.

POLITICIANS AND AGRICULTURE

SINCE the war various political parties have produced Land policies, *e g.*, the Independent Labour Party and Mr. Lloyd George's policy, based upon the report of his Committee, entitled the 'Land of the Nation,' which is really the sequel to his Land Report of 1913. On the non-political side the Central Landowners have issued a very full Land policy, so have the Farmers' Union and the Agricultural Council for England and Wales.

First as to the Independent Labour Party agricultural policy. Its main features are the nationalisation of land—a very direct control of cultivators by means of county agricultural committees, working under the direction of Whitehall, and State purchase of all the wheat requirements of the nation. Originally there was some idea of giving rural landowners some compensation for capital in farm buildings and improvements, but nothing for the land itself. 'The land, being a free gift of God, should be as free as the air we breathe and the water we drink.' However, a large number of the extreme Labourites are against any compensation being given to the landowner (*vide* the strong resolution passed at the Scarborough Trade Union Congress, where the advocates of confiscation proposed that owners of land should be taxed 20*s.* in the pound and so turn all rental automatically over to the State). This sounds simple, and, of course, could be enacted by a strong Labour Government, but difficulties, little foreseen by the urban extremists, would arise

Mr. Lloyd George's main proposal is for State ownership of the land (carrying with it considerable State control). He distinguishes between State ownership and the complete nationalisation advocated, for example, by the Independent Labour Party. The distinction, however, is flimsy, and State ownership would lead naturally and easily to complete nationalisation. What is needed to-day is a sound barrier against unsound experiment. Mr. Lloyd George's proposal in no way provides this. He accedes in one breath to the landowner being compensated on the basis of his net income, but with the next breath he states that adequate wages and the fair remuneration of the farmer

must be first charges on the industry! He might as well have said frankly that he too was not in favour of compensation.

Referring to the Liberal Land Report of 1913, we find the main recommendations and findings are :—

(1) Establishment of Wage Boards, and, as a corollary, establishment of a Land Court to fix rents. The latter to function, apparently, only for the reduction of rents, never for an increased rent, even when obviously the rent is below the economic level.

(2) New housing schemes; every cottage should be provided with a garden of a quarter of an acre.

(3) Increase in the number of small holdings is desirable; compulsory powers to be used in acquiring land. Occupiers of such land to be tenants of the county council, the State providing the purchase-money.

(4) That there is evidence of much land being under-cultivated, caused by insecurity of tenure and over-development of sport. (A far more definite cause is the general state of under-capitalisation of the farmers)

(5) Need for access to credit admitted, but no concrete proposals in regard thereto.

(6) Objection to occupying ownership is made, and State ownership preferred.

(7) The strengthening of the Game Laws, and making it illegal or the landowner to let his shooting rights.

(8) Some relief to local taxation is recognised (somewhat grudgingly) as necessary, but no definite proposals are made, except that in general terms improvements should not be taxed.

(9) In favour of co-operation, but no definite proposals.

(10) In favour of the development of research and of education.

Coming to the present Lloyd George policy. The main planks correspond with the recommendations of the Land Report of 1913, save that to-day State ownership is being pushed as the principal measure

The official Liberal Land policy, as evidenced in the recent elections, is too nebulous to deal with in detail, but a most important feature in the official programme was that occupying ownership should be developed. This is particularly interesting, since by tradition the Liberal Party has for years opposed occupying ownership, but the growth of the Labour Party and the increasing strength of the land nationalisers undoubtedly led leading Liberals to realise that this was the only effective barrier to nationalisation. Another Liberal plank has been a pious wish to develop small holdings, as evidenced by the unsatisfactory Act of 1908.

On the other hand, the Conservative Party has neither come out with a comprehensive agricultural policy, nor shown itself definitely

in favour of occupying ownership. But the 1925 policy of the Central Landowners' Association provides one that is the very antithesis to State ownership and all that it involves.

Why are the different political parties going in for land policies? In other countries agriculture has not been the plaything of politicians as in England. For a long time our public took little interest in land or agriculture, but since the Great War a new attitude has arisen. People are beginning to realise that land is one of the greatest of the nation's assets—that it is an asset standing at far below par value—and that it could produce far more food and employ more labour than it now does.

Motoring about the country as people do in these days, the more observant notice large areas obviously (even to the inexperienced) ill-cultivated and under-productive. This feeling will be strongly accentuated if the observer should happen to take a motor tour through any of the Continental countries with an advanced agriculture. I think it proper to admit this. No good end is served by people writing to the papers and saying English agriculture is the finest in the world, or by some urban economists proclaiming that our agriculture is as perfect as it could be.

People of varying degrees of extremist views feel that if only the total rental (the vast sum of 280,000,000*l*) could be diverted into the public purse it would mark the beginning of a millennium!

There are moderate men who have seen land around towns needed for developments and improvements held up by the owners —perchance rural owners—whose land runs into the town boundaries. There is a general feeling that our present social and industrial position is so bad that only drastic measures can save us. Hence the suggestion of nationalisation. But in other countries agriculture has been developed by far simpler measures. A complex exists in the minds of many people that the large landowner is absorbing each year millions of pounds of profit to which he has no claim. The social order must be changed, beginning with the man who has visible property, easy to lay hold of.

A number of politicians still urge the removal of abuses which they know have been removed. The honest thing for them to do would be to inform the public that this is the case; but such a course would cut the ground from under their feet, and this they cannot do, since they approach the problem from the political point of view instead of the economic. The former rightly handled, class feelings duly fanned, can turn votes in their favour; to preach the latter would, to a large extent, only bore their urban audience.

Let there be no mistake about it, the large majority of those now taking an interest in the land do so because of the political

capital they can make out of it rather than from any wish to improve the economic position of the countryside.

It may work for clearness if we enumerate the chief fallacies regarding land that are current in the minds of many townsmen.

(*a*) 'God made the land we cultivate, and, therefore, no individual should have a prescriptive right to own it.' That sounds reasonable on the face of it; but probe a little deeper. Land, in its natural state, is not fit for cultivation. It is only made fit for cultivation by the expenditure of years of hard work on the part of man, and in a later stage of development by the outlay of much capital.

In this country the rural landowner has drained the land, made roads, built houses and farm buildings, and he and his immediate predecessors have, as a rule, spent far more on improvements than the present selling value of the farm.

We may say, in opposition to the idea that the land as a free gift of God should belong to all men and be held by the State for the benefit of all men, that 'the land in many parts of England is as much a manufacture (compared with its original state) as the silk gown of a judge in Westminster is a manufacture from the silk worms that feed on the mulberry leaves in Tuscany.'

(*b*) When the man in the street hears of the gross rental received by all landowners being 280,000,000*l* a year (as shown in the Schedule A returns), he makes no distinction between the urban owner and the rural owner.

Out of this 280,000,000*l*. only 50,000,000*l*. go to agricultural landowners, and the rest to urban owners. Of that 50,000,000*l*., 25,000,000*l*. go back in the upkeep of the farms, and only the remaining half can be termed income. It is legitimate to say that this 25,000,000*l*. a year is the interest on the capital put into improving the land and making it workable, and is not rental for the land itself; and that it only represents about 2 per cent. on that capital.

The urban owner as a rule does not develop his land in the way the agricultural owner does. The value of his land is mainly due to the presence of the community, and its activities in developing roads, light and water supplies, drainage, etc., and often the owner does not even build the houses that stand upon his land.

(*c*) A common impression is that all this rental goes to a few vastly wealthy people, whereas there are between one and two million persons receiving it. In addition there is the host of collateral income-takers, *i.e.*, people who hold mortgages on land. If any crude attempt is made to nationalise the land, these people will have to be reckoned with.

(*d*) It is often said that rental is the millstone which weighs down the agricultural industry—in other words, that English

landowners rack-rent the land. The selling value of land is referred to as exorbitant, and as having gone up enormously as a result of the war.

There is little ground for these assertions. The average rental of agricultural land to-day is about 1*l.* per acre, whereas similar land in Continental countries is letting at about double that rate. In the same way the selling value of land in nearly every other country is higher than in England.

A further fallacy is that land is a monopoly. How can it be a monopoly when several millions of acres come into the market each year at an average price of under 25*l.* per acre ? The writer knows of land which has been sold within the last few years for 3*l.* an acre, including buildings, land which would have realised 30*l.* an acre in countries with an organised agriculture.

(*e*) It is the common view that our system of land tenure is one of *ownership*, but that wrongly describes it. It is a system of *tenancy*, and would remain a system of tenancy, with all its drawbacks, if the land were nationalised.

(*f*) It is assumed that if a farmer has to buy his farm he must sink so much of his capital in the purchase that he has not enough left to work the farm properly ; but this, of course, need not be so. In other countries systems of land purchase exist which enable farmers to buy under fair financial conditions, and they are in no way crippled.

(*g*) It is put forward that the farmer has fair access to working capital, that the banks advance all he requires ; but this is not so. The credit in this country provided by banks to farmers is an outstanding 20,000,000*l.*, as against 360,000,000*l.* in Germany (in 1913)

(*h*) People still talk about the need of fixity of tenure ! This is now so thoroughly established that the bad tenant cannot be turned out at all, and the country and industry suffer in consequence.

(*i*) There is still talk about free access to land, but this is provided for in the Acts passed during the last ten or fifteen years. Often new legislation is demanded, when the demand should be that existing legislation be put in force.

(*j*) There are still people who believe that Whitehall can farm or that county agricultural committees (more or less under the direction of Whitehall) can conduct our farming operations.

Whitehall knows well that it cannot farm, and county agricultural committees, although they worked energetically during the war, would not function properly in times of peace.

(*k*) It is often said that occupying farmers in England cultivate their soil worse than tenant farmers. This may be true, but it is wrong to suppose that this is due to something inherent

in occupying ownership. Occupying owners have generally purchased under unfavourable financial conditions, and, having sunk too much of their available capital in purchase, have left themselves crippled and without sufficient working capital. This does not occur in countries with an organised agriculture, where occupying owners are able through credit to raise loans for increasing working capital. It is also suggested that it is harder to control the standard of cultivation of the occupying owner than of the tenant. But at this moment there is no control of the tenant, whereas an effective credit system provides the soundest control, since it offers so strong an inducement to the farmer to raise his standard of cultivation.

(*l*) There is an unreasonable assumption that State ownership would have the effect of raising the standard of the indifferent farmer This is an unsound argument, since, in the end, State ownership would mean control by the Treasury. We should have its dead hand fastening a cold grip upon the industry and bringing apathy and stagnation in its train.

(*m*) It is loosely held that the creation of State ownership would bring about a return to the mediæval communal society; but such would not be the result, even if such a thing were desirable. Our society is too large and complicated for such a return. Individuals in the old communal system were their own masters and managed their own affairs, and though at the outset the State might set out to be the servant of the public (and in such matters an indifferent servant), it would speedily become a tyrannical master.

(*n*) In regard to rural housing, while there is a great need for new houses in rural districts, it is wrong to say that there is anything approaching the overcrowding and unhealthy conditions that exist in the crowded streets of the town. It is very often overlooked that townsmen and urban workers have to a large extent taken possession of cottages originally intended for country people. In small towns with one or two factories the inhabitants often occupy houses in the country as far as seven miles away from their work. County council employees, roadmen, postmen, railwaymen and policemen are in the aggregate occupying large numbers of agricultural cottages.

Unfavourable economic conditions are compelling large landowners to break up their estates, and, on the other hand, small occupying ownerships have doubled since 1917. Here we have a movement actually at work which has proved beneficial when rightly handled in every other country. The point of immediate importance is to see that we handle it rightly.

If occupying ownership is developed on right lines, until 70 or 80 per cent. of the farms are in the hands of owners rather

than of tenants, we shall see a great moral effect upon the cultivators of the soil.

Ownership of the land by the man who tills it brings a direct interest in the land that no *form of tenancy* can give. It provides an incentive to improve the land, which experience has shown to be absent from all forms of public ownership tried in the history of the world. It encourages thrift. If a man has to repair his own buildings and look after them, he will usually take that 'stitch in time which saves nine.' The tenant farmer looks to the landowner to do these repairs, and in consequence they are manifold and costly. It encourages independence and enterprise. The occupying owner has to rely upon his own initiative instead of trusting to his landlord (whether an individual or the State) to help him out of difficulties that he should grapple with.

In considering this question of ownership and the effect upon the character of the people we must not think only of the farmer, but also of the labourer. One of the most disastrous things that has happened in agriculture during the last 150 years has been the gradual and complete divorce of the agricultural labourer from direct interest in the soil. I do not advocate the return to common lands or any such system, but easier access to land for agricultural labourers. In Continental countries the large majority of agricultural labourers own land. Even the dock labourers of Antwerp own some land. It is not too much to say that it is highly dangerous to society to have a large landless proletariat, and we have a larger landless proletariat than exists in any other country. Apart from the moral aspect, there is nothing that works for social solidarity like a multitude of small owners. I do not put this point forward from any political consideration, because I do not believe such owners would necessarily be Conservatives Having a direct stake in the country, they would give balance to the social fabric. They would not lend themselves to wild experiment with the nation's greatest asset.

What is the economic advantage of small occupying ownerships? The cost of administering the land is reduced to a minimum. In those parts of England where the soil is suitable there would be a large increase in small holdings under 50 acres, each owned and cultivated by the family, where to-day we see a plurality of farms in the hands of a large tenant, who can only live on one of them. One can see the effects of such a system in districts like Lancashire, Cheshire, or South Lincolnshire. Special means should be devised to enable the capable labourer with little capital to become a small holder. As a small holder, a man is his own master, and although small holders are not to-day making as good a living as they should, this is not because the farm is too

small to be an economic unit, but because of lack of organisation in our agricultural industry. Granted such conditions as exist in other countries, the financial position of small holders would be greatly improved. I am not thinking of the few thousands of small holders placed upon the land by county councils under the 1908 Act, or ex-service men under the Ex-Service Men's Facilities Act, but of the great mass of 260,000 farmers who hold 50 acres or under (the total number of farmers in England and Wales is 409,000).

The study of such accounts as are available of the properly handled family farm shows a high yield per acre, and a higher output per man and a higher profit per acre, than among the larger farmers.

The objection to occupying ownership voiced by the Lloyd George Land Report of 1913, and still, apparently, uppermost in his mind, appears to be that if State-aided purchase were instituted upon terms which were financially sound the tenant farmer would be in a worse financial position, because:

(*a*) A proportion of his capital would be sunk in the land, where it would earn only a low rate of interest, with the result that he could not employ it as working capital on the land;

(*b*) If he had more than one child the difficulty mentioned in (*a*) would be aggravated, for in order to provide for the younger children the farm would have to be mortgaged or sold at his death;

(*c*) He would actually be in a worse financial position, as the interest and sinking fund, together with expenses, repairs, tithe and land tax, would generally amount to considerably more than his present rent.

The answer to these objections is the creation of a proper land bank system to enable farmers to buy their farms. If the State guarantees interest on the capital necessary for financing a purchase scheme, it does not provide the capital itself. The creation of satisfactory land purchase systems has proved quite simple in other countries, and must be less complicated than any form of purchase by the State. The everyday transaction of the purchaser paying the seller is at work under conditions favourable to both.

Objection (*a*) is answered by the creation of a proper system of credit to enable the farmers to increase their working capital. Such a system properly developed and used would provide our farmers with more working capital than they have ever enjoyed before.

In regard to (*b*), all that can be said is that the system has worked perfectly in other countries without the indicated difficulties arising.

Objection (c) is largely covered by the answer to (a). In some cases the farmers, during the first years of the purchasing operations, pay somewhat more than they were paying to the landowner (a clear proof of uneconomic rental), but it must be remembered that each succeeding year their annual payments will grow less and the margin of security greater.

Investigation, through costings, into the economics of the farm is one of the most important developments affecting the agricultural industry. Costings are making plain the fact that there is an extraordinarily wide variation in the cost of production upon farms of similar character and soil. Taking the manual labour expended upon wheat growing, it is found that its cost varies from 1*l.* 1*s.* to 3*l.* an acre. Similar variations are to be found in practically the whole range of farming operations, and it is clear that there is room for great economies which involve no State control or interference, which would result in far more beneficial effects to the farmer and the industry than any bonus, subsidy or tariff.

From the pronouncements of the leaders of the various parties it is clear that there is no hope of any such financial assistance. As a matter of fact few farmers want it. What, then, is the alternative? It is that agriculturists should unite in placing the industry on a sound economic basis. This must be done by revising the economy of the farm, by the effective organisation of labour, by the scientific utilisation of artificial manures and new methods of cropping, and by taking full advantage of the discoveries which modern science has placed at our disposal.

Finally we must have organisation of the industry on up-to-date lines. There is not the faintest use organising the industry unless the economy of the individual farm is reorganised, and *vice versâ*. It is this organisation of the industry which will enable the farmer to get the best prices for his produce and to buy in the lowest markets. It is futile to bolster up any industry, whether rural or urban, if it does not come up to modern economic requirements. Governments can do much to assist in this object, and, above all, this Government should erect the one barrier against wild experiment with our land resources by bringing in an effective system of small occupying ownerships. It could render the nation no greater service.

CHRISTOPHER TURNOR.

THE WORK OF NATIONAL AFFORESTATION

A SHORT time ago the Forestry Commission issued their Fifth Annual Report,[1] and it is worth more attention than it has received. The reasons are that not only does it mark the conclusion of the first five-year period for which the Commissioners were appointed and contains a review of the work hitherto accomplished, but it affords pointed and definite illustrations of the effect of some of those reductions in expenditure that were made in the name of economy, and, further, raises questions of policy affecting international issues that are of much importance.

Those of us who had a hand in the later part of the war period in shaping proposals for a national scheme of afforestation were not of one mind on all matters, but there was no difference of opinion between us of the value and necessity of a great programme of planting uninterruptedly pursued, or of the misfortunes that we had inherited from the neglect of previous Governments to carry out the recommendations made to them by a succession of authoritative bodies. We were then suffering the daily agony of seeing great quantities of shipping devoted to the carriage of timber whilst the people were short of food. We were all agreed also as to the social values of the afforestation of some of those millions of acres of our homeland which were found to be suitable for the purpose and were largely lying waste. At the same time we did not fail to point out that those social values—in employment, healthy country life, and otherwise—would be slow in their growth, although ultimately vast in extent. Afforestation is not a good topic for politicians in a hurry.

The differences that arose were mainly over questions of method and machinery, and any reference that may be made to them in this paper must not obscure the outstanding fact of the Commissioners' Report, namely, that the progress so far made in planting is in advance of the programme, although the past year's planting, taken by itself, is in arrear. This is a signal achievement, especially when we bear in mind the difficulties the Commissioners have had to contend with during the past three years.

Even more important, perhaps, than the planting itself, a

[1] No 107, 1925 (price 1s).

machine has been created and a band of experienced men got together, and the Commissioners have assembled the staff essential for the bigger programmes of years to come.

The Report shows, however, that the enterprise will need the continual fortification of an informed public opinion if the work is to go on so as to make that enduring contribution to national well-being that it can do if persevered with. The work already accomplished is, admittedly, only a trivial proportion of what there is to do even on the lowest estimate, and we may, perhaps, with advantage recall the acknowledged facts of the case. It was estimated by the Reconstruction Committee under the chairmanship of the Right. Hon. Mr. F. D. Acland—that was appointed in 1916, and reported in 1918 [2]—that in order to make the United Kingdom self-supporting a properly afforested area of 16,000,000 acres would be required. The total area of the rough grazing and heath land, and deer forests in Great Britain is approximately equal to that figure ; but when the parts over 1500 feet and other unsuitable areas are excluded, about 8,500,000 acres of plantable land remain, including some 2,000,000 acres now used for rough grazing or poor tillage. From this, however, there should be deducted various patches of land where the ground is rocky, or where the land is unsuitable because of its exposed situation, or for other reasons. When these deductions had been made, the conclusion was as follows [3] :

> The area of land utilised for rough grazing, but capable of growing first-class coniferous timber of the same character as that imported, is not less than 3,000,000 and probably more than 5,000,000 acres

With reference to the 2,000,000 acres specially mentioned as now devoted to rough grazing or poor tillage, it is found that they could

> be devoted to timber production without decreasing the home production of meat by more than 0·7 per cent, and if so used would ultimately afford employment to at least ten times the number of men now engaged on that area.

On the whole, therefore, it is fair to say that there is in Great Britain sufficient land suitable and available for afforestation to provide us with about a third of our total annual requirements of timber in various forms, and that practically the whole of this land is now being wasted. This neglect of our national resources appears to have been overlooked by those panicky politicians who saved a few pounds in 1922 by stopping the cultivation of the seedlings necessary for the utilisation of this land.

Our existing woodlands, including those that were cleared

[2] 1918, Cd 8881, Report of the Reconstruction Committee Forestry Sub-committee (price 1*s*).

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 4, para 3

during the war period, amount to about 2,750,000 acres of woods, coppice, and hedgerow timber, but about 1,000,000 acres of them are described as scrub and coppice of next to no value, and to be 'classed only as wooded waste.'

Apart from the small extent of our existing woodlands, perhaps the most convincing revelation of the need for a national scheme of scientific afforestation was afforded by the examination of the yield and quality of such timber as we do produce. The yield from our woods was found to be less than 15 cubic feet per acre, whilst the average yield from the German State forests varied from 53 cubic feet in Prussia to 90 in Baden. But where there had been scientific afforestation it was shown that the British yield was excellent, and the quality of it, when the timber suitable for the district had been cultivated, was just as good in the case of conifers as anywhere else, and possibly better in the case of oak amongst the hardwoods. The quality of the bulk of our home-grown timber, however, owing to its variability, lack of grading, and unscientific method of growth, provided a more unsatisfactory record than its quantity. So much was this the case that at one period of the war Government departments which had to buy timber specifically laid down that British timber was not to be purchased or used, because it was so rough, short, and of poor quality. It is difficult to imagine a more damning commentary upon our former methods of afforestation.

For all practical purposes, therefore, the Forestry Commission had to begin from zero, and it is a long way from zero to that full utilisation of our resources at which we must ultimately aim. The Acland Committee in 1918 therefore took as a first objective the provision of a sufficient safeguard against a recurrence of the conditions then existing, and fixed on the planting of 1,777,000 acres as enough to ensure a full three years' supply when grown. They proposed that two-thirds of this area should be planted in the first forty years, and suggested that in the first ten years, in view of the time required for the development of nurseries, the growing of the seedlings, the training of the staff, and so forth, 200,000 acres should be the planting programme. It was estimated that 50,000 acres out of the total might be planted by public bodies and private owners under a system of grants-in-aid.

The Forestry Commission was appointed in 1919 to carry out this ten-year programme. Some of us pleaded hard that Parliament should be committed to the adoption of a twenty-year programme at least. We were disappointed; but perhaps we may hope that no Government will be so stupid as to stop the work at the end of the first ten years. The Commission had some help at the beginning from the nurseries that had already been established through the Board of Agriculture and the Development Commis-

sion, but they have made better progress in their early years than could have been expected in view of the short supply of trained forestry workers and the small provision for the planting of the seedlings. Their achievements, as compared with the programme from year to year, are as follows:

Conifers.

	Programme.	Area planted, acres.	Surplus +, deficit −.
1st Year, 1919–20 .	*Nil.*	1296	+1296
2nd Year, 1920–21 .	3300	6105	+2805
3rd Year, 1921–22 .	6700	10,517	+3817
4th Year, 1922–23 .	10,000	9807	− 193
5th Year, 1923–24	13,300	10,065	−3235
	33,300	37,790	

It is proposed that by the end of the tenth year the annual planting capacity shall amount to 30,000 acres. In addition to the plantations of conifers, 1679 acres of hardwoods of different kinds have been planted.

On the larger conifer programme therefore planting is 4500 acres in advance of the programme despite the fact that in the last, or fifth, year it was 3200 acres in arrear. The progressive augmentation of the planting, as nurseries develop and as staff and experience are gained, is, of course, the very essence of success, and excellent progress was being made until the Geddes Committee arrived on the scene.

That body recommended [4] that the whole effort should be abandoned, although the total expenditure of the Commission up to that time had not amounted to much more than 500,000*l.* in all, apart from the grant of 200,000*l.* due for 1922. But the Committee said that we could not afford to spend money at that rate in an enterprise that might not be a paying proposition, taken by itself, even with our grandchildren, and their only comment on the necessity for the anticipatory provision of national forests in a time of war was that 'the same might be said of home-grown wheat.' Perhaps it might, but if the only test to be applied is to consist of a cash-balance test, what are we to say of expenditure on the provision of a road, or, if it comes to that, on a 6-inch howitzer? Neither did the eminent shipowners on that Committee attach any importance to the fact that in the first two years of the war alone we had spent 37,000,000*l.* more in timber than we need have done if we had had our own forests. This great item (so insisted on by the Acland Committee) might have been taken into account, but it received no mention, in common

[4] Second Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, 1922, Cd. 1582, pp. 50—54 (price 3*s.*).

with the further circumstance that the expenditure was even greater during the last part of the war period. Very strangely also, they neglected to refer to the fact that 7,000,000 tons of shipping had been involved in this importation in the first two years of war, and that the diversion of this tonnage in 1917 nearly resulted in national famine. They did, however, discover that a serious objection to a scheme of national afforestation resided in the fact that many of the forests would be more than five miles from an existing line of railway 'as the crow flies.' Apparently it would have been more economical in their view to have devoted land that lay along the railwayside (and had therefore an enhanced commercial value) to the growing of trees. Sir Eric Geddes, anyhow, might have contemplated the possibility that in fifteen years or so, when the pitwood began to be cleared, it would have been possible to run a few trolley lines into the newly planted forests. But what necessity is there to labour the point? A couple of big liners—excellent targets for torpedoes—would only cost as much as the afforestation of 200,000 acres of land!

This intervention of the Geddes Committee provides the occasion for the Commissioners to make some of the frankest comments on changes of Government policy that I have seen in official documents. Their statement is:

> At the end of the second year they were nearly 3000 acres ahead of the programme At this point the Geddes Commission intervened . . . The advantage gained in the first two years was thus lost, and the rate of planting has, at the end of the fifth year, fallen 3000 acres behind the Acland programme The Commissioners are thus compelled to face, in exaggerated form, the precise difficulties they had planned to avoid.[5]

Later on they tell us that the changes

> completely dislocated the work of the Commission, when, for example, the expanding programme was dropped, the number of men in training had to be reduced, and ten promising forest officers were dismissed. Now that the expanding programme is resumed, the Commissioners find their work sorely hampered by the want of trained men.[6]

In another place, however, we are led to hope, 'provided there is no further change of policy,' from the decision of the late Government to resume the expanding programme, that the

> ground lost will be regained, and the whole ten years' programme accomplished within the time and money prescribed for the purpose by Parliament.'[7]

The episode provides an interesting illustration of the case that the late Viscount Milner made with so much force in his recent essays on the *Questions of the Hour*, that economy may

[5] P. 4 [6] P. 9. [7] P. 5.

sometimes prove to be an extravagance, indeed a waste. In work of this kind, as the Commissioners rightly say, 'instability of purpose is the bane of an undertaking which depends more than any other or timely preparation.[8]

Apart from these emergencies, the Report of the Forestry Commissioners gives a glimpse of the social values attached to afforestation, but there are two or three other matters of importance which merit earlier comment. The position with regard to the acquisition of land does not seem to be satisfactory. Acquisition must necessarily be substantially in advance of planting, not only because it is wise to have a margin to make use of in times of unemployment and to provide for the preliminary work of clearing, preparation, destruction of rabbits, and so forth, but because it is important to spread the planting of an area over a term of years, so that the forest ultimately may contain trees of different ages and thus afford continuous employment and yield of timber The programme anticipated the acquisition of 165,200 acres of plantable land by the end of the fifth year, but the amount acquired has fallen short of this by 23,730 acres, and more than 20,000 acres of this deficit are attributable to the operations of the past year.

The Commissioners themselves say that 'the margin on which they have hitherto been working is too narrow. In practice it has been found a false economy to work on so narrow a margin.' This is certainly true, but the margin would have been narrower still last year if it had not been for the munificence of Mr. H. J. Younger in making the Commission a gift of 10,000 acres of land, of which 2500 are plantable. The Report contains no explanation of this shortage of acquisition, which the Commissioners themselves deplore, and it would be interesting to know more about it

The total area of land so far acquired in Great Britain is 207,718 acres, of which 136,604 are described as plantable; but the distribution of this land and the proportion of it plantable in the different countries are contrary to the anticipations of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion,[9] and of the Acland Committee, who found that out of the 8,500,000 acres of plantable land in Great Britain no less than 6,000,000 were in Scotland. But the acquisitions of the Forestry Commission show that of the 78,453 acres so far acquired in England and Wales 76,312 are returned as plantable, whilst of the 129,265 acres acquired in Scotland only 60,292 are plantable. No doubt the proportion of wilder and high level land is higher in Scotland than England and Wales, but the disproportion is so great that we ought to have some further information upon it.

[8] P 9 [9] 1909, Cd. 4460.

The prices paid are remarkably near those anticipated by the Reconstruction Committee, who estimated that the land would cost an average of 3*l.* an acre for purchase and 3*s.* per annum for lease or feu. The actual cost for purchase so far averages 2*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* per acre, or, if the whole cost were charged against the plantable land, 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* per acre; the corresponding figures of the land acquired by lease or feu being 1*s.* 4*d.* per acre of the land as a whole and 2*s.* 4*d.* if assessed on that plantable only. The fact, however, that sundry receipts by the Commission amounted to nearly 50,000*l.* during the last year, apart from the receipts obtained from the recently transferred Crown woods, shows that it would not be fair to attribute the whole cost to the plantable land, so that the costs of acquisition so far incurred appear to be most favourable. It is to be hoped also that in subsequent Reports the Commission will give us further information as to the basis of the acquisition. There was a long struggle in 1918 in regard to the basis of the acquisition of land required for the provision of small holdings and allotments for returned ex-service men. As Minister of Reconstruction, I urged that the basis of purchase should be the payment of a perpetual rentcharge, and that if it were not so, the scheme would ultimately break down owing to the sinkage of too much capital in out-and-out purchase. My proposal was subsequently examined in detail and recommended by a Committee under Lord Cave, but notwithstanding our strong pleadings, when Mr. Lloyd George was in a hurry over the General Election of 1918, these recommendations were put aside, and the more spectacular provision of 20,000,000*l.* for out-and-out purchase was substituted. This proposal, of course, knocked the bottom out of the carefully prepared plans, and we all know now that when that money was spent, and hard times came again, the provision of land for approved applicants amongst the ex-service men was brought to a standstill. What applied to land required for small holdings applies with added force to that suitable for forestry. Up to the present, both in England and Wales and in Scotland, about two-thirds of the forest land have been acquired by lease or feu, and about one-third by purchase. Short of ownership a perpetual lease is, of course, the only sound tenure for forest land. This, perhaps, applies to the leases obtained by the Commission, but it would be well to have the fact definitely stated.

One of the most cheering pieces of information in the Report is that steps are at last being taken to remedy a serious omission that was made when the Commission was set up. A forest authority must clearly have sufficient independence to be able to concentrate upon its work without the pull of other departmental considerations, but the initial separation of the

scheme from the provision of small holdings was a blunder. The Commission, it is true, could make some progress in the utilisation of such cottages and buildings as existed on the land acquired, but it was not, so we are told, 'until the late Government gave the word to go ahead' last autumn, that any substantial beginning could be made. Forest holdings are essential to the work of forestry itself as well as to the proper use of parts of the land acquired, because forest work is most abundant in the winter when that on the holdings is slack, and *vice versâ.* It would often be difficult or impossible for holders to make a living out of the holdings alone, and this accounts for the derelict position of much of the useful land included in most of the forest areas. But the Commission is able to guarantee 150 days' work in each year to each holder, so that forest holdings can be established and a stable population in the forest areas afforded a secure livelihood. One holding to about every 200 acres of forest appears to be the average, and each holding consists, as a rule, of a cottage with a maximum of 10 acres of cultivated land, with additional grazing as may be available. Moreover, forest holdings under a scheme of this kind lend themselves particularly to the establishment of all sorts of co-operative methods of working and enterprises amongst the workers, in transport, marketing and in other ways. The seventy-two holdings already available are mainly those derived from such cottages as were previously existing, but the Commission is already engaged upon the provision of 141 more. At present, of course, the scheme is in its very infancy, and applicable only to a few thousand acres of forest. When, however, it comes to apply to hundreds of thousands, or, let us hope, eventually to those millions of acres that are suitable, it is evident that forest holdings contain possibilities of self-supporting work on land, now practically derelict, of immense value.

The numbers of workers of different kinds employed by the Commission closely correspond with the forecast of the Reconstruction Committee, and show that afforestation cannot be looked to for making rapidly any large deduction from the present appalling figures of unemployment, although ultimately the number of forest workers will be great.

The 37,000 acres already planted under the direct authority of the Commission (with most of the trees less than three years old, and with 10,000 of them planted during the past year) afforded employment to 2650 men in the winter, and to a minimum of 1620 in the summer. The grants out of the unemployment allowance that were made in aid of planting by public bodies or private individuals provided additional work to the extent of 30,000 man-weeks, but when both schemes are taken

account of the total number of those employed is not great as yet. When land has been obtained, as it should be, on a greater scale than has been done at present, extra work can undoubtedly be provided on anticipatory road-making, clearance and other work in aid of unemployment, but this, of course, does not affect the aggregate amount of work available in the long run. If plants were provided, the area to be planted, we are told, could be doubled in from three to four years.

Apart from those directly employed in the forest work, a vigorous forest-holding policy would provide work in many other directions for those in touch with the forest communities, and the Acland Committee estimated that an additional settled population of about 75,000 per 1,000,000 acres of forest could be looked for, so that, so far as the afforestation itself is concerned, the planting and development of the 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 acres available would probably lead to the settlement, in those at present unused areas, of something over 300,000 persons, apart from others dependent upon them and engaged in the collateral industries that always spring up in forest areas. Whatever the ultimate figure may be, however, and although the numbers capable of being employed quickly may be disappointing to some sanguine people who have looked to afforestation as a rapid means of providing additional employment, it is unquestionable that the settlement and steady employment, under healthy conditions, of so large a population would provide a national asset of enormous value.

The amount of planting that the Commissioners estimate would be carried out during the ten years by public bodies and private individuals who receive grants in aid is much greater than was anticipated by the Reconstruction Committee. The forecast was for 50,000 acres during the ten years, but the Commissioners estimate that the planting may amount to 110,000 acres. The first figure has indeed been nearly reached already, for nearly 23,000 acres are already planted, with a further 18,000 prepared for planting, and an additional 7000 acres cleared of scrub. These schemes have been assisted out of the grants for unemployment, and, seeing that these moneys were not available until 1921–22, the progress has been astonishingly rapid. They may, perhaps, be somewhat deceptive, as the very large decline of the area prepared for planting during the past year, from 6075 acres in 1922-23 to 2772 in 1923-24, rather suggests that at the beginning a sort of reservoir was tapped, and that this work may slow down. Nevertheless, in view of what the Reconstruction Committee and other bodies found as to the character generally of private plantings, more information on the conditions attaching to the grants should be forthcoming. A private owner cannot as a rule

afford to take long views, and hitherto, as already stated, the timber yield of our private plantations has been most unsatisfactory. The Acland Committee told us [10]:

> The problem of bringing woods in private ownership to a uniform state of high productivity has not yet been satisfactorily solved, though many countries have attacked it energetically.

Germany, perhaps, has attacked this problem as energetically as any, but there, whilst the total yield per acre of all the German forests when the vast privately owned forests were included was only 27½ cubic feet in 1899 and 1900, the lowest yield from the State forests was 53 cubic feet in Prussia. It may be that the spread of interest and the adoption of more scientific methods, coupled with conditions attaching to grants made by the Commission, may rapidly raise the standard of private afforestation in this country, but we are entitled to require a more scientific system of planting as a condition of the grants that are made. In these days of unemployment, however, and in view of the small amount of grants, it could not fairly be suggested that the Commission should be meticulous or harassing. Nevertheless, the grants do afford the only machinery available for improving the standard of private planting. They appear to have covered about half the cost involved, and there can be no doubt, I think, that the money has been well spent, certainly vastly better spent than it would have been by using the same amount for the outright payment of benefits with no useful return either to the worker or the community. The total cost per acre to the Commission itself of planting and weeding, the cost of plants and all preparatory work, averaged about 7*l*. 10*s*. per acre, and the grants in aid were up to 4*l*. 10*s* per acre in the case of corporate bodies and up to 3*l*. for private individuals.

It would, I think, be difficult to improve upon the summary which the Reconstruction Committee gave of the relative functions of the State and of the private planter in the case of forestry. Essentially the difference depends upon the human fact that the life of an individual is short, whilst the life of the State is long. Their finding was as follows:

> In this matter the State cannot stand aside and wait for private individuals to act; it must give a lead It must risk its own money if there is to be any real prospect of private individuals risking theirs, and bold action by the State in the early stages, if it be as wisely directed as we hope it will be, will be the best means in the long run of securing the active co-operation of private owners. The returns from afforestation are distant, and even if there is every prospect that profits will accrue they are long delayed. But the State can afford to take long views, and when private owners become convinced that the long view is likely to be justified by

[10] P. 32.

results, they also may not be afraid to venture if the State gives a reasonable amount of encouragement. We do not believe that State afforestation means expensive and inefficient action. On the contrary, we have the long experience of all the countries in which forestry has reached a high pitch of development, and the promising methods of management in certain of the Crown woods of recent years, to prove the opposite. The success of forestry depends very largely upon the continuity of methods of treatment over long periods, and upon the systematic collection and analysis of data over well-defined areas and under varied conditions. This is essentially work for the State.

There is a further and wider aspect of afforestation policy. It is not dealt with by the Commission, save in the Summary of Timber Imports for 1924, but it arises very definitely out of their Report. From time to time I have used some of my leisure in looking over the reports that were made to me as Minister of Reconstruction in 1917 and 1918, but in none of them have the forecasts been fulfilled with a more literal, and almost uncanny, accuracy than in this matter of afforestation. Our imports of timber and wood of all kinds cost us a little over 34,000,000*l*. in 1913, but in 1924 practically an identical quantity of material cost rather more than 66,000,000*l* This extra 32,000,000*l*. is payment for material at least a third of which we could grow at home if we had the mind and perseverance to do so. A figure like this seems to make the short-sightedness of the Geddes Committee, in seeking to save 200,000*l*. by arresting an effort to stem such an appalling drain on our resources, assume a grotesque disproportion. It is, indeed, so pitiful that further comment is impossible. The imports of timber also absorb 13 per cent. of every ton of shipping that comes into British ports.—And we ought never to forget the year 1917.

One of the most prophetic and detailed Reports on our future timber position was made to the Government in 1918 by Mr. E. P. Stebbing. In that Report Mr Stebbing prophesied that it might be that in the post-war period our annual wood imports might ll come to cost us 73,000,000*l*., and in view of the fact that, withstanding the bad trade last year, the cost in 1924 was 4,000,000*l*. more than in 1923, it is evident that his forecast v to come true.

happens that the 10,276,000 loads imported in 1924 are a han the imports of 1913 alone, but nearly identical with of 10,204,000 loads of the five pre-war years. I have e any critical and informed analysis of the later overseas supplies, but the analyses by Mr. Stebbing construction Committee of the imports of 1913 applicable to-day. Of the 10,431,000 loads imore than 9,000,000 came from five sources, as

Russia	5,196,826
Sweden	1,759,417
France	984,331
Canada and Newfoundland	897,217
United States of America	511,351
	9,349,142

For some years the imports from Norway and Sweden have been substantially declining, and the annual cut, even before the excessive fellings of the war period, had exceeded the annual growth. From France also, for similar reasons, increased supplies cannot be looked for. The United States also are sending us less and less timber. Notwithstanding their own vast forests, they are increasingly importing from Canada, and the governing fact of geography is determining the current of Canadian supplies. The course of it is sufficiently indicated by the following short table:

Canadian Exports of Forest Produce.

	To U K Dollars	To U S A. Dollars
1892	9,454,000	11,472,000
1912	10,951,000	25,484,000

Owing mainly to this deflection of Canadian produce, the proportion of our timber supplies from Empire sources fell from 22 per cent. in 1899 to 10 per cent. in 1913. In all these cases also the war period and its resulting conditions have operated to our detriment. With the most active forest policy at home, we cannot look for any great measure of relief from home sources for a considerable number of years, and it is on that account that all the authorities directed our attention with increasing emphasis to the Russian and Siberian market.

The Acland Committee said:

Russia, as will be evident from the facts already given, is now the crux of the whole question. She is, and has been for several years, the only source on which we could, under present conditions, rely to make good the decline in our imports of coniferous timber from other countries and meet our ever-expanding demand.

In the twenty years preceding the war the imports of Russian and Siberian timber more than doubled, until at last, as we have seen, they came to equal the imports of all other countries put together. Nevertheless, the mighty forests of these lands are as yet almost untapped. We are told [11] that the total extent of true forest land in Russia and Siberia is estimated at 814,000 square miles, or nearly three times as great as the total timber land of the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. Stebbing went into great detail in the description and location of the Russian and Siberian forests, and into the ways

[11] P. 19.

and means of obtaining concessions for their development, an
appears that a great proportion could advantageously be worl
from the Archangel area. This is not the place to criticise
policy we appear to be pursuing at present in regard to Rus
but, hateful as some of the methods of its present rulers u
doubtedly are, our dislike of them should not blind us to t
unescapable fact that any attempt to put Russia into a sort
trade Coventry is the way to produce a timber famine in Brita
Full details of all these things are available to the Governme
and it might perhaps be useful if the Foreign Office were remind
of some of them, and better still, perhaps, if some of those nev
papers that devote so much space to the advertisement of Mo
sieur Zinovieff and a handful of Communists at home were
turn their skilful propagandists on to a discussion of the best w
of securing the development of these vast resources which, fo
long time to come, will be of such great importance to our ov
people. For the moment, however, those of us who think or spe
like this are as 'voices crying in the wilderness,' but the dang
involved in any policy that leads to the curtailment or insufficie
development of those supplies certainly emphasises the importan
of pressing on with the work at home.

First and last, however, I think we are justified in insisti
that afforestation schemes should not be looked at simply a
solely from the point of view of the cash return they are likely
give, although at present prices they would no doubt be justifi
on that basis alone. They produce social and national values th
may be even more important than the production of the wo
itself. These values are expressed in terms of a healthy and co
tented population as well as in terms of wealth, and the impo
ance of them warrants, in conclusion, the quotation of the exc
lent summary of the case that was made by the Acland Committ
in 1918 [12]:

> It is on such values that the strength of nations depends. In order
> increase them it has long been the custom for the State in other countr
> to expend very large sums of public money either in planting for itself
> in encouraging public bodies and private persons to plant. In some cas
> as in the afforestation of the lands in France, the sands and heaths
> Denmark, and the high moors of Belgium, the hope of direct profit is ve
> remote, but the fact that areas hitherto valueless have been render
> permanently habitable and productive is held to justify the initial co
> even though it may not be wholly recovered. The construction of fore
> is regarded in the same light as the construction of roads, bridges, brea
> waters, etc., which are of definite national value, though the capital su
> in them may produce no direct return and cannot be recovered. Happi
> in this country there lies between us and such difficult and costly proble
> a vast area of good forest soil where the results of afforestation, direct a
> indirect, promise to be far more encouraging.

CHRISTOPHER ADDISON.

12 P. ...

ENGLISH POOR RELIEF METHODS THROUGH FOREIGN EYES

SOME years ago a distinguished foreign Poor Law administrator, who had long cherished a profound admiration of England and English ways, paid us a visit. He came as a student, he was careful to explain: he wished to see for himself how the work done in his country by the department of which he was the chief was done here; he wished, too, to learn, so far as he could from what he saw, new methods of working, new lines on which to organise. Moreover, he was, as he frankly confessed, curious to know how the treatment meted out to the poor in England compared with the treatment meted out to them in his own country; whether, in fact, the poor as a whole fared very much better here than there. That they must in many respects fare better here than there he was sure, not only because England spends much more money per head on her poor than his country, but also because she has had wider experience in dealing with them officially.

He began his investigations by paying a visit to one of our model Poor Law schools. He was delighted with the house, and little wonder, for it was a fine large building standing in a beautiful garden. Every room was prettily decorated; even the bath-rooms were painted a delicate green, and every room was as neat and clean as hands could make it. His face beamed with pleasure as he went from room to room, with pleasure and something akin to amazement. Never before had he seen so fine a Poor Law institution, he declared, in his odd medley of three different tongues. 'Why, were I seeking a school for my own son, I could not wish for a better,' he exclaimed.

He watched with keen eyes the boys at their sports; he examined their drawings, listened while a lecture was being given to them. He even looked at their clothes and tasted the food they were to have for dinner. And he was lavish with his praise of everything. He pronounced the whole institution perfect, in fact, alike in organisation and management. So far as he could judge, the teaching was excellent, he said; and so were the manners and demeanour of the boys. And he could speak on the

subject with authority, for he had in his time inspected many institutions in his own country and elsewhere.

His admiration of the school was manifestly sincere; none the less he gave an odd little laugh when, on their way back to town, his English guide, who was, as it chanced, an old friend, suggested to him that he should organise a school on the same lines for the children under his care.

'No, I certainly will not!' he exclaimed emphatically. 'Every boy in that school costs as much as many a decent family has to live on in our country. We could not afford to spend on our Poor Law boys so much as is spent on those boys. And if we could, we would not. Such a school, although excellent no doubt for English boys, would not do at all for our boys. If our boys were brought up as those boys are, they would never be willing to stay on the land, or work with their hands. They would all wish to flock into towns, wear black coats, and be officials or clerks; and we have already only too many of that sort. Besides, fathers and mothers who are bringing up their own children would soon be in arms if our Poor Law children, whom they must help to support, were living in all that luxury while their own children had perhaps to rough it. Then it would not be good for our Poor Law children to be brought up so differently from those other children. It would separate them from their own people, take them out of their own class without putting them into any other. What we try to do is to bring them up just as those other children are brought up. We board them out with the parents of those other children; then they all fare alike, and go to school together. We watch over them, of course, see that they are kindly treated; and if any of them show signs of special talent, we take care to have it cultivated.'

He paused for a moment and then added meditatively: 'Our children turn out well as a rule. Our system yields good results, I think. What do you think?' he inquired, turning to his guide; 'you have seen some of our boys.'

'Yes, and a finer, stronger, or more intelligent set of youngsters I never saw anywhere, or a happier,' was the reply.

'At any rate, they are more vigorous than the boys at that school, better able therefore to fight their own battles and make their own way in the world,' the visitor remarked. 'So at least it seems to me, but I may be wrong. And they cost us only about a third of what those boys cost you, and we must count the cost. We have no spare money to lavish about. Moreover, although we wish to do the best we can for our Poor Law boys, that best must not be better, we hold, than the best the average working man can do for his own children. That school is certainly perfect in its way; and here in England, a rich country, it

no doubt serves some very good purpose. In our country, however, it would do harm; of that I am sure. Even if it did not demoralise the children who were there, it would stir up bad feeling among their friends and relatives outside. I am very glad to have seen it, but copy it!—no, that I will not.'

His next visit was to a workhouse, one that ranks among the best in England. The size of the building evidently made a great impression on him; so did the number of the inmates, the number, too, of the officials in smart uniforms. In the workhouse, as in the school, he found much to admire, for everything was in perfect order, and clean as clean could be. The rooms were all well warmed, most of the seats had backs, and the beds were very comfortable, more comfortable, he said, than the bed of the average working man in his country. As for the ward in which the old ladies were sitting, it was quite charming; infinite trouble had evidently been taken to make it bright and cosy for them. And they themselves were nicely dressed; their hair was neat; their whole appearance, indeed, was spick and span. The visitor spent quite a long time with them, trying so far as he could, with his scant supply of English, to get into touch with them.

'Those old ladies are certainly well cared for and kindly treated,' he remarked when in the corridor, with the door of their ward securely shut. 'They ought to be very happy; but they don't seem as if they were.' He glanced at his guide, with a questioning look in his eyes.

'No, they don't seem very happy,' the guide admitted. 'Most of them seem depressed, while some look quite miserable.'

'It is the same here as elsewhere, I suppose,' the visitor remarked. 'Worthy old people—and there are some very worthy old people in that room—are always more or less miserable, I find, if they are shut up with the worthless. The worthless make them miserable. One wicked old harridan can easily make the lives of a whole roomful of decent folk a burden to them. That is why we have given up housing harridans with decent folk; for the decent folk suffered while the harridans were quite happy; and that, we felt, was unfair.'

From the old ladies' ward he went to the great hall, where dinner was just going to be served. He watched the inmates come streaming in and take up their places. There were hundreds of them of all sorts and conditions, of all ages, men and women in the prime of life, young men and girls, and folk who looked as if they were ninety. Most of them belonged evidently to the ne'er-do-well class, through weakness, though, rather than vice, unless their faces belied them. Dotted about among them, however, there was quite a fair number of decent-looking folk, a fair number, too, of folk who looked the veriest scoundrels.

'Why, those are what you call gaol-birds, are they not?' the visitor inquired of a workhouse official after scanning some of the inmates over carefully. 'What are they doing here?'

When he was told that they were there because they were destitute, he seemed surprised.

'But those other men, at that same table, look quite respectable!'

'Yes, probably they are respectable; but they too are destitute.'

'Then you house all who are destitute here, whether they are criminals or decent men, whether they are destitute through misfortune or because they will not work?'

'Yes, we must,' the official replied. 'Our workhouses are provided as refuges for the destitute. Everyone who is destitute has the right to come here. We cannot refuse to take him in even though he comes straight from prison'

'But if a respectable man comes, one whom misfortune has befallen?'

'We take him in, of course.'

'But do you put him with the gaol-birds? Must he work, eat, and sleep with them?'

'Yes, he must. He does not come here unless he is destitute, and all the destitute are equal; they must therefore fare alike. Distinctions cannot be made in a workhouse.'

The visitor looked startled. 'Are all workhouses the same as this?' he inquired.

'The law is the same for them all, and they all are, or ought to be, worked on the same lines; for they are all just refuges for those who are at the end of their resources.' The official hesitated for a moment and then added: 'Still some are much better than others. It all depends on the Guardians.'

By that time the inmates were eating their dinners, and very good dinners they were, the visitor declared. All the food was good, he said; and he had tasted it while visiting the kitchen. As for the beef, that he pronounced excellent. Excellent for the young and strong who had good teeth, he meant, he explained later, not for the feeble or those whose teeth were failing them. They could not eat it, he was sure. And evidently he was right; for when dinner was over a good half of the food served was left on some of the plates, a fact to which he drew his guide's attention.

'Now we should call that sheer waste,' he remarked thoughtfully; 'but then we must be thrifty. It is different here, of course. England is rich. Still I do not understand why even in England a little old man should be expected to eat as much as a great stalwart fellow. Is it because they are all on a par and must fare alike that each one of them has the same amount

of food put on his plate? I don't wonder your workhouses are costly institutions.'

He wondered still less when he went to the workshops and saw the sort of work some of the inmates were doing, the leisurely fashion, too, in which they were doing it. 'Why, those fellows will never earn a tithe of what they cost!' he exclaimed. 'Yet they look quite strong and well, as if they could do hard work. Your able-bodied inmates seem to have a good time of it here.'

'It would be better for them if it were not so good,' he informed his guide later. 'If they were made to work harder and taught how to work more skilfully while in the workhouse, they would be more inclined, better able too, to work hard and support themselves when they come out.'

In the course of his wanderings he came across a man who was just leaving the workhouse. He had committed some offence, the official said, and had claimed his discharge to escape punishment.

'Do you mean that the inmates may leave when they choose?' he asked.

'Yes, we cannot prevent their leaving,' the official replied. 'We have no power to detain them.'

'But when once they leave, you have done with them, I suppose. They can never return?'

'Oh yes, they can,' the official said grimly. 'That man may return to-morrow if he chooses Yes, and if he does return, he cannot be punished for what he did before he left. He will start again with a clean slate, for bygones are bygones here. That is the law.'

The visitor's amazement was unbounded. Evidently it passed his wit to understand how a Poor Law institution where that law was in force could be worked. Such an institution could not be worked in his country, he said; and he looked at the official with lively sympathy in his eyes. The making of bricks without straw was as nothing, he seemed to think, compared with the work that man was given to do.

The official drew his attention to a pretty girl who was passing. 'She also has taken her discharge,' he said. 'She will be back here, though, in the maternity ward too, before the year is out. They always do come back, those girls. That's the pity of it.'

'Yet you let them go out?' There was more than surprise in the visitor's voice as he spoke.

'We must. It is the law,' was the answer.

When he had seen all that he wished to see in the workhouse, the visitor was taken to the casual ward. Now while in the workhouse he had again and again expressed keen appreciation of the great material comfort in which the inmates lived and the kind

treatment they received. There was much to be learnt there, he said, especially in the infirmary wards. For the casual wards attached to the workhouse he had, however, not one word of praise. On the contrary, he condemned them root and branch as soon as the official, whose feelings he did not wish to hurt, was beyond earshot. For he found the casuals breaking stones in full view of passers-by, each one housed in a sort of cage, with an iron grating before it, like the cages in which wild beasts are housed in travelling menageries.

'To exhibit men in cages fit only for wild beasts is to demoralise them irredeemably, to rob them for ever of any good they have in them,' he exclaimed indignantly. 'A decent man may go into that cage, but he will be a hopeless wastrel when he comes out, with his hand against his fellows, too. Now that is the way paupers are manufactured.' He was quite sorrowful, so sorrowful that he refused to see anything more that day.

Later he visited other casual wards, other workhouses, schools, out-relief stations, and institutions of various kinds, some that were good, others that were bad, one workhouse that was very bad. And it was only a short distance from the model workhouse he had visited. That in the same town there should be two workhouses differing so fundamentally from each other struck him as being quite extraordinary.

'I do not understand why this workhouse should be so very comfortless compared with the other,' he said. 'Why should the inmates here fare so much worse than the inmates fare there? They all seem to be much of the same class, and both houses must be under the same control.'

It was explained to him that in England workhouses are not all under the same control; that, on the contrary, each workhouse is under the control of its own Poor Law Guardians, locally elected, honorary officials, who are practically free to decide for themselves how the inmates shall fare, whether they shall live in comfort, with good square meals every day, or in squalor and on short commons. That arrangement, too, he evidently regarded as very extraordinary.

'But the money they spend, those honorary officials, who provides them with it? who decides how much they may spend?' he inquired.

'They decide for themselves,' the workhouse official replied. 'They fix the amount of the poor rate, and can make it higher or lower as they choose.'

The visitor looked at the man sharply, as if he suspected him of indulging in a joke. Anyway, there was a mistake somewhere, he was sure. For that such an arrangement could actually be in force was evidently quite beyond his belief. He, therefore,

promptly set to work to make inquiries wherever he went with regard to the functions of Poor Law Guardians and the power they wield, with regard also to the sort of higher authorities they have. For he was bent on making himself thoroughly acquainted with our poor relief system, on seeing how it worked, and the results it yielded.

'Your poor relief system is of quite special interest,' he remarked when, having done what he wished to do, he was on the point of leaving England. He admitted, when he in his turn was plied with questions, that it was not a system that could be worked in his own country, or in any other country that he knew, except in England.

'You English seem to have a perfect genius for doing what other people cannot do,' he remarked, 'for making machinery work which no other people would ever dream of tackling. Of course you are rich, and the rich can do many things that the poor cannot do; still in this case it is not merely a question of money; although I doubt whether in any other country the ratepayers would stand aside patiently, as they do here, while their money was being spent so lavishly as it must be spent under your relief system. Why, the amount of money spent here is enormous. King's ransom, indeed! Why, you spend more on your poor every year than all the kings' ransoms ever paid. If we in our country took to spending money on the same scale, there would soon be an uproar; and what would happen to my colleagues and me I really don't know. If we wish to be left in peace, we must be able to show a good return for every penny we spend. Now here it is quite different: no one here seems to trouble very much as to what sort of a return is obtained. That comes of being rich, I suppose. Yes, your poor relief system is extremely interesting. It is very costly, of course; still . . .'

Beyond that he would not go: not one word could he be induced to say as to how the treatment of the poor in England compared with their treatment in his country; and when he was asked what he thought of the return we obtain for the money we spend on the poor, he promptly fled. Some time later, however, when he was again in his own land, he admitted frankly, in talking things over with his English ex-guide, that our whole relief system was in sore need of bettering, as it was bad alike from the humanitarian's point of view and the economist's.

'In spite of all the money you spend on their relief, your poor as a whole are not well cared for,' he maintained. 'Your invalid poor are very well cared for; your children too are cared for very well, if not very wisely. But as for the rest! Why, the better they are the worse you treat them. In your workhouses the worthless live in comfort while the worthy live in misery. And

for that the system is to blame; it is a bad system, fundamentally bad. Under it the destitute are all on a par, whether good, bad or middling, whether respectable men and women, penniless through no fault of their own, or lazy, vicious vagabonds. They may all be housed together, all made to fare alike. Could anything be more flagrantly unjust, or more stupidly cruel? It actually penalises merit and puts a premium on vice. For to be forced to live side by side with the vicious is for a decent man a real hardship, a source of endless humiliation and suffering, while it is no hardship at all for the vicious to be forced to live side by side with a decent man—they may find it quite a pleasant change. That all-on-a-par regulation is enough in itself to vitiate the whole system. So long as it is in force, workhouse life must be intolerable for the more respectable of the inmates, no matter how much money you spend on trying to make them comfortable.

'To put all the destitute on a par is a senseless proceeding,' he continued after a long pause. 'All your workhouse methods, indeed, are senseless. Nothing could be more senseless, or more wasteful, than to manufacture paupers, seeing that, when they are manufactured, you must support them. And in your workhouses they are manufactured, must inevitably be manufactured. For they who go there are not only given board and lodging, but they are encouraged to stay. They are not allowed to go out to seek work unless they take their discharge; and even then they must go without a penny in their pockets, or even a crust of bread. For they have no chance in the workhouse of earning a few shillings wherewith to buy food while trying to make a fresh start in life; no chance of learning how to work skilfully, so as to be able to make a fresh start successfully. Thus, no matter how long they may stay, when they leave they are not a whit better able to make their own living than when they arrived. The chances are, indeed, they are less able, for they leave with the workhouse taint clinging to them; they may have fallen into the workhouse habit and have lost any wish they ever had to earn their own living. It must be very hard for even a decent, industrious man to spend a month in a workhouse without being turned into a pauper.'

Our poor relief administration found as little favour in the eyes of this foreign expert as the relief itself. To allow, as we do, the Poor Law to be administered by honorary officials, who, as they are popularly elected, have, perhaps, had neither training for nor experience in the work, is in itself a risky proceeding both for the ratepayers and the poor, according to him; while to leave these amateurs without an official chairman to guide them, without an effective higher authority, is a very dangerous proceeding, although less dangerous, perhaps, in England than

elsewhere. Still even in England such a system must entail great waste, he maintained, as the average Board of Guardians cannot know how to deal with money on a large scale, how to spend it profitably, and so obtain for it a good return. It must also entail unfair treatment for the poor, and with it the chance of great hardship. For under such a system there can be neither equality in the treatment of the poor nor yet continuity: each Board may treat the poor differently, and every Board may change its treatment after every election. To decree that all the destitute should be on a par, should therefore be treated alike, and then allow every Board of Guardians to treat them as it chooses, struck him as being quite absurdly illogical. For it meant that the poor might be treated very kindly in one village or street and harshly in the very next. And as proof of his contention he cited the case of the two workhouses he had visited, one where the poor fare very well, the other where they fare badly, although both are in the same town. That such a state of things should be possible was, he held, fraught with mischief all round.

'Railing against our poor relief system is sheer waste of time,' the ex-guide, at length, ventured to remind him. 'We all know that it is bad, very bad, but what can be done to better it? That is what we wish to learn.'

'Make a clean sweep, to begin with,' was the answer given with a growl. 'So long as you have uncontrolled Poor Law administrators, bettering is out of the question. It is not so much the fact of your Poor Law Guardians being elected, or being honorary, that makes them harmful, it is their being given a free hand. Their clerk cannot force them to act on his advice, nor can even their higher authority, the Minister, force them to do anything that they do not wish to do, unless it be not to spend money. So long as that is the state of things, there can be neither equality, nor yet continuity, in the treatment of the poor; and unless there be both, the treatment must be unjust as well as wasteful. If every Board of Guardians had as chairman, or what you like, an expert official adviser who could speak with authority, and also a central higher authority who could enforce his decrees, there might be some chance of their doing their work satisfactorily; but as it is there is none.

'Then bettering is also out of the question so long as your Poor Law decrees that a man—worse still, a woman—must be destitute before he can obtain relief,' he continued. 'Now of all enactments that is surely the most stupid. Why, under a common-sense system, the purpose for which poor relief is given is more often than not to help the poor not to become destitute, help them, if they are decent folk, to tide over evil days and thus secure them against the risk of becoming paupers. Under your

system the poor, even the respectable poor, are practically forced to become paupers, if misfortune befalls them suddenly; for you refuse to help them until they are destitute; then, if they accept what you offer them, they straightway become paupers; and the damage is done. That destitution-test enactment must certainly go, if either your ratepayers or your poor are ever to have fair treatment. And with it must go the all-on-a-par enactment, which is equally wasteful and cruel. So long as in the eyes of the law the poor who receive relief are all on a par, any attempt to better your relief system is foredoomed. England must classify her poor, must keep each class apart from other classes, and treat those in each class, so far as possible, according to their merits, if she wishes to deal fairly either with the poor or with the ratepayers who must support them.'

'Classify the poor!' the English ex-guide exclaimed in dismay. 'That is impossible, our Poor Law officials declare. It cannot be done, they say, in towns so large as ours.'

'That is absurd,' the foreign expert replied impatiently. 'Even in London you classify your criminals. You don't club together murderers and petty pilferers. It is difficult work; that I know, for I have helped to do it. It needs infinite patience as well as skill; but it can be done. It has been done, indeed, and in countries where the Poor Law officials are less efficient than in England. And it must be done, for until the poor are classified they can never be treated either justly or wisely, humanely or even economically, never be treated as each one of them ought to be treated. To the worthless too much will be given, to the worthy too little; the former will live in comfort, the latter in misery. The lazy will neither be forced to work nor taught how to work, while decent men and women will be left to face disaster without a helping hand. Meanwhile the manufacturing of paupers will, of course, go on, and the ratepayers' money will be wasted.'

That was the burden of the foreign expert's preaching, although not always given quite in his own words.

EDITH SELLERS.

JAPANESE NAVAL POLICY

To Englishmen the Japanese Navy has always been an object of peculiar interest. They are conscious that Japan's problem of defence is fundamentally similar to their own, adequate sea power being in either case the first condition of national security. Moreover, they recall with pride that the fleets which won renown at the Yalu and Tsushima were in large measure the products of British naval genius. Of the ships present at both actions the majority were of British construction, whilst many of the officers had studied their profession under British supervision. Generous testimony on this head was offered by Count Okuma in his *History of Fifty Years*, in the course of which he wrote :

> We are indebted to Western experts for the inception and subsequent development of our navy, especially to the British Government for the courteous loan of a number of their capable naval officers to serve as instructors at the Cadets' College, Tokyo. The men of deeds and ability that the Imperial Navy now possesses are the direct consequence of the tuition then granted us by British officers.

The sentiments of friendship for Japan and admiration for her navy which were so pronounced in England during the period of the alliance have not by any means disappeared. Here, at least, there is no trace of an anti-Japanese spirit, nor is it easy to persuade the average Englishman that the growing military power of that Far Eastern empire is, or can ever become, a potential menace to British interests. This robust faith in the permanence of Japanese goodwill is doubtless an excellent thing, since popular sentiment is, after all, the factor that chiefly determines international relationships. But in this particular instance more confidence might be felt in the tranquillising effect of British friendship for Japan if it were general throughout the Empire, instead of being, as it is, confined to the Mother Country. To Australians, to New Zealanders, and even to Canadians, there is nothing fantastic in the idea of Japan as a future enemy. They therefore watch her military preparations with less complacency than is manifested in England. No good purpose is to be served by turning a blind eye to the cleavage that exists between British and Dominion views on this question. Since the claim of the

Dominions to a share in directing the foreign policy of the Empire has been fully conceded, it would clearly be imprudent to ignore the weight of their influence whenever important issues affecting the Empire's relations with Japan arise. But this reminder is perhaps superfluous in view of recent developments in the naval sphere, such as the decision to proceed with the dockyard works at Singapore, the reinforcement of the China and East Indies squadrons, and, above all, the choice of Malta as headquarters of the strongest battle squadron. Movements such as these cannot be carried out under the rose. Japanese attention has already been excited, and the Press of that country comments upon their supposed significance with a somewhat embarrassing frankness.

It was rather unfortunate that measures obviously designed to strengthen British naval power in the Pacific should have been followed by such American activities as the grand manœuvres off Hawaii and the subsequent voyage of the United States battle fleet to Australia. Nothing could be more regrettable than that Japan should feel herself the objective of a joint naval demonstration by the Anglo-Saxon Powers. Whilst no intelligent Japanese is likely to delude himself in this matter, the less responsible organs of the Press have not omitted to make capital out of the coincidence. They express alarm at the apparent determination of both Powers to challenge Japan's primacy in her own waters, where her fleet has held undisputed sway for twenty years, and they are fearful lest it should portend a combined offensive against her commercial and political interests in the Far East.

To what extent these misgivings are genuine it were difficult to say. In Japan, as in other countries, the ruling powers are not above enlisting the aid of the Press when popular support is desired for official policies. For some years now successive Japanese Governments have found it increasingly difficult to maintain their combatant forces at the standard of strength which is regarded as essential. Since 1921 the Navy Department, in particular, has had to fight hard in defence of its annual budget. The nation at large, naturally but wrongly assuming the Washington Five-Power Treaty to have ended all naval competition, expected to see expenditure on the navy reduced very drastically, and is resentful at the large sums of money which are still being appropriated for this purpose. Japan is certainly spending a higher percentage of her revenue on armaments than any other of the Great Powers. Previous to the Washington Conference her navy and army together accounted for almost half the total State expenditure. Since the Conference the figure has been reduced to an average of 30 per cent. The cost of the navy alone represents 15 per cent. of the State disbursements, as compared with 7 per cent. in Great Britain and 8 or 9 per cent. in the United

States. All attempts at a further reduction of the naval budget have been vigorously and, so far, successfully resisted by the department in question. Parliament is impotent in this matter, and a Cabinet veto would not necessarily suffice to prevent any further expansion of the forces which the War Office or the Navy Department might consider vital. The two Ministers concerned are invariably officers on the active list, civilians not being eligible for these portfolios ; and they enjoy the exclusive privilege of direct access to the Throne. In effect, therefore, neither the Cabinet nor the Diet has any real control over the fighting services, the heads of which are nominally free to pursue an independent policy without reference to the Legislature.

But for obvious reasons this prerogative is rarely exercised in full. The soldiers and sailors are shrewd enough not to alienate public opinion, and on more than one occasion recently the War Minister and his naval colleague have deemed it expedient to modify their demands in deference to parliamentary opposition. At the moment of writing the Navy Department is urging upon the Cabinet a new shipbuilding programme of considerable magnitude, involving an outlay of some 16,000,000*l*. On its first introduction this project was coldly received by the Press, but of late the chorus of dissent has appreciably moderated, and the most popular organs are now explaining at great length that additional ships are needed to restore the balance of power in the Pacific, which is menaced by current British and American activities. To suggest that departmental inspiration is responsible for this change of tone might be unfair. Rather let us conclude that circumstances have conspired to favour the Navy Department. Singapore, the Hawaiian manœuvres, and, above all else, the American fleet's visit to Australia, have furnished patriotic Japanese publicists with ample material for conducting a big-navy campaign. And it cannot be denied that they hold strong cards. On surveying international naval shipbuilding at the present time it will be found that Japan is the only Power which has failed to adopt a new programme during the past three years. Since 1922 she has made no addition to her scheme of new construction, whereas each of the other four Powers concerned in the Washington Treaty has authorised many new ships since that date. At first glance, therefore, it would seem as if Japan were being reluctantly forced into a policy of naval expansion by the rivalry of other Powers, a conclusion which the facts, when looked into more closely, fail to support.

To appreciate the present position it is necessary to recall how matters stood four years ago, on the eve of the Washington Conference. Japan at that time was working on her so-called 'eight-eight' programme, the object of which was to create and

maintain permanently a capital fleet of eight battleships and eight battle cruisers, all of modern type. But additional to these great ships provision was made for a large number of ancillary craft, which formed as integral a part of the programme as the 'Dreadnoughts.' They were to be of the following types and aggregate tonnage: nine cruisers of 59,215 tons, thirty-seven destroyers of 42,641 tons, and forty-six submarines, of unknown displacement. In due course the Conference met, and Japan agreed to cancel no less than fourteen of her new capital ships Since her future battle fleet was restricted under the Treaty to ten units, it was assumed that she would make a large reduction in the number of ancillary craft projected, seeing that the battle fleet whose needs they had been designed to serve could not now be built. In July 1922 the shipbuilding scheme did, in fact, undergo revision. It was then decided to build eight cruisers instead of nine, twenty-four destroyers instead of thirty-seven, and twenty-two submarines instead of forty-six. In all, therefore, thirty-eight vessels were deleted, and the world was invited to admire the thoroughness with which Japan was voluntarily reducing her naval armaments, for the Treaty set no limit to the number of such craft that she might have built. But the sacrifice she made, though far from negligible, was not quite so serious as the foregoing figures appear to indicate. It is true that many vessels disappeared from the programme; on the other hand, those that remained were all re-designed to larger dimensions, with the result that the net reduction in total tonnage is comparatively small. Taking cruisers and destroyers first, thirty-two ships of 102,000 tons were allowed for under the revised programme, in place of the forty-six ships of 101,856 tons which had been projected before the Conference. So far, therefore, as these ships are concerned, the aggregate displacement was actually increased by 144 tons, notwithstanding that fourteen vessels were dropped. Only in regard to submarines was a real diminution in strength accepted, twenty-four of these boats being cancelled, with a consequent reduction of 13,539 tons.

We find, therefore, that while the amended building plan
braces fifty-four vessels in place of the ninety-two projected
inally, the net decrease in total displacement is only 13,395
—equivalent to two light cruisers. Analysed in this way, the
cation made in the programme bears a less imposing aspect.
be seen, also, that the argument of Japanese publicists,
r country alone has abstained from new schemes of naval
n during the past three years, borders upon sophistry
n was unquestionably the first of the Powers to launch
val programme subsequent to the Conference, sh
held entirely free of responsibility for the renewal

competitive shipbuilding between the Powers. Many arguments might be presented to justify her action in this matter, such as the certain ruin which would have overtaken her shipbuilding and kindred industries had warship production entirely ceased, and her need of more ancillary craft to compensate for the loss of so many battleships; but such pleas do not affect the main issue. Japan has a perfect right to build whatever ships of war she pleases, but she cannot reasonably be surprised if other Powers with interests in the Pacific, observing the steady growth of her naval armaments, feel themselves impelled to maintain the *status quo* by enlarging their respective navies. It is surely inconsistent of Japanese writers to condemn the new British cruiser programme as ill-timed and provocative, as they are doing.

At the same time, one cannot but sympathise with their anxiety for the preservation of their country's naval power under the new conditions to which the Washington agreement has given rise. Almost every argument used on behalf of an adequate British Navy could be applied with equal cogency to the case of Japan. Open sea communications are scarcely less essential to her than they are to this country, for the reasons so lucidly expounded by Mr. Gerard Fiennes in his paper in the June *Nineteenth Century and After*. But whereas free access to the markets of the world is vital to Britain's existence, the crucial problem for Japan is how to keep open, under all circumstances, her lines of communication with the Asiatic mainland, the resources of which have become indispensable to her. There are two possible developments which Japan could not, and certainly would not, tolerate. One is definite encroachment on her privileged position, political and economic, in China—or, perhaps one should say, in certain provinces of China. The other is the establishment of foreign naval bases within easy reach of her shores, or adjacent to her principal sea routes Her quarrel with Russia arose out of the first, and before the Washington Conference there was more than a possibility of trouble occurring with the United States on account of the latter's resolve to modernise its naval stations at Manila and Guam. This particular danger has been averted by the Limitation Treaty, a clause of which forbids any improvement in fortifications and naval bases over a large area of the Pacific, including all the American islands save the Hawaiian and Aleutian groups. This, in the opinion of many judges, is the most important section of the Treaty, since, apart from its soothing effect on the Japanese mind, it has rendered a Pacific war less probable by multiplying the physical difficulties of such a campaign.

Be that as it may, the agreement in question is highly advantageous to Japan. Modern fleets have a very restricted radius of action. Battleships or cruisers are able to steam a considerable

distance at 'economical speed,' which may be less than half their designed speed, but such slow motion is impossible in the war zone, where enemy submarines may be lurking. H.M. cruiser *Hawkins*, a ship built expressly for oceanic service and therefore endowed with a greater radius of action than is usual, has an endurance of 4800 miles at 14 knots speed, 3000 at 24 knots, and only 1900 at 28 knots. A fleet, however, does not consist of battleships and cruisers alone. It requires an escort of destroyers to screen it from hostile torpedo craft and submarines, and the presence of these satellites, with their limited fuel capacity, reduces still further the cruising endurance of the fleet as a unit. Judging from recent war experience, a battle fleet cannot remain at sea in the war zone for more than four days at a time. Bearing this in mind, the advantage that Japan has derived from the elimination of foreign naval bases in the Western Pacific will be readily appreciated. Ignoring Manila and Guam, neither of which has facilities for replenishing or docking large men-of-war, and Hongkong, which is too much exposed to military attack to be considered as a fleet base, it will be found that there are no foreign strongholds nearer to Japan than Hawaii and Singapore, the distances being 3374 and 2445 nautical miles respectively.[1]

Japan is therefore beyond reach of serious naval attack. This may help to explain why she is content with a very small battle fleet. The only perilous contingency she would have to provide against in war is the seizure and use of some island near her coast as an advanced enemy base. Whether such an operation would be feasible is a point on which students of strategy fail to agree. That some American authorities deem it so is shown by a candid statement made to the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives by Major-General Lejeune, commanding the United States Marine Corps. After defining the principal task of his corps in war as the seizure of bases for the fleet, he went on to say:

> On both flanks of a fleet crossing the Pacific are numerous islands suitable for use by an enemy for radio stations, aviation, submarine, or destroyer bases All must be mopped up as progress is made.

Whether the 'mopping-up' process would be quite so simple as General Lejeune seems to think is open to doubt. That Japanese strategists are alive to the danger, such as it is, appears to be indicated by the recent trend of their naval policy. In lieu of heavy ships they are now building cruisers, destroyers, submarines and aircraft, these being the weapons calculated to prove most effective in frustrating a *coup de main* against the mandated islands. As for Singapore, this place is obviously much too

[1] Vladivostock is omitted in view of the collapse of Russian naval power.

remote ever to serve as a base for aggressive operations against Japan. Her nearest territory, Formosa, which is 1550 miles distant from Singapore, might be reached in three days by a battleship steaming all the way at full speed. But battleships do not travel unescorted in war, and the actual time occupied by a fleet in steaming from Singapore to Formosa would be nearer five days than three. Clearly, therefore, the base at Singapore cannot be a source of anxiety to intelligent Japanese.

Reverting to naval construction in recent years, the following figures, compiled by the British Admiralty last April, give the number of warships laid down by the principal naval Powers since the Armistice in 1918:

	Cruisers	Destroyers.	Submarines
British Empire . .	5	2	2
Japan . .	19	54	45
France . .	5	24	23
Italy	2	21	4
United States .	10	94	33

In defending this liberal provision for naval construction, Japanese writers point out that large additions were made to the British and American fleets during the Great War, in which period their own navy underwent no corresponding expansion. By the end of the war, therefore, it had suffered a sharp decline in relative strength, and Japan saw herself compelled to redress the balance by new construction if she wished to regain her former rank in the hierarchy of naval Powers. There is obvious truth in this contention, though it is permissible to remark that Japan's current building scheme, even in its revised form, will eventually give her a navy superior, both relatively and absolutely, to the force she possessed in 1914.

Of her ten capital ships only two, *Nagato* and *Mutsu*, are of post-Jutland type. In fighting value they come between the British *Royal Sovereign* and the *Nelson*. Protection appears to have been cut down for the sake of obtaining higher speed, but the vessels must nevertheless be classed among the most powerful battleships afloat. There are four older battleships with a uniform armament of twelve 14-inch guns. They are stronger than the 'Royal Sovereigns,' and ought to give a good account of themselves even against post-Jutland 'Dreadnoughts.' The four remaining ships are battle cruisers, resembling in general design the British *Tiger* Some authorities consider that the inclusion of these ships does much to compensate for the numerical weakness of the Japanese battle fleet, since there are only four vessels of equivalent type in the British Navy and none at all in the American. This might be so if the ships in question were designed on the latest principles, with stout protection above and below

the water-line. But in fact they were planned nearly fifteen years ago, and their armour defence, judged by present-day standards, is inadequate. In view of what befell the thinly armoured British battle cruisers at Jutland, it is safe to predict that the four Japanese ships would not venture within range of the heaviest naval guns. Consequently the tactical value of their high speed could not be fully exploited.

Japan is now completing two aircraft carriers of greater dimensions than the largest British vessels of this type. Designed originally as capital ships, and altered after the Treaty, they displace 27,000 tons, the *Akagi* having a speed of 33 knots, while the *Kaga* is slower by 10 knots. Ten 8-inch guns are to be mounted in each ship, the heaviest armament hitherto provided for vessels of this class. It is a moot point whether such large aircraft carriers are a sound investment. They are necessarily far more vulnerable than the battleship, and if even one were sunk the fleet to which it belonged would lose almost half its mobile air force at a blow; and it goes without saying that each side will do its utmost to sink the enemy's aircraft carriers at the outset, in the hope of securing that command of the air which may prove decisive.

Due to the effect of the Washington Treaty in sweeping so many capital ships from the board, the relative value of smaller craft has materially increased. In a future naval war admirals will be chary of exposing their few battleships. These are likely to be held in reserve, only to be thrown in as a last resort. Attempts will probably be made to dominate the war zone by means of lighter forces—that is, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. Formerly a satellite of the battleship, the cruiser must henceforth play a leading *rôle* in naval operations, and it is conceivable that a large fleet of such vessels will more than balance a deficiency in heavier ships. That, apparently, is the view held in Japan, where an exceptionally powerful cruiser force is being built up.

Japan, as we have seen, was the first of the signatory States to embark on the construction of cruisers of the maximum tonnage and gun-power permissible under the Washington compact. Within a few months of its negotiation she had designed four ships of the 10,000-ton class, to mount nine 8-inch guns. She also re-designed four earlier cruisers on the basis of larger dimensions and heavier armament, besides pressing on with the building of small but exceedingly swift ships, valuable alike for duty with the fleet, for commerce protection, or as destroyer squadron leaders. In the past eight years she has built and authorised twenty-five cruisers, the last of which will be in commission by 1928. Two of these ships steam at 31 knots; the remaining twenty-three are all capable of travelling at 33 knots. No other

navy has a cruiser force of such high mobility. Three of its units are ships of 3100 to 3500 tons, combining the functions of scout and high-speed mine-layer. Fourteen are medium ships of 5500 to 5570 tons, weatherly craft with a large fuel capacity and a light but effective armament. They have been criticised as too small for sustained ocean work, but the fact remains that they are considerably larger than the German cruisers *Emden* and *Karlsruhe*, of whose ocean-going qualities there was never any doubt. The next group comprises four ships of 7100 tons, armed with six 8-inch guns. This powerful battery would enable them to engage, with every prospect of success, foreign cruisers of heavier tonnage which mounted nothing larger than the 6-inch gun. On paper, at least, they are superior in fighting value to the British ' Hawkins ' class, which, although nearly 3000 tons larger than the Japanese ships, are armed only with seven 7·5-inch guns The cruiser fleet is completed by four 10,000-ton ships now building or on order. Little is known of their design, except that it provides for an armament of nine 8-inch guns and a speed of 33 knots.

The destroyers may be dismissed more briefly. Approximately one hundred first-class boats are built, building, or projected, the majority being of 1400 tons and 34 knots. According to reports not yet confirmed, a new design has been prepared, with a displacement approaching 3000 tons. Such large boats, however, would be too expensive to build in any great number. How rapid has been the expansion of the Japanese submarine flotilla is demonstrated by figures contained in the latest Admiralty *Return of Fleets*. Since the Washington Conference Japan has built and authorised fifty-three submarines, to which must be added twenty-six older boats. This branch of construction appears to have been highly developed, the shipyards now completing boats of 1000 tons or more in less than eighteen months. The strength of the submarine personnel has been trebled since 1922 and is still growing The boats are exercised constantly at sea under arduous conditions, nor has this intensive training been relaxed in spite of the numerous accidents which have occurred, involving the loss of several boats and many lives. It is clear from their dimensions that these Japanese craft are designed for ocean service. All save ten displace more than 700 tons, and fourteen exceed 1000 tons. Another interesting point is their high average speed, which works out at 17 knots.

Once dependent on foreign industry for all her naval material, Japan is now able to produce everything she requires, from a complete battleship to the latest torpedo. The fleet is maintained in a thoroughly efficient condition. Its ships spend as much time at sea as those of any other navy, not excepting the British.

Although gunnery and torpedo training is said to be hampered by the lack of up-to-date equipment, no effort is spared to keep abreast of the latest developments. The officers seem indifferent to personal comfort. In Japanese warships visited by the writer the wardrooms and cabins were cheerless to a degree, and there seemed no room in the wardroom bookshelves for any literature of a non-technical character. The impression one obtains is that the Japanese naval officer has little time or inclination for any pursuit outside his profession. The lower-deck seaman, if superficially less alert, mentally, than the British bluejacket, appears to be zealous and well trained. Contrary to what is often asserted, he has zest and initiative. The courage and discipline of Japanese seamen were abundantly proved in the contests with China and Russia, nor is there any reason to suppose that these qualities have deteriorated with the efflux of time. Although conscription is resorted to, the navy is manned for the most part by volunteers, who enlist for a term of six years. A large percentage of time-expired men sign on for a further period of service. As a result, all the really important duties on board ship are performed by long-service men, the quota of raw recruits in a commissioned ship being very small.

Another feature peculiar to Japanese naval organisation is the maintenance of all effective ships on a footing of immediate readiness for action. This is rendered possible by the large establishment of personnel borne in the annual navy budget. At a time of crisis it would not be necessary to mobilise the reserves in order to man the first- and second-line ships. There are sufficient officers and men on the active list to provide full complements, not only for all these vessels, but for such auxiliary craft as would be requisitioned by the navy on the outbreak of war. When this had been done, ample reserves would remain available for subsidiary purposes. In this connection the following note from a Japanese year-book is worth quoting:

> Differing from the system followed in England, the Japanese Admiralty organises its staff on the plan of filling with officers of the active service the necessary complement at the outset of an emergency. This is the reason why our navy is apparently over-staffed as compared with that of Great Britain. The British fleet, which totals about 2,330,000 tons, has a staff of deck officers, from midshipmen to full admirals, numbering 3111 The corresponding figures for our fleet are 650,000 and 2190 respectively Reduced to a ratio per ton, the British fleet has 1·35 officers against 3 4 for the Japanese.

t.

lea An idea still prevails that the Japanese Navy sustained pe
twe-anent injury as a result of the great earthquake of September
1928.3. This impression, however, finds no confirmation in offici
twenty-nents. It is true that a considerable portion of the fuel

stored at Yokosuka was destroyed and the dockyard partly wrecked, while the aircraft-carrier *Amagi* and the light cruiser *Naka* were severely damaged. But these losses have already been made good in large measure. Fresh reserves of oil are being accumulated, the Yokosuka dockyard has been rebuilt on a modern plan, the *Naka* repaired, and the *Amagi* replaced by another and equally powerful ship. Though Japan will continue to feel the economic effects of the disaster for many years to come, her naval strength, as measured by material resources, has suffered no decline. On the contrary, it has distinctly gained by the restoration on improved principles of the dockyards and other naval establishments affected by the earthquake. It seems desirable to emphasise this undoubted fact in view of the misleading statements on the subject which still continue to circulate.

What, then, is Japan's motive for maintaining this imposing and costly naval armament? Are its functions essentially defensive, or is it designed as an instrument of conquest and aggrandisement? The present composition of the fleet and the nature of the new shipbuilding now in hand cannot be reconciled with the theory of an aggressive purpose. The battle fleet is much too weak to engage in ambitious operations overseas; its ancillary craft are sufficiently numerous and powerful to conduct a *guerre de course* with telling effect, but they would certainly not be capable of covering a military expedition against territory remote from Japan. Supreme within its own waters, and enjoying all the advantages of position, the navy could count upon repelling the largest hostile force which could possibly be deployed in the northwestern sector of the Pacific under existing conditions, in which case Japan's vital lines of communication with the mainland would be secure. But for an operation of such magnitude as the invasion of Hawaii or Australia, the present and prospective naval resources of Japan would be altogether inadequate, without considering the military and logistical difficulties of such an enterprise. We may say, therefore, that Japan's sea power exerts only a local influence, and has been developed mainly with a view to the protection of local interests—including, of course, her stake in China.

> This great Navy [wrote the *Japan Chronicle* some years ago] is to be built solely that Japan may be able to do things on the Asiatic mainland and present them to the world as accomplished facts without running the risk of the Powers offering 'advice' such as they offered in 1895 regarding Liaotung. The expansion of the navy is not for the purpose of being aggressive, but for the purpose of deterring protest if aggressive action should for any reason be committed.

For the purpose named the Japanese Navy is already more than adequate, and its growing strength is doubtless responsible

for the misgivings expressed in this country and the United States as to future developments in the Far East. The position is well defined in the following comment from the Kobe journal named above:

> Japan to-day is the third naval Power in the world. She is, perhaps, the second military Power. In combined naval and military force she is second to none. It is impossible to attain such a position in the world without being regarded with a certain amount of awe and apprehension.

HECTOR C. BYWATER.

THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN CHINA

THE most important event in recent Chinese history is not the political revolution, but the intellectual renaissance. The politically-minded West is well aware of the Boxer Rising of 1900 and the overthrow of the Empire in 1911, but very few realise that during the last decade changes have been taking place in the thought-life of China which will make a deeper and more permanent impression than anything that has happened in Chinese history for a thousand years. The Anti-Christian movement is a child of this renaissance.

Since the days of Julius Cæsar China has dwelt behind her Great Wall, secure from barbarous attacks, preserving and developing her own distinctive culture, and closing her mind, as well as her ports, against everything from outside. Such an attitude could only spell death, as all isolation in an increasingly interdependent world must, and China was constrained, in order to save her very life, first to open her doors to Western goods and then her mind to Western education, and finally her political life to Western constitutional methods. But thoughtful Chinese have long realised that these changes have not resulted in the emergence of that strong, united, modernised China for which they yearned. They are now beginning to feel that they have so far missed the real secret, and that they must therefore probe down into the philosophy and the faith that lie at the base of Western science, Western education, and Western politics. Of late years there has accordingly been going on a movement of frank and searching inquiry, and the best of the Chinese are determined to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good.

This new tide (*Hsin Ch'ao*), or intellectual renaissance, is self neither religious nor anti-religious. It is a movement in he realm of reason, as was the renaissance of Europe which losed the middle, and opened the modern, age. It claims the hole gamut of human life and experience as the field of its inquiry. t recognises no tabus, no inhibitions. It insists on seeing all hings, and demands the right to lay bare the secrets of Western fe and religion. The approach to Christianity is therefore eant to be without bias, but the fact that Christianity is for the

Chinese so closely identified with the West and with certain historic happenings in Chinese life has made a strictly impartial inquiry difficult to carry out, and a definitely anti-Christian movement has now emerged.

The movement came into existence in the early part of 1922, when the Hon. Bertrand Russell, at the invitation of the Young China Association and the Students' Philosophical Club, visited all the chief student centres of China to interpret the thought of the West to the East. His reputation as a thinker attracted attention to these lectures out of all proportion to their intrinsic value. Professor T'u Hsiao-shih, of the Peking National University, summed up Mr. Russell's gospel in two paragraphs:

> (*a*) Religion is an instrument that kills man The wars in European history have all some relationship to religion Even the Great War that has just been concluded, so cruel in its processes and results, had its roots in certain religious beliefs, which served as weapons of killing.
>
> (*b*) Religion in its belief in the supernatural is a hindrance to the progress of science.

This evangel caused a seething ferment in the mind of young China, for not only is the Chinese national genius opposed to war, but also the student section are determined to avail themselves of all the fruits of modern science. They began, accordingly, to proclaim that religion was an obstacle to national development, and advocated that science, wedded to æsthetics, should be adopted in its place. Mr. Russell's nihilist philosophy and definitely anti-religious views stimulated Chinese hostility to the meetings of the World Student Christian Federation and to the National Christian Conference of China which were held in May and June respectively of that year. Proclamations were issued against religion, and local anti-religious clubs were formed to rescue the student class from the oppressive burden of religious doctrines and dogmas of every sort. It is significant that from the first this movement was not merely anti-Christian or anti-religious, but also anti-capitalist, for early in 1922 a Radical group in Shanghai who took a leading part in the movement preached loudly the doctrine that Christianity is part and parcel of the capitalistic organisation of society, their quarrel being primarily with a certain economic order of society, and only derivatively with Christianity. For the most part the leaders were inexperienced youngsters, and probably the main result of their activities was to attract increased attention to the very gatherings they attacked.

After a crowded hour of active opposition the movement appeared to die down. The interest of scholars turned increasingly to the more intellectual aspects of the renaissance movement and the creation of the *Pai-Hwa*—the new literary medium. In 1924, however, some students from a missionary college in Shangha

had to be asked by the college authorities to leave. They immediately joined the anti-Christian movement and brought with them all the zeal of a new grievance. By this time also the movement had gained strength from Soviet propaganda and from a widespread and responsible agitation among educationists.

It may be well clearly to differentiate the scope and motives of this movement from the Boxer Rising of 1900. In 1900 the disturbances were limited to a few provinces, mainly in North China, but now the agitation has spread to every part of the land, or at least to the big cities and all the student centres. In 1900 the rioters were mainly hooligan loafers and country people; to-day it is students and industrial workers in the towns who are affected. In 1900 the moving power was largely superstition and unthinking reactionism; to-day it is the spirit of nationalism and the determination to sweep away ignorance. In 1900 it was largely a question of fear and mob psychology; to-day the movement is one of searching inquiry and scientific analysis. In 1900 the means adopted were butchery and terrorism; now propaganda is mainly through leaflets and lectures, committees and street-speaking.

The type of pamphlet that is being broadcasted among the reading section of the population may be seen from the following:

> The movement attacking Christianity is the most important movement under the canopy of the sky. We all know clearly that Christianity is a religion of superstition and vagueness, which makes people more ignorant than they are. More than that, it is our duty to fight against this religion of imperialistic civilisation
>
> Since the invasion of Christianity in China thousands of men-of-war and guns have followed on the heels of the missionaries who come to us clad in black gowns and carrying banners of evangelistic volunteers. Many ports have been yielded, concessions have been granted and millions of dollars of indemnity have been paid.
>
> What the missionaries have preached is nothing but absolute and deceptive doctrine, and what they have promoted is nothing but a benumbed and degenerate thought on the part of our people. They will never cease such action until their passion is satisfied. So we just stand against Christianity because of its relation to imperialism. After all, we must fight against all these slaves of the foreigners.

Another is:

> December 25, the so-called Christmas Day, is fast approaching, when the churches, Y.M.C.A.'s, Christian schools, all over China will again start some propaganda for Christianity to extend its influence for the benefit of those who are bent to utilise Christianity as a means of exploiting China At this occasion we should stand boldly and uncompromisingly to level our attack toward Christianity everywhere, using every method available. We should definitely set aside December 24 and 25 as our National Anti-Christian Day. Let us all arise and plunge into the fight. Let us map out our programme early and have a united nation-wide front.
>
> For this anti-Christian campaign we have secured the co-operation of

the Anti-Christian Federation of Shanghai to publish a special pamphlet of about 20,000 characters containing the following five chapters :

1. The anti-Christian movement—enumerating the sins and evils of religion in government and Christianity in particular, especially the Christian Church

2. Missionaries and imperialism—pointing out the historical facts pertaining to Spain, Portugal, France, England, etc., subjugating the people of other countries through the weapon of missionary work, and what China has suffered from it.

3 Christianity and China—describing the three periods of Christianity after its entrance in the Ming Dynasty. It explains how Christianity made its progress as capitalism in Europe was developing, and how after the opium war the foreign Powers forced upon China humiliating treaties under the pretext of protecting their missionary work.

4. The modern Christianity—representing Christianity as out-and-out capitalistic

5 What is Jesus ?—Jesus was the illegal son of a Roman military officer, a rebel, a fake. The Bible is nothing more than what the monks and emperors compiled to suit their own convenience. What has been attributed to Christianity, such as love, equality, etc , was not the real Christianity Eucken was trying to put things over in attributing new idealism to Christianity. So was Tolstoi in his effort to identify non-resistance with Christianity The real Jesus was narrow, selfish, deceitful, revengeful.

This pamphlet, which was prepared for use in China at Christmas-time, is now available in an English translation as a 35-page booklet.

Another leaflet says that opposition is offered to religion :

Because we look for intellectual progress, but religion is conservative and traditional.

Because religion emphasises divisions and class distinctions This is supported by reference to the Crusades, and the thirty years' war between Protestants and Catholics.

Because we advocate science, not religious superstition.

Because we seek a full realisation of self, but religion teaches dependence.

Because the doctrine of redemption encourages further wrong-doing.

Because Christianity is a forerunner of imperialistic exploitation, which is proved by its demands for indemnity and extra-territorial rights.

Because it intermeddles in legal procedure.

Because it suppresses patriotism and even reproaches China as a nation

Crude and ill informed as all this may be, it must not be airily dismissed as mere sound and fury signifying nothing. The movement commands the support of many men of integrity and intellectual eminence, such as the Honourable Tsai Yuan Pei, until recently Chancellor of the National University of Peking. For an adequate understanding and appraisement of the movement something more is necessary than a knowledge of its genesis. and growth ; and an inquiry into its causes is also essential.

Easily the largest contributing factor to the movement has been the growing spirit of nationalism, which has emerged as

crucially in China as perhaps in any land. The Chinese are becoming increasingly conscious of their great historic achievements, and increasingly confident that they are not inferior to the peoples of the West. They recall the fact that China has ridden many a storm in the past, and they affirm that she is well able to weather this one too. As a result of the rising tide of nationalist feeling they are demanding to be masters in their own house, and the cry upon every lip is 'China for the Chinese!'

This flame of nationalism has also been fed by the work of scholars who have been delving into Chinese history. Their researches have made it clear that China has a record of culture and achievement of which any people might well be proud, and while it is admitted that China must assimilate a great deal from the West, yet to do so at the cost of cutting herself off from her own past would be to pay too high a price. It is not so much conservative-minded Chinese of the old school as men of the younger Western-educated type who take this view. They are making a great effort to recover the essential roots of the vitality of the old culture, which has persisted through almost countless generations. They are pointing out that the Great Wall was not built in order to ensure isolation from the outside world, but to preserve the civilisation of China from being despoiled by savage and barbaric tribes from the north. The hordes of barbarians finding their path into China blocked by the Great Wall turned westwards and swept into Europe, blotting out her civilisation, putting the clock of progress back, and, in a word, inaugurating the Dark Ages. China, safe behind her protecting wall, was able to preserve the soul of her civilisation alive, and though there have been invasions from the north, yet she has never been swamped by a wave of barbarism, and has never been called upon to endure a Dark Age.

Educated Chinese, who have given long and patient study to the rich inheritance of their own civilisation, are resentful both of its comparative neglect by scholars of the West and of the quiet assumption that in all such matters the Western world must necessarily be superior. They point to the fact that while China is learning rapidly from the West, sending her students to Western universities, and studying Western subjects in her own schools, yet the West considers that a man has received a liberal education who knows nothing about the history, art, literature, and thought of the Orient.

It is of interest to recall that in recent years Western science has shown the wisdom, garnered from centuries of experience, that lies behind the ancient system of economy in food values practised by Chinese farmers. The prevailing vegetable diet of the rural population is sound economy, since a larger food value

is secured by direct consumption of vegetables and cereals than by turning these into meat through feeding them to animals. The ancient Chinese system of crop-rotation, fertilisation, irrigation, etc., by which the peasant farmer secures two, and even three, crops in a year from his land, may not be theoretically understood by the farmer himself, but it is now known to be scientifically sound. The simple Chinese peasant farmers, who comprise 80 per cent. of the population, though normally regarded by Westerners with a thinly veiled contempt, may yet have an empirical wisdom and a practical science enshrined in their agricultural habits, from which the West has much to learn.

Nor must it be forgotten that for centuries the Chinese have laid stress upon etiquette and good manners in human relationships. They have learnt their courtesy and *savoir-faire* from the race habits inculcated by Confucius. This feeling for good form has enabled them to meet all sorts of situations in human contacts with poise, dignity and self-control. Western representatives in China, on the contrary, have not always been famous for their polish or refinement; many of them have been uncouth and unmannerly, and have not impressed the Chinese as being people of culture. It is only natural that the flaming nationalism of the moment should shed a lurid light upon these Western deficiencies in the realm of etiquette and polite contacts.

Western morals as well as Western manners have, according to Chinese standards, left much to be desired. It is probably admitted by all reputable and impartial authorities that though the Opium War of 1838–42 was technically caused by an infringement of international agreement, yet behind it was a great moral issue; and in that issue it was not China that was on the wrong side. It is now indisputable that the Chinese were determined to cut this cancer out of the nation's life, and probably would have done so but for the West; and however great may be China's appreciation of the advantages of her intercourse with Western nations, nothing can remove the rankling memory of the Opium War, or the general sense of the failure of Western morals.

The events of recent years have only served to deepen this impression in the mind of China. The attitude of the Western Powers towards Japan in regard to her twenty-one Demands upon China did not reveal them in too good a light, while the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has seemed to China to justify her age-long suspicion of the West, and to be of a piece with 'the unequal treaties' (as the Chinese now call them) by which the West secured a measure of control over the Chinese customs [1] as well as certain

[1] Chinese goods imported into Japan, the United States, and Britain may be subject to any tariff which the importing country cares to impose, such as a 25 per cent. tariff on Chinese tea imported into Britain, or a 350 per cent. tariff on

extra-territorial rights on behalf of their own nationals resident in China. With China in chaos, it is difficult to believe that Western Powers will be willing to abolish extra-territoriality, yet the agitation for it is growing stronger all the time, and the students are making the most of the fact that Russia has foregone the rights in question.

The revival of interest in China's cultural traditions has not only deepened their conviction that they have an ancient civilisation which they dare not willingly let die, it has also added new strength to the protest against external interference in China's domestic affairs. The students, who are the only articulate section of the community, are increasingly resentful of what they term 'imperialistic dominance and exploitation.' They regard such matters as tariffs and extra-territoriality as rightly within their own competence; and if it is stated in reply that China benefits by accepting Western help in the matter of the Treaty Ports, the Chinese rebuke us out of our own mouths by reminding the West that good government can never be a substitute for self-government. In a word, they are claiming the sovereign rights of Chinese people within their own land.

As is natural and appropriate, the Christian Church has had its share in developing a healthy national spirit during recent years. The deliberate aim of the whole Christian movement in China is that the Church shall become truly indigenous and native to the soil. With that aim in view there is a constant transfer of responsibility from the mission to the Church, the former decreasing that the latter may increase. The Western missionary is no longer the necessarily predominant partner; rather his task is to transfer as much leadership and responsibility as possible to his Chinese colleagues. Such a policy cannot fail to develop a spirit of nationalism, though not of an exclusive anti-foreign kind. This rising spirit of nationalism is leading even Chinese of Western sympathies and education to adopt a new standpoint. A remark passed recently by a Christian leader not unfriendly to the West may serve to show the direction in which the tide of thought is flowing. Referring to the Boxers and their deeds, he stated that these men had been grossly misunderstood, that they were splendid patriots, and that the prevalent estimate of their purposes and practices ought to be revised. They were not just brutal and bloodthirsty ruffians, but men bent on serving their country's highest interests. The amazing thing about this statement is that the speaker's own father was done to death, the victim of Boxer barbarity!

In a curiously unexpected way this increasing sensitiveness to nationalist claims is showing itself in the field of education. By

Chinese tobacco imported into Japan, yet foreign goods imported into China may not be taxed beyond a bare 5 per cent.

a single stroke of the vermilion pencil the Empress Dowager in 1905 ended the old educational system of China, and launched the country upon a policy of deliberate Westernisation. It came too late to save either the Manchu Dynasty or the imperialistic system, but Government education in the Western sense dates from that hour. Education on the Western model had existed in China before that, but it was in missionary and other private hands. From that date, however, the Government officially entered the field of education.

This new interest in education has resulted, *inter alia*, in the increase of the number of professional teachers, and in the formation of educational associations. Those entrusted with the task of Christian education, being naturally anxious to keep abreast of all worthy educational progress, secured a visit from a highly competent educational Commission from Britain and America. The Report of this Commission, which was issued in 1923, urged that the education given under missionary direction should be more efficient, more Chinese, and more Christian. The Chinese educational associations, with their abnormally developed national sensitiveness, professed to find in this Report a real cause for alarm. They maintained that it was one more subtle attempt of the West to impose their *kultur* upon the East and to break down Chinese national spirit by indoctrinating the children with Western notions. They were on somewhat stronger ground when they pointed to the existence of two parallel, and possibly conflicting, systems of education in the country, extending all the way from kindergarten to university, the one directed by foreign religious agencies, the other by Government. They claimed that this dual system was wasteful and uneconomic, that it was educationally desirable to have a centralised system rather than two separate systems, and that the prestige of foreign education might lead to the ousting of the national system from favour. What was far more serious, they affirmed that the education given by missionary societies had not only a denationalising effect, but also a propagandist objective, certainly religious in nature and probably political in purpose. It seemed incredible to them that large sums of money from Britain and America should be poured into China for the purposes of education except with a view to breaking down the national resistance and race pride of the Chinese, and so preparing the way for foreign exploitation. In the present state of inflamed national feeling this sinister interpretation of the aims of Christian education evoked an immediate response, and there came into existence two groups of Chinese educationists, one nationalistic in motive, protesting against an educational system controlled by Westerners, owning no allegiance to the Chinese Government, and probably weakening the patriotism of

the scholars; the other group anti-religious, offering opposition to all compulsory religious teaching or services, and demanding complete religious freedom and an entirely secular curriculum in the schools. The former group had behind it all the fervour of the new-found nationalism; the latter was the expression of the increasing volume of anti-religious propaganda in China, part of which is certainly of Bolshevist origin. Important resolutions have been passed by these educational groups and pressed upon the attention of the Chinese Board of Education. They ask that all schools shall be either registered or closed by the Government; that to secure registration, schools—whether carried on by foreigners or Chinese—must conform to a required curriculum and be open to Government inspection; that foreigners must not use their schools to propagate religion; that 'for the benefit of society and the improvement of education' schools should be required to abolish all religious teaching, and that no preaching or worship of any kind should be permitted. These are drastic demands, but the Government cannot turn an entirely deaf ear, since those who put them forward are not irresponsible agitators, but acknowledged educational leaders. There is, of course, no difficulty in the way of the Government's enforcement of these demands in its own schools, but a problem emerges when it is remembered that one-fifth of the students in China to-day are being educated in mission schools. None the less, missionary societies must be prepared to look forward to the complete secularisation of the educational system of China before long Those who are wise will make provision for this in advance by doing some, at least, of their educational work with such efficiency that the Government cannot afford entirely to dispense with it, and by organising strong and efficient Sunday-school work to ensure the Christian education of at least that part of China's youth that is entrusted to their care.

There can be no doubt that some considerable part of the anti-religious propaganda is due to Russian influence. Bolshevism, regarding the Church in Russia as a survival of Tsarism, and therefore as a potential rallying centre of imperialistic forces, has from the first set itself to destroy its influence. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Soviet authorities have proclaimed far and wide that 'religion is the dope of the people,' and that in China they have just instituted a powerful anti-religious propaganda. During the June riots in Shanghai banners were carried in the streets by the demonstrating students bearing the words 'Down with the Christians!' and 'Down with the Christian Religion!' which could hardly have had any other than a Bolshevist origin. The fact that China has recognised the Soviet Government, and that formal relations have been re-established, makes the penetration of China

by Bolshevist propaganda an easy matter. The students, following their idol, the late Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, have given an eager welcome to the gospel of Communism, while many of them have obtained scholarships for courses of study at Moscow in the theory and practice of Sovietism. These students come back zealous advocates of Communism and sworn opponents of Christianity as being a capitalistic device for doping the people. This eager welcome to Russian ideas is not merely the unthinking zeal of youth, but also the conviction of serious-minded scholars, who believe that in no other way can China resist the imperialistic dominance of the West and secure her place in the sun. The method of militarism, which Japan adopted, is foreign to the Chinese genius ; the way of pacific non-co-operation attempted by India has, China thinks, completely failed , and there remains only the method of Moscow, which China sincerely believes has proved a success. The Chinese are, at any rate, going to study Sovietism at first hand.

The immediate upshot has been the organisation of a nation-wide student strike. All patriotic students have been called upon to leave their classes and join in propagandist work as speakers, organisers, distributers of leaflets, etc Even in model institutions like the Nankai University, the students have demanded and secured the resignation of all the teaching staff, including the principal, Dr Chang Po Lin, one of the leading educators in the land. The whole institution, like many others, passed into the hands of the students, who made it a base for their propagandist activities Some colour has been given to the statement that Christian education denationalises the pupils by the fact that during these strikes the students in Christian schools and colleges have either been slow to co-operate, or have in some cases refused to do so It must be admitted that the position of patriotically-minded Chinese Christians, and students in Christian colleges, is not easy They are torn between personal friendship with missionaries on the one hand and a strong national feeling on the other. Christians amongst the leaders of the Kuomingtang—a nationalistic Radical organisation—have, for the most part, kept silent in all the anti-Christian activities because their nationalist sympathies are so strong.

The headquarters of the movement are in Shanghai, with branches in other great student centres, and several journals are now regularly produced, including the *Awakened,* a daily supplement to the *Republican Daily News.* This paper plainly declares that "the object of the anti-Christian movement is to oppose Christianity and its imperialistic exploitation with a nationalistic consciousness and a scientific spirit." It would seem that the more ardent spirits are determined not merely to gain some control over Christian institutions, but entirely to suppress all Christian activity,

taking over all Church buildings, deciding what services shall be held and what teaching given.

There can be no shadow of doubt about the widespread effect of 'Red' influence, but the real reason lies very deep. Indeed, Soviet propaganda is spreading rapidly in China precisely because its seed is falling on prepared ground. The immediate cause may be traced mainly to Soviet agents, but the actuating motives are the treatment to which China has for years been subjected by the Western Powers, the rankling sense of injustice in the matters of the Opium Wars, the Treaty Ports, the Customs, and the Peace Treaty, the awakening sense of China's ancient greatness and present capacity—this and much else brought to a white heat by the fire of nationalism, which is burning in the hearts especially of the student and the labour sections of the community. It would seem that the business class is only mildly interested, while the masses in the villages simply do not understand what it is all about.

The more carefully inquiry is prosecuted the more clear it becomes that what is called the anti-Christian movement is ill named The Chinese are not normally intolerant in matters of religion. In so far as it is influenced by Bolshevism, the movement is anti-religious rather than anti-Christian; in so far as it is affected by nationalism, it is anti-foreign. The point at which the anti-religious and anti-foreign propaganda converge is that occupied by Christianity. An analysis of the leaflets that are in general circulation among the students reveals that China has little or no quarrel with Christianity *quâ* Christianity. Out of 100 published articles Mr. N. Z. Zia found that only three had anything to say against Jesus, only one was hostile to the Bible, only two were critical of Christian literature and five of missionaries, or about 9 per cent. in all. The other 91 per cent. was directed against Christian education because it was foreign and anti-patriotic, or against Christians because they were preparing the way for the imperialistic dominance of the West.

Clearly the real foe is something with which the Chinese mistakenly imagine Christianity to be associated There can scarcely be any doubt of this in the face of such a circular as the following, used during a recent student strike in Hunan:

'Why is China having so much internal conflict?'—'Because militarists are contending for territory and title.'

'Why do the militarists have so many guns and so much ammunition?'—'Because men who stand behind these militarists, the agents of England, America, France, Japan, all imperialistic countries, furnish these things.'

'How did these imperialistic nations manage to get into China?'—'Because at first they borrowed the name of religion, and after that effected a forcible entry into China. Thereafter taking advantage of their

influence, which was extending in every direction, they put into practice their policy of penetration.'

Mr. C. T. Wong, a leading Chinese, says:

The present attack on Christianity is largely an attack on what is known as foreign imperialism It seems apparent to me that the present anti-Christian movement is really an anti-foreign movement in the minds of most Chinese They are rising against Christianity because in their minds Christianity appears to be a tool of foreign aggression and exploitation

It is true that in the disturbances that have occurred the tearing up of Bibles and hymn-books has been an occasional feature, but in all the anti-Christian leaflets and articles that have been published it is the political connections of Christianity, and particularly its so-called imperialistic bias, against which opposition has been specially directed

But whatever misunderstanding there may be at the back of the anti-Christian agitation, the whole movement should be taken seriously, for the very misunderstanding indicates a certain failure on the part of the West to interpret Christianity aright. It is significant that of all religions which China has received from the outside world—Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity —the last-named is popularly known as 'the Foreign Religion,' and it is widely held that it denationalises converts and cuts them off from their ancient and rightful cultural heritage. It is futile to attempt to understand the present anti-Christian movement without giving full weight to this fact.

It seems fairly clear that the first necessity is to study this movement dispassionately, and to see how far the fault for any of the popular misrepresentation of Christianity is due to our Western failure adequately to interpret it to the East. It seems equally clear that there must no longer be any semblance of justification for the statement that the Christian enterprise, even in the final resort, is carried on in reliance upon the force of Western armaments and by concessions secured by the 'unequal treaties.' The right attitude is surely that of the British missionary societies in their refusal to make application to the Government for any of the returned Boxer indemnity money. Not only must there be no infringements of the sovereign rights of the Chinese people, but no action that can in any way wound their national susceptibilities. By care of this kind a friendship with China may be won which will be above the price of rubies.

It would seem clear that the duty of Christians is to work for stable government in China so that Chinese sovereignty and administrative integrity may be recovered. They should outmatch the zeal of the Communist with the zeal of the Christian,

and meet the rising tide of ill-will with an even more widespread wave of good-will. A repressive attitude is as futile as it is un-Christian. The only way through is to overcome the destructive and divisive forces by constructive and Christian endeavour.

A M CHIRGWIN.

THE CHINESE STUDENT AT WORK

THERE exists an almost universal fallacy, which has been bequeathed to us by the writers of cheap sensational fiction with an Oriental setting, that the Chinese as a race possess a prodigious mental capacity To the same source, also, we owe our idea of the Chinese mind as essentially tortuous, patient and cunning. Probably the first novelist to notice these characteristics was still wondering how it was that he had emerged second best from a prolonged argument with a rickshaw coolie; but I have never seen a Chinese student who even remotely resembled the description with which we are so familiar

The most prominent characteristic of a student who is just entering some institution devoted to higher education is his extremely limited mental outlook In China there is as yet nothing which corresponds to the English public school. Even in the Westernised coast towns, the big schools are only very rarely residential. As a result the student receives his early training while still directly subject to parental authority; and in China, of course, that means infinitely more than in the West. The whole family system centres upon the duties that a member of a family owes to its head. The chief duty is 'filial piety,' and this implies not only reverence, but also the fundamental assumption that the head knows more than the member what is his proper course of conduct; and as a result the will of the head is the law of the family. Upon this system the daily course of instruction, even in a European school, makes very little impression; and, after all, the course of instruction, even there, is still based upon the omniscience of the teacher. The change, therefore, from school life to university life is much more abrupt in China than in the West, the result usually being that for the first year the student scarcely knows whether he stands on his head or heels.

Towards the end of the first year, however, a change occurs, completely altering the attitude of the student towards his environment. He begins to murmur upon every possible occasion about 'rights' and 'position.' He will even challenge the wisdom of his examiners in allotting marks in examinations. In his

second year of university life the student is usually characterised by restlessness and a mania for founding clubs, with fearsome lists of officers and rules. One of my first duties as a lecturer in the East was to draw up a code of some thirty sections at the request of a sports club to check the activities of those members who had ingeniously circumvented the provisions of the previous code. The whole case was put succinctly by a student whose home was in Northern China (and who consequently surveyed the conduct of his southern colleagues with some disfavour) when he declared one day. 'At home, you see, we are nothing Our opinions have no value. But here, you tell us think. The change is too sudden ; perhaps sometimes we talk too much.' Anyone who has ever listened to the interminable orations which are inevitable even at the committee meetings of the most insignificant recreation club in a Chinese university will thoroughly agree with him.

The student's limited mental capacity is visible in a number of ways, the most prominent of which is probably his appalling lack of general knowledge. In many cases his first appearance at the university coincides with his first absence from his family circle and its horizon, which tended to destroy individual initiative. In his school work he received nothing to supplement this deficiency. As a general rule it is impossible to teach a Chinese student who has not yet graduated that a fact of itself has no value, but merely receives value when co-ordinated with others by his mental apparatus. He will cheerfully learn strings of facts, but remains blandly indifferent to any reasoning which connects them His own mind is furnished with no critical capacity—it accepts knowledge unquestioningly. As a necessary consequence of this he often possesses little or no originality. Not only does this lead him to reproduce instead of to create, but it also robs him of the power of searching for information which is not supplied in his text-book, unless he is literally shown the books he must use and told the places where he may find what he requires. A course of instruction on the use of a library (possibly on the American model) should therefore form part of the first-year course of every Chinese student , but it very rarely does, the result being that he is handicapped throughout his university career.

When the student is at last getting something of a true appreciation of the implications of a university career his work is frequently interrupted by a distraction which from the academic point of view is as unfortunate as it is inopportune. Any morning a bewildered lecturer may receive the information that one of his most promising students has been called away by his family in order to be married. It is customary for the wedding festivities

to be prolonged for several weeks, and, though the bridegroom is not expected to be present throughout, he now has other preoccupations than the accumulation of knowledge. In many observed cases a steady decline in a student's application to his university work has been plainly apparent after his marriage. The whole question is one of considerable seriousness for Eastern universities—at any rate, if they are conducted in general conformity with European ideas of education.

Incidentally one may notice what effect the admission of women to higher education has had in China. Old customs there are dying rapidly; but they are not dying nearly so rapidly as some people endeavour to make out, and the co-educational system is still an extraordinary novelty in Chinese eyes. In England it is usually asserted that the university student who is distracted by the presence of ladies in his lecture-room will be equally distracted in other ways if they are not there. That may be so, and possibly the English as a race have an exceptional capacity for Platonic friendships, but certainly the Chinese have not. Fifty years ago their opinion of women was essentially that of the Jewish patriarchs. It may have altered since then, but at any rate the change is only superficial. Applied to university life, this means that the women students are a perpetual source of distraction. Their every movement is observed and criticised, their notice is at once courted and ridiculed. Conscious of the fact that their male colleagues regard them as decidedly 'advanced,' the women students themselves are not altogether free from responsibility for attempting to live up to their reputation for emancipation. Any Chinese university magazine in which the students have the chief voice amply proves this.

Almost without exception Chinese students are incorrigible lecture-goers. Full of fear lest the lecturer upon some occasion should say something of direct importance for examination purposes and they should miss it, many of them return 100 per cent. averages at the end of a session. As a necessary corollary they are armed with formidable note-books, into which they copy as much as possible. They are perfectly happy if the lecturer will dictate the whole of his oration, and stubbornly resist the efforts of recent products of the Western academic movement to abolish the note-book altogether. I have heard that the lecture system works most smoothly where the lecture is delivered in forty minutes, and the lecturer dictates a *résumé* of his harangue for the remaining portion of his lecture. This is additionally useful, as the average student has no idea of the essential points of a discourse, but blindly endeavours to transcribe the whole, with the result that he ultimately fails both to take notes and to follow the lecturer's argument.

The grand old principle of Chinese education was that the more noise a collection of students made the harder they were working. Accordingly the uproar within a school conducted on Chinese lines is deafening. When the student changes from the school to the university some marks of his previous training remain with him. The result is that, when not engaged in scribbling, he is restless. Respect for the lecturer will usually prevent him from engaging in conversation with his neighbours, but his restlessness is nevertheless plainly visible, particularly if the lecturer is giving a general view of the subject rather than hurling forth facts.

The conclusion that a Western lecturer naturally reaches when his audience becomes restless is that they are bored. In an endeavour to interest them he will usually rearrange his discourse somewhat and present it in a lighter form Sometimes, too, he even attempts a joke, which occasionally awakes a responsive echo. Both of these expedients would be completely lost to a Chinese audience—particularly the latter, since the Chinese sense of humour is totally different from our own. As far as I have been able to discover, it is much more primitive than ours An individual slipping on a banana skin will evoke peals of laughter, but a witticism of Shaw will be hammered out (with the aid of a dictionary) to the last comma, and is then taken literally The result is that an epigrammatic form of delivery is received in respectful, and perhaps attentive, silence, whilst a perfectly normal statement of fact may be received with roars of applause. Nevertheless, in spite of all these considerations, the Chinese student is extraordinarily acute in his estimate of the value of a particular series of lectures.

Another characteristic, which is usually manifested most in the final year of a student's course when his lecture time-table becomes much abbreviated, is his love of acquiring knowledge promiscuously through a voluntary and fleeting attendance at additional lectures This attendance exhibits a notable diminution as examination time approaches, but it is rarely of any real value, being totally unsystematic. It usually means that the student has grown tired of his compulsory subjects, but is seeking to impress the faculty with his enthusiasm for work—a procedure which is absolutely unnecessary in most cases, as the faculty's usual complaint is that the student works too hard by overburdening his memory with masses of unsorted miscellaneous information.

Towards examination time attendance at compulsory lectures (rarely anything but good) becomes unvaryingly regular. There is a further reason for this in addition to the one I have previously indicated. The student can never quite rid himself of the suspicion that the examiner will consult the register before

awarding the marks. In addition a keen desire manifests itself that others shall not profit at his expense. An extreme case of this occurred recently, when an order for the return of a book to the library was not obeyed, and upon investigation it was discovered that the student was keeping it (the only copy of that particular work in the library) not because he wanted to read it, but because he *did not want the others to read it.* Another instance of the same desire occurred when I entered an exceptionally clever voluntary woman student for an examination. A couple of days later I received a petition from a majority of that particular class protesting against her admission and asking me not to raise the standard of the examination in consequence of it !

The examination itself is the graveyard of all the lecturer's preconceived opinions. This is admittedly true of all schools and universities, but more particularly so in China. The reason for this appears to be that the old Chinese methods of education produced in the candidate a state of extreme nervous excitement, which not infrequently resulted in complete collapse. In the circumstances the student can never really appreciate the difference between the Eastern and the Western systems. Sometimes, after the first paper or two, he will leave the examination-room, pack his trunks, and return home for good More frequently, however, he steadily ties himself into an intellectual knot and writes utter rubbish. When he fails as a result of this, his anxiety naturally increases Such a state of affairs, of course, is not unknown in Europe and America. The best way out of the difficulty, for the Chinese student at least, seems to be to take his year's work into consideration when sealing his fate

As a consequence of these and other factors the quality of the work submitted in examinations is disappointingly low. Of course the student has many things against him. His knowledge of English is not so good as that of the Indian student. In addition there is a greater contrast between the two civilisations than is the case in India A recent French writer observes that, although in the East generally many things are different, in China everything is topsy-turvy. The conclusion which one reaches, therefore, when considering the problem of the Chinese student is that a university education in the East is a preparation (the value of which varies greatly according to the character of the university) for his further education in the West.

GEORGE W. KEETON.

THE FAILURE OF FORCE. EDUCATION'S OPPORTUNITY

THE belief of people, not of one class only, but of every class, in the value of education is one of the most striking characteristics of our time, and all the more striking because it is so unexpected. Not many years ago a cynic wrote, with much truth · 'The English middle classes never have believed in education, they send their sons to the public schools to be inoculated against it.' The war destroyed this unbelief. A change began about 1916, and since then the conviction has grown that it is the duty of the age to furnish its youth with its best, and that best is believed to be a liberal education All schools and universities are filled as never before In spite of increased cost and heavy taxation (for wars are never paid for at the time—the bill comes in later, and is a millstone round the neck of future generations) the expensive public schools are full to overflowing Rich parents anxiously besiege housemasters' doors, and no less eager parents from less wealthy homes clamour for the admission of their children into the municipal secondary schools; while evidence accumulates that in neither type of school is the accommodation sufficient for the demand Nor is it hard to find a reason for this new belief in education. Force has failed, and the failure of force is education's opportunity.

During the years of the war the moral and physical suffering had to be endured, and was endured with fearless confidence. We prayed that something worth saving might be salved from the wreck, but the engines of destruction were so terrible that men's minds were appalled at the forces which science had created. Heroic courage was of no avail against the pestilence that walked in darkness and the sickness that destroyed in the noonday. The most splendid achievements of human genius, the stately cathedrals of Europe, crumbled in an instant before the fury of the far-reaching guns—the pride of centuries fell at one blow. But it is not only fear—there are two facts which are fostering the growing conviction that force has failed as the basis of civilisation. The horrors and ineptitude of war are now realised by a far larger part of the nation than when only professional armies were called

nto action. The whole manhood of nations is to-day called upon o fight—thousands who have no inclination whatever for the oldier's life—and terrors by night come upon the old and infirm, ipon women and children. The hideous memory of it all is not orgotten.

And yet again the universal education of the past fifty years s making itself felt by destroying the glamour of military pur-uits, and by making the truth more widely realised that wars for he most part settle nothing—nothing, at any rate, worthy of the biding misery which they cause and the legacy of physical and noral ruin they leave behind and the desire for revenge which they reate. Wars beget wars This is no new statement. Thackeray orcefully stated it years ago in *Vanity Fair*

> You and I [he writes of Waterloo] who were children when the great attle was won and lost are never tired of hearing and recounting the istory of that famous action Its remembrance rankles still in the bosoms f millions of the countrymen of those brave men who lost the day They ant for an opportunity of revenging that humiliation, and if a contest nding in a victory on their part should ensue, elating them in their turn nd leaving its cursed legacy of hatred and rage behind to us, there is no nd to the so-called glory and shame and to the alternations of successful nd unsuccessful murder in which two highly spirited nations could engage. enturies hence we, Frenchmen and Englishmen, might be boasting and illing each other still carrying out bravely the Devil's code of honour

uch in plain truth is war, a pandering to the devil's code of onour when the very transient glory has faded away We listen o the beauty of the thoughts and the music of the words in the riumph song of Deborah, and in the 'Charge of the Light Brigade', we see, never unmoved, the patient suffering in the Roll Call' This is the glamour of war as genius, far away rom its reality, sees it. The reality is quite different, the piteous gony on the cumbered battlefields, the widowed brides and child-ss homes, the material and moral destruction and desolation. Thackeray's summing up is so true that it is surprising his words re not more often remembered

Force has miserably failed as a foundation upon which the eaceful government of the world can be built. It has failed both i international and in national affairs, alike in foreign and domestic ealings. The creation of the League of Nations is a recognition f this fact. The growing conviction of the futility of strikes is corroboration of it. The so-called victory achieved by Force on hat the miners' secretary calls 'Red Friday' strongly confirms iis statement some of the Trades Union leaders openly proclaim a disaster and an ominous portent. In more homely matters ie belief in force is growing less and less. 'Force your scholars to nprove!' is out of date, and the record of Dr. Keate will never

now be challenged. In the House of Commons on March 6 the Prime Minister definitely refused to use the overwhelming force of his great majority to pass an Act which, as he conceived, would not settle anything, and which he knew would be revoked when the swing of the democratic pendulum should place the Labour Party in power. In an industrial matter he refused to give any opportunity for carrying out the devil's code of honour, and by his action he lifted politics into the sphere of religion, and on that memorable night, if only for a few moments, men's thoughts were turned towards an organised society whose ideal was Peace. 'Give Peace in our time, O Lord.'

This great and universal desire for education is a symbol of a new era. When we look back even over a short number of years we cannot doubt there is a new era: the old order has changed and yielded place to new If we think of the Victorian order of only some forty years ago we come back to-day to a world of intense surprises. A Labour Government has been in office and is now the second largest political party in the State, not long ago it had only one representative in the House and he was scarcely regarded seriously. Instead of a very powerful middle class there is a middle class with rapidly decaying political power, and many members of it are seeking safety in the Labour Party. There is an Established Church (but for how long ?) more keen upon Socialism than upon the maintenance of the existing social order. In every school there has been a great breaking away from the educational moorings of our fathers. The feeling of reverence for things established has quite gone.

But more important than all the many changes added together is the greatest change, the conviction that a change was necessary. A civilisation that could lead to such an unredeemed disaster as the Great War stands self-condemned: it needs no trial and no verdict. It failed irretrievably. A change had to be made—enthusiasm for military pursuits had to give way, for everyone is convinced that there must be found another corner-stone upon which to erect a better civilised society; that on which 'Might is Right' is inscribed has given way and nearly pulled the whole edifice down with it.

And so education is being tried. Will it succeed ?

A tremendous responsibility is laid upon schoolmasters and schoolmistresses: they are of great importance in the unfolding of the new era. In their hands lies the anxious care of many destinies—the children of this generation are the nation of the next. It is essential, therefore, that the best men and women available should be attracted into the profession of teaching. And those who so thoughtlessly and so glibly speak of economy in education (and for the most part this means the cutting down

of teachers' salaries) do not seem able to grasp the fact that our old-fashioned point of view must be altered, that the principle of force as a means of attaining peace has been discredited, and that a right education has become the most momentous function in the national organism. Had there been spent upon it in the past, not by one State only, but by all States, even a small part of the colossal sum wasted upon war and the preparation for war, had there been given to it a few of the prizes of life generously heaped upon the leaders of successful armies, an effort would have been made to exalt in public esteem that profession which is engaged in the greatest constructive work in the world—the building up of human character It must be Peace or War, there is no other alternative—compulsory obedience to the policeman or more willing service to that high moral code, which is one of the inherited instincts of civilised mankind and was among the earliest lessons given to the human race in its infancy. Unless swords are beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, history will only repeat itself till there be left one great Juggernaut Power able to dominate all by the might of the terror which it has established and must ever continue to exert.

More than two thousand years ago Plato was emphatic in expressing his conviction that there was no alternative. 'Take care of education,' he said, 'and education will take care of all other things', and only now, owing to the upheaval of the Great War, has the truth of this statement had any opportunity of being tested

But what is this education in which he believed and in which now all like enthusiasts so ardently believe? Certainly it is not a mere fact system, nor is it the mere acquisition of knowledge, scientific or linguistic, learning is but a part of education, and there could be no justification whatever for the vast sum of 100,000,000*l* being taken in taxes from the community if only to produce a greater number of learned men and women Learned men and women in the past have always been those who were not educated but have taught themselves. Recently a countryman, who can neither read nor write, but who is very much consulted for his country lore, his knowledge of the haunts of preying animals, his skill in tilling the soil, said to me 'I dinna believe in edication; it knocks all the knowledge out of ye.' Was there some truth in his saying? Be that as it may, already schools have turned out a large number of pupils with smatterings of knowledge—we are all smatterers to a greater or less extent—who cannot be absorbed in any profession, and are swelling the growing battalions of the unemployed and unemployable.

Recently for an advertised mastership there were 190 applicants,

all fully qualified as far as knowledge was concerned, and all the product of secondary schools; they are now unhappy and discontented Mere learning in itself will not produce a higher standard of life, and thought and conduct, or a better tone. If it would, how phenomenal would have been the progress during the past fifty years! The average German in the past probably put knowledge in the forefront of the national assets, of which he was most proud, but in the opinion of the civilised world he proved himself to be a Goth, a barbarian lamentably deficient in the weightier matters of the law, truth and honour, and chivalry, and tenderness and humanity—all that is meant by doing as you would be done by. The writer of the book of Job had a more sure vision of what education really means, and his words are eternally true, unless we abandon a belief in all spiritual ideals, and boldly and without shame assert that Might is Right, and that the gross, fat, sensual Mammon is the only god. In words of wonderful simplicity and directness he asks

> Where shall wisdom be found
> And where is the place of understanding?
>
> Behold,
> The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom,
> And to depart from evil is understanding

And no school which is not basing its work on a spiritual foundation is bettering the cause of civilisation or helping to make, by one jot or one tittle, the new order better than the old. On the contrary, it is doing positive harm, it is giving only knowledge, and knowledge alone is like a bird with one wing, useless to itself and an easy target for the evilly disposed Lack of spiritual ideals in education is not far from being the root cause of all lawlessness in every State.

People of widely different views agree in this, to refer to only two speeches recently delivered Bishop Frodsham, in giving away the prizes at Rushworth School, said

> I would sooner see a boy brought up as a Nonconformist or Roman Catholic as brought up upon that miserable monstrosity of education called undenominationalism It leaves out all that is vital, and leaves the unhappy boys who are subject to it open to things which if they are even logical are dangerous to the State and the Government.

And Mrs. Philip Snowden, referring to her visit to Soviet Russia, said

> she thought the Bolshevists were making a mistake in decrying religion and in refusing any religious teaching in the schools The hard theories of Bolshevism prevented true education, and she would not like to see the children in British schools turned into hard little materialists

These speakers, and many like them, are addressing themselves

to no imaginary dangers; for the evidence of great danger is seen not in the very wide unrest, but in the manner of its expression—the wild talk, the stirring up of passion, of hatred and of strife, the light-hearted threat of entering into class warfare; and in the long list of hideous crimes, the details of which are deliberately disseminated by a wide Press A truer education could have nothing in common with such phrases as 'class hatred and class war,' but would rather train its scholars to accept the standard put forward by Browning·

> I worked my best, subject to ultimate judgment—God's, not man's.

And all schools, perhaps more especially the newer day schools, which have sprung up so plentifully during the past fifty years, would do well to take to heart the thoughts in the mind of Tom Brown's father when he sent his boy on that cold coach journey in the dark November morning into the rough life of Rugby·

> Shall I tell him to mind his work, and that he's sent to school to make himself a good scholar? Well, but he isn't sent to school for that—at any rate, not for that mainly I don't care a straw for Greek particles, or the digamma, no more does his mother What is he sent to school for? If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-loving Englishman and a gentleman and a Christian, that's all I want

And that is all most people want It is idle to decry all the ideals of the Victorian age as being out of date, and provincial and *bourgeois*; the hopes of Squire Brown as to the future of his son are the hopes of millions of men and women to-day with regard to their children As a nation we believe in Christianity, in God, in a spiritual world and in righteousness, however far conduct and action fall below profession And that is the best school which is turning out the greatest number of brave, helpful, truth-loving Christian boys and girls Mere progress in knowledge and in intellect, not attended by a corresponding progress in character and in moral aspirations, in heart and in soul, is bound sooner or later to end in a catastrophe both for individuals and for entire nations There are sure indications that this catastrophe is nearer than it has been for many years

Dr. Arnold quite definitely regarded the development of character and of morality as the main object of his work at Rugby

> What I have said before I repeat now, what we most look for here is first religious and moral principle, secondly gentlemanly conduct, thirdly intellectual ability

Nor was his work in vain; his teaching produced perhaps more indirectly, through the impression he left upon his pupils, than directly a marked change in the standard of our moral outlook which has left an abiding mark on our national life. The far-

reaching effect of a great schoolmaster cannot be measured; it is as the ever-widening ripples on the surface of a still lake. One of his sponsors predicted of Arnold, when he was a candidate for the Headmastership of Rugby, that if he were appointed he would transform the face of education all through the public schools of England: as a matter of fact, he did not produce much change from a knowledge point of view, he inherited a strictly classical curriculum, and he left almost as narrow a curriculum. But in other ways he worked a tremendous change: he left school life converted, cruelty and bullying no longer tolerated, the opportunities for drunkenness and vice greatly lessened; but much more important was the changed atmosphere he created, to which is largely due the passing of so many of the Acts that have contributed to the amelioration of the condition of the masses and the working classes and of social life generally. Through his pupils he worked upon the conscience of his age. If he had done nothing more than inspire the story of Tom Brown he would still have left an imperishable name, and not in this continent only. The British Empire owes an immense debt to that strong, manly, good-humoured, self-reliant type of public school boy which the author depicted, and which was the ideal of his master.

I dwell thus upon Arnold's work because it must always be important in any consideration of education. It is not dead.

No work begun can ever pause for death.

It was permanent. It did effect a wonderfully beneficent change in the manners and customs and moral standard of his times; and any educational edifice raised on other foundations than those on which he built is only doomed to failure.

And this leads me to make two suggestions of a very practical character as regards school work of to-day.

1. There is a 'something,' quite independent of instruction, in the training given in the public schools. This 'something' is due partly to long tradition, to that venerable age so bound up with much that is best and greatest and most splendid in our history and partly (perhaps chiefly) to the chapel services, which make of the school a visible corporate unit and lift its life on to a plane other than that attainable by the municipal secondary schools. The greatest preachers of the day are glad to come, for their audience will be of a plastic mould that possibly may be fashioned to try and find its satisfaction in high ideals of thought and action. It is impossible, quite impossible, for these services, so beautiful in their simplicity, so hearty in their music, so sanctified by the presence of the cloud of silent witnesses, many of whom have their memorials on the walls around, to leave no impression upon very many of the young lives which attend them. Even if they acquire

no taste for formal religion, to put it on lower grounds, they do feel something of those softening influences that tend to strengthen the bonds which link together all living souls, and help us to realise that only when human relationships are at their best will mutual sympathy and toleration, and purity and peace, and happiness and unselfishness increase and abound in the world And thus I would suggest that more boys and girls who have been educated in the great public schools should be welcomed as masters and mistresses in the municipal secondary schools, they will bring with them much that is valuable not in any other way likely to be obtained Further, means might well be devised by which some of the pupils at present attending the municipal secondary schools should be admitted into the public schools The present class segregation, with wealth as the dividing line, is not making for national strength Cecil Rhodes' idea was to bind the constituent parts of the Empire together through a common education It ought not to be out of the question to apply this same idea to the various classes in England, to do so would help to put a bridge across those class barriers, the present cause of misunderstanding and of bitterness.

2 Instead of spending more money in increasing the accommodation in the secondary schools, let it be spent in either (*a*) providing playing fields where they do not exist, or (*b*) enlarging (if necessary) those already existing There is more education in learning to 'play the game' than in the great majority of text-books. To 'play the game' is essentially an English phrase, untranslatable into any other language. It stands for very much, the very antithesis of sneaking and lying and tale-telling—for fairness and justice and upright dealing, for unwillingness to take a mean advantage, for a readiness to abide by an umpire's decision, however unexpected · it is of the spirit that has made so many of its possessors successful colonisers, it helps those who understand it best to go on steadily doing their utmost to walk uprightly and to act honourably, undeterred alike by praise and blame. And if its meaning is not learnt primarily in the playing fields of our villages and towns and schools, at least it is most unlikely ever to be learnt at all where there are none. And that it has not been learnt at all by many partly educated persons is only too obvious on reading much that is reported of their sayings and doings in the daily papers. Someone has well said that if only the mine-owners and the miners were to play in the friendly rivalry of Association matches much less would be heard of their constant feuds. Who shall say that it is not owing to the strong hold upon our people of their national games that our land has been saved from those violent upheavals which have been more common in other countries ?

There is no need to exaggerate the importance of games. Everyone knows that at their best they are very good. In them is all that is best in Socialism—the sinking of self, and the common good the only good. Yet there are many schools, village schools especially, without any playing fields. No wonder the education given in them is of little worth, a source of disquietude rather than of commendation: all that is really educative is missing—character training is pushed into the background.

Let the funds available, therefore, be given, not to the extension of the present system—for to extend it will only increase the number of those who are acquiring a very small intellectual equipment in French and Latin and mathematics and science, never likely to be of any use to themselves, either practically or intellectually, or to the nation which provides it—but to purchase compulsorily, if necessary, the playing fields, whereon will be obtained through vigorous bodily exercise an access of health and happiness, likely enough to add to the joy, and so to the strength, of their own lives and of those with whom their labour brings them in contact. Instruction in school is already continued too long for very many children; there is need for less rather than more of it.

The late Mr. Edward Bowen, of Harrow, tells a story which may well serve as an allegory. 'A captain of a house football eleven asked me to go down to his house game. There was local trouble. Two important boys had a quarrel on; it was very awkward. I played. Everything went on as usual. After it was over I asked about the quarrel. It had vanished in the delight of exercise and the glory of play.'

Schools are indeed very little worthy of support when they teach no more than is learnt (and that generally unwillingly) from the blackboard. Bolshevism and its kindred offshoots of cruelty and selfishness are just the products of an education which has no cognisance of what is meant by 'playing the game.'

C. H. P. Mayo.

LONDON TRAFFIC IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IT has long been a commonplace to say that history repeats itself, and instances can be multiplied to show that this proverb is partially true At the same time it is equally true that history is seldom repeated exactly, owing to changed conditions and customs, growth in areas and populations, and all the other alterations which time inevitably brings

The problems of London traffic at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which grew more difficult of solution as the century advanced, are in many ways parallel to the difficulties which we are facing to-day, and a statement of the trials of our ancestors and an estimate of the attempts which they made to deal with them may perhaps help us to solve our own problems or to possess our souls in patience while others attempt their solution

London in 1600 was only the 'one square mile,' consisting of the city with its ninety-seven parishes inside the city wall, still marked to-day by the names of the gates, and the few extra-mural parishes which were under the city's jurisdiction Along the Strand there was a line of palaces practically joining the Court city of Westminster to the business capital, and developments were showing down the river towards Ratcliff, Wapping, 'Lime Hurst,' and Blackwall The city itself had many remains of the old monastic buildings, and their precincts and gardens were in a few cases not yet entirely built over. Though small houses were being erected in large numbers along the main roads out of London ('notwithstanding all proclamations and Acts of Parliament made to the contrary'. *vide* Stow), yet in the main the country came right up to the city itself and was available for recreation to the humblest citizen The open fields to the north —Spitalfields, Hoxton Fields, Moorfields, and Finsbury Fields— were as yet unassailed, and on the south there was the single suburb of Southwark, then joined to London by one bridge only.

The population of London was reckoned in 1631 to be about 130,000, and though the estimate was very rough, it bore some

resemblance to the truth. In the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries we get a clear indication of the proximity of the country, presented more specifically by Stow and Norden, and a perusal of Gerard's *Herbal*, published in 1597, drives home the impression that gardens were to be found in all parts of the immediate suburbs and that the wild flowers of the countryside were to be seen everywhere Mr. Fairman Ordish in his *Shakespeare's London* invites us to visualise the city in the early seventeenth century by calling to mind 'some ancient provincial town comparatively untouched by competition and the modern builder, where the houses retain the large gardens of a more leisurely age, and nature occupies goodly spaces between human habitations.' The maps of Saxton, Grafton, Norden, and Speed indicate quite clearly the small extent of London's growth, and such picture-plans as those of Wyngaerde, Visscher, and Hollar confirm the proximity of the country

Whether the topography of the city, and especially its wall and gates, determined the direction of the roads, or *vice versâ*, is not for the moment material It is certainly true that the only ways out of the city were through the main gates, which are of very early origin Stow mentions four original gates, 'to wit Aeldgate for the east, Aldersgate for the north, Ludgate for the west, and Bridgegate over the river of Thames for the south' But modern excavations show Newgate to be of Roman origin, and the postern by the Tower, and Bishopsgate, dating certainly from 1210, probably make up the seven given by Becket's biographer, Fitzstephen. There were three posterns largely used by foot-travellers—Moorgate, built in 1415 'for ease of the citizens, that way to pass upon causeys into the field for their recreation,' the postern of Cripplegate, 'so called long before the conquest,' and a postern out of Christ's Hospital, 'made in the first year of Edward VI'

The chief road in the city itself was Cheapside, running with its extensions from Aldgate to Ludgate. The enlargement of St. Paul's Churchyard in 1087, after a disastrous fire, sent westward traffic in some cases out of Newgate instead of Ludgate Parallel with Cheapside was Thames Street, running from the Tower to Baynard's Castle, with numerous short, steep streets running down to hithes and wharves on the riverside and up to Cheapside northwards. From the west end of Cheapside an artery ran northward by St. Martin's le Grand to Aldersgate, while from its east end by the Stocks Market there was a choice of routes. Besides the straight road to Aldgate there was an alternative way by Lombard Street and Fenchurch Street, and another important thoroughfare either by Broad Street or Bishopsgate Street to the north-eastern suburbs of Shoreditch and Hoxton The High

Street of Southwark led from London Bridge southwards, and three old mediæval or Roman roads led from Newington Causeway and Butts to the coast. The difficulty of getting out of the city westwards was the necessity for negotiating the Fleet River, which could only be crossed in a few places after traversing one or other of the steep streets which lead down from the not inconsiderable plateau on which St. Paul's and the city are built. Stow gives us full particulars of the four bridges over the Fleet, the first in importance being 'Fleete Bridge in the west without Ludgate, a bridge of stone fair coped on either side with iron pikes, on the which towards the south be also certain lanthorns of stone for lights to be placed in the winter evenings for commodity of travellers.' Further north was Oldbourne Bridge, which 'serveth for passengers with carriage or otherwise from Newgate towards the westward by north.' The normal way of approach to this was by Snow Hill, but there was an alternative, Cow Lane. The other bridges were of timber, and were by Chick Lane, serving Smithfield, and one 'between the precinct of Blackfriars and the House of Bridewell' The main roads of the city and the side lanes were alike narrow, and in many cases were the old mediæval roads unaltered When a traveller was outside the city he had a considerable choice of routes Nearly all the lists of roads in Elizabeth's reign were based on the Antonine itinerary, but by combining roads or setting them out in detail writers arrived at different figures. Richard Grafton, writing in 1570, gives fifteen main roads into London, while John Stow, his great rival, reduced them to nine. Raphael Holinshead gives twelve, and Frank Adams brings the number up to seventeen In Norden's 1593 map of London and Ryther's in 1604 we can see the roads very clearly delineated

After the Fire of 1666 a number of surveyors set to work to schedule the roads within and without the city, and of these Leybourne and Blome, Ogilby and Morgan were the most prominent. The famous Morden and Lea map of 1682 was really the work of Ogilby and Morgan, while the maps in Strype's 1720 edition of *Stow* are corrected versions of those by Richard Blome. All the chief roads of England and Wales were also surveyed by John Ogilby, and the description of the country thus obtained was published at the king's expense in 1675. The roads were actually surveyed with the wheel and were comprised in eighty-five itineraries

Ogilby, who through Paterson and Cary is the ancestor of all modern road books and should be a patron saint for motorists, gives fourteen direct roads converging on London and makes them all start at Cornhill, one of the many points which have been from time to time recognised as the centre of London. An

interesting feature of Ogilby's survey is his entire omission of any mention of the Edgware Road from Tyburn to the Hyde at Hendon. References to Camden and other contemporary writers, as well as to the Privy Council records, make it clear that the normal way to St Albans was through Islington and Barnet or through Hampstead, Hendon and Edgware, and that the first six miles north from Tyburn along Watling Street were little used.

There was nothing in the way of a national system of roads in mediæval times, the lord of the manor being held responsible for their upkeep by virtue of the '*trinoda necessitas.*' Tracks were often developed by monks or lay owners travelling from one part of their property to another, and the construction of Goswell Road by the Carthusian monks and St John's Street by the Hospitallers confirms the idea.

The road problem was a matter of concern to the mediæval king, and Edward I.'s Statute of Winchester did something to secure the safety, though not the comfort, of travellers by ordering the destruction along the high roads of any undergrowth which might conceal robbers and footpads

It is probable that the dissolution of the monasteries made fresh problems in the upkeep of the roads, as it did in the care of the poor

Road repair was certainly an expensive business in Tudor and Jacobean times, and fell heavily on the parishes made responsible for maintenance by the Act of 1555 Frequently they used the main roads but little themselves, and were heavily mulcted to pay for the repair of damages caused by through passengers.

Under Henry VIII there were three Acts of Parliament for the paving of the highways out of London, which at the time were said to be 'very noxous and foul and in many places very jeopardous as well on horseback as on foot, in winter and in summer, by night and by day' A further instalment of Road Acts came under the later Tudors, Mary being responsible for six and Elizabeth for nineteen. The Act of 2 & 3 Philip and Mary in 1555 is important, as it declared that the responsibility for the maintenance of existing public highways rested on the parish, highway surveyor, and the justices of the peace. Labour, tools, horses and carts had to be provided by the parishioners, the surveyor was bound to keep accounts and view all highways and bridges three times a year, while it was left to the discretion of the justices to see that all concerned performed their duties In 1563 it was enacted that the four days of statute labour which could legally be demanded of every parishioner should be advanced to six, but in the case of the well-to-do it was customary to pay a fine in default of service. This was in general 1*s.* 6*d* for one man's

work for a day, 3s. for a man and horse, and 10s. for a horse, cart, and two men

In Easter week in every parish the churchwardens and constable summoned the parishioners to meet and choose 'two honest persons to be surveyors, for one year, of the works for the amendment of the highways in their parish leading to any market town.' Whoever was chosen had to serve or pay 5l to the justices at quarter sessions A surveyor of highways had a difficult and thankless task. He had to do an unpopular thing, and his pressed labourers were almost useless They were styled 'king's loiterers,' and they lived up to their name, spending 'most of their time standing still and prating, or asking passengers for a largess' The only way to deal with culprits was an indictment at quarter sessions or assizes, and anyone could indict a parish if 'a common and ancient king's highway became ruinous, miry, deep, broken and in great decay so as to be a common nuisance . . to the king's loyal subjects'

Inside London there were well-organised parishes to deal with the road problem, but the suburbs were constantly growing—especially after the union of the Crowns, and in spite of all the proclamations to the contrary

In 1605-6 a statute was passed enjoining the paving of certain streets in the west end where houses were springing up on the north side of the Strand The Middlesex justices were ordered to pave 'Drury Lane and the Towne of St Giles in the Fields and to rate occupiers and owners of land or houses in St. Giles, St. Andrews Holborn, the Liberty of the Savoy and St. Clement Danes'

In 1605 contributions were levied on Buckinghamshire towards the repair by the justices of Middlesex of the road between London and Watford, and six years later proposals were made for repairing all the main roads round London during the winter. The justices of Essex also issued orders for the repair of their roads embouching on London, and the Hertfordshire justices prohibited the use of four-wheeled vehicles through their county

As an example of the way in which road development was not always welcomed one might mention a new road in Southwark to the west of the main road from London Bridge southwards, to which the lord mayor took exception and wrote in protest to the Lords in Council

Some temporary Highway Acts of Elizabeth were re-enacted by Charles I., but it was left for Cromwell to make the most striking advance towards a national system of roads. In 1654 there was passed 'an Ordinance for the better amending and keeping in repair the common highways within the nation,' and there was to be a sixpenny rate. Most of the northern suburbs

took the matter up keenly, and the Middlesex justices, meeting at Hickes Hall, Clerkenwell, confirmed bylaws made by the inhabitants and surveyors of St. Giles in the Fields, St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, St. James's, Clerkenwell, St Sepulchre's, and St. Giles without Cripplegate

These bylaws made it incumbent on all householders or owners to pave and amend the roads, sweep before their doors, keep clean the kennel or channel in the middle of the road, and not to allow swine in the street under payment of a fine of 4*d.* per animal.

Like most of the Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, this was repealed at the Restoration, but in 1662 an Act was passed giving power to quarter sessions or to any two justices to impose a highway rate Further improvements included the paving of ' Petty France as far as St James House, from St James House to the highway and from the Mewes to Pickadilly,' thus giving a clear indication of the trend of fashionable migration Strict regulations were made as to scavengers, for whom all rubbish was to be retained, and candles were to be hung out by housekeepers to make passage through the streets less dangerous on dark nights

These rules applied more directly to Westminster and its immediate neighbourhood, where the Court and nobles lived, rather than to the city and its nearer suburbs An attempt was made to enlarge some of the narrow streets, and the whole of the Strand, St Martin's Lane, and Chancery Lane were thus improved

The Fire of London gave a splendid chance for rebuilding the city on better lines, and the plans of Evelyn and Wren would have produced considerable widening and straightening of the roads in and out of the city and its suburbs Unfortunately neither of the reformers kept to the old lines at all, and citizens were naturally enough not prepared to uproot old landmarks and abandon the old highways and byways altogether Had Wren been content to plan the city on the old lines, but with general widening of roads and lanes, it is highly probable that the scheme would have gone through, and we should not be compelled to effect reformation to-day at such a tremendous cost. Fleet Street was one of the few roads to be widened, and among others who had to set back his home was that seventeenth century speculating builder Dr. Barebone, the wealthy son of an eccentric father.

In 1670 the highway rate was entrusted by Parliament to quarter sessions, and this rule was repeated in 1691 and 1697, but it was largely ineffective in the country. Cartways to market towns were to be at least 8 feet wide, while horse causeys were to be 3 feet. Roads might reach a maximum of 24 feet, but no houses were to be pulled down to effect this improvement

Roads were frequently improvised in early Stuart times, and

when James I. reached Stamford Hill on his way from Scotland at his accession a new way was cut through fields and hedges to the Charterhouse. A similar honour was done to Charles I. on his return from the disastrous 'Bishops' wars in Scotland, and when his queen, Henrietta Maria, was intending to take the waters at Wellingborough the county justices were ordered to see 'that the most commodious wayes and passages that may be found should be made through the fields from place to place throughout the whole journey' The Privy Council, which made the Order, felt sure that all landowners would gladly yield their land for such a purpose Those who proved recalcitrant were to be reported to the Council, which would doubtless know how to deal with them.

The traffic problem of the seventeenth century resembled that of the twentieth century, in that a new means of locomotion had in each case recently become popular The changes brought about in this century by the increase of motor traffic in the streets of London are comparable to those produced three hundred years ago by the development of wheeled traffic.

Mediæval London streets were constructed for foot traffic or for the pack-horse, and no improvements had been effected to meet the new developments. In Stow's time things had been made worse by

> encroachments on the highways, lanes, and common grounds in and about the city, whereof a learned gentleman and grave citizen hath not many years since written and exhibited a book to the mayor and commonalty, which book whether the same hath been by them read and diligently considered upon I know not, but sure I am nothing is reformed since concluding this matter

James I. attempted to prevent encroachments on the roads by issuing a proclamation in 1618–19 (March 12) ordering the citizens of London to 'avoyd that noisome pestes of bulkes, stalls, shedds, cants and juttyes' which cumbered the streets

Coaches were only a recent development in London streets, though Antwerp had over 600 in 1560 In 1555 Stow tells us that 'Walter Ripon made a coach for the Earle of Rutland which was the first coach that was ever made in England.' The next year he made one for Queen Mary and in 1564 for Queen Elizabeth, and Guilliam Booner, a Dutchman, became the Queen's coachman

'Little by little,' writes Stow, 'they grew usual among the nobilitee and others of sort and within twenty years became a great trade of coachmaking.' Only a few years before they had been regarded as effeminate, and the pope advised the cardinals and bishops to leave them for ladies Now 'began long wagons to come in use, such as come to London from Canterbury, Norwich, Ipswich, Gloucester with passengers and commodities Lastly even at this time (1603) began the ordinary use of caroaches.'

Many attempts were made to limit the number of coaches in London, and in 1613 a maximum of 430 was suggested, and the whole organisation was to be given to the Company of Woolmongers. In spite of Orders in Council and proclamations, the number increased, and began seriously to endanger the livelihood of the watermen on the Thames. John Taylor, the water poet, writing in 1622, calls attention to the plight of his fellow craftsmen, already too numerous owing to the cutting down of the Navy in times of peace :

> Carroaches, coaches, jades and Flanders mares
> Do rob us of our shares, our wares, our fares
> Against the ground we stand and knock our heeles
> Whilst all our profit runns away on wheeles

and Samuel Rowlands in his *Knave of Hearts* writes to much the same effect.

The next year Taylor returned to the challenge and issued a tract in prose pointing out that he did not

> inveigh against any coaches that belong to persons of wealth or quality, but only against the caterpillar swarm of hirelings They have undone my poor trade whereof I am a member, and though I look for no reformation, yet I expect the benefit of an old proverb 'give the losers leave to speak ' This infernal swarm of trade spillers have so over-run the land that we can get no living upon the water, for I dare truly affirm that every day in any term, especially if the Court be at Whitehall, they do rob us of our livings and carry five hundred sixty fare daily from us

For all Taylor's complaints the river was still London's highway, and it was the most speedy, safe, and pleasant means of conveyance Those who arrived from abroad frequently left their ship at Gravesend and came up in ferry boats, and the recognised route from London to the west was as often as not by river to Putney and thence by road over Putney Heath In the diaries of the period there are many references to the use of the river, and Pepys used the stairs and boats time and time again The easiest method of getting to the playhouses and public pleasure gardens on the bankside was by boat.

Yet another attempt to limit the number of hackney coaches was made in 1626, when Sir Sanders Duncombe was given a monopoly of sedan chairs for fourteen years ostensibly because the streets were 'so encumbered with the unnecessary multitude of coaches that many of our subjects are thereby exposed to great dangers and the necessary use of carts and carriages for provisions thereby much hindered.' The Duke of Buckingham patronised the sedan chairs when he came to Drury Lane Theatre, and thereby made them popular. A letter to Viscount Strafford in 1634 announces the beginning of the hackney coach hire industry.

Captain Bailey, who had served under Raleigh in Guiana, was enterprising enough to have

> erected according to his ability some four hackney coaches, put his men in livery and appointed them to stand at the Maypole in the Strand, giving them instructions at what rate to carry men into several parts of the town, where all day they may be had Other hackney men seeing this way, they flocked to the same place and performed their journeys at the same rate, so that sometimes there is twenty of them together which disperse up and down so that they and others are to be had everywhere as watermen are to be had at the waterside. Everyone is much pleased with it.

January 19, 1635, saw the issue of another proclamation ordering that coaches must be hired for at least three miles.

> No hackney coach should be used in the city of London or suburbs thereof other than by carrying of people to and from their habitations in the country, and that, no person should make use of a coach in the city except such persons as could keep four able horses for His Majesty's service

Cromwell and his Parliaments made an effort to limit coaches, and in 1654 in St Giles in the Fields ' wheeles shodd with iron ' were prohibited. No hackney coachman was to stand in the streets or feed his horses ' within three yeards of any man's dore.'

The restoration of Charles II. was a suitable occasion for dealing with coaches, and on October 18, 1660, a proclamation forbade plying for hire in the streets. All coaches were to remain in their yards till called for, but on the first day of the regulation Pepys, who had been by water to dine with my Lord Sandwich, managed to get a coach to carry him home. In spite of this order, we read in Taylor's *Carrier's Cosmography* that in 1662 there were 2490 hackney carriages in London plying for hire.

In 1689 Parliament limited their number to 400, and two years later, as has already been noted, an effort was made to deal with the road problem as a whole

There is plenty of comment on the condition of the roads in diaries and correspondence all through the century.

Horatio Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador, gives an interesting sidelight on the conditions of the roads in his diary for 1618 When the King knighted the Lord Mayor, Sir George Bowles, he gave him a hint to look after the two pests of London. The small ones were the 'prentices, who were often so troublesome, while by the great ones the King implied ' the carts which in passing along the streets whether narrow or wide, do not choose to yield or give way as due to the coaches of the gentry when they meet them.' Busino comments on the carts of London, and says ' there is such a multitude of them, large and small, that is to say, on two wheels and on four, that it would be impossible to estimate them correctly.'

Those which circulate in the city are for the most part on two broad and high wheels like those of Rome and serve for the conveyance of sundry articles such as beer, coal, wood, etc ; but among them are some very filthy ones, employed solely for cleansing the streets and carrying manure, and it is precisely the drivers of them who are usually the most insolent fellows in the world The other four-wheeled waggons come up from the country bringing goods and passengers higgledy-piggledy, precisely like Marghera boats, and they are drawn by seven or eight horses in file, one behind the other with plumes and bells, embroidered cloth coverings, and their stamping in the centre of the dry rut renders travelling on narrow roads in the country so inconvenient that it is impossible to get on with a coach and four

So we who lately took a distant journey broke the carriage and harassed the mares cruelly although they were very fresh and spirited.

The narrowness of the streets before the Fire in what was essentially a mediæval city was a matter of comment for many observers Pudding Lane and the other similar lanes that ran down to the waterside were notorious for their littleness, and were so closely built about that in some of them carts found it impossible to pass. Sir William Davenant voiced a general grievance when he wrote

Sure, your ancestors contrived your narrow streets in the days of street barrows before those greater engines, carts, were invented.

And another contemporary writer, quoted by Walter Bell in his *Great Fire of London*, says :

The danger I did once run of my thereabouts by the crowd of carts hath caused one many times to make reflection on the covetousness of the citizens and connivancy of magistrates who hath suffered them from time to time to encroach upon the streets and so to get the top of their houses so as from one side of the street to touch the other, which as it doth facilitate a conflagration, so doth it also hinder the remedy.

It was not surprising that Pepys so often went by boat from Seething Lane to Westminster after his experience in Newgate Shambles, where his coach knocked two pieces of meat off a butcher's stall and Pepys had to pay a shilling to compensate for the loss of the meat. Food that had fallen in a London street of those days would not be worth retrieving. Royalty was not exempt from difficulties in getting through the streets. Pepys tells us of an accident to the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth and Prince Rupert, who 'had the misfortune to be overset.' It seems to have happened at King's Gate, in Holborn, in the middle of the night, owing to inadequate lighting. The King fell into the mud, but was not hurt in any way.

Pepys at other times found progress through the narrow dirty streets difficult, and on November 27, 1660, he was hung up in a traffic block in King Street on his way from Charing Cross to Westminster Hall. 'There being a great stop of coaches, there was a falling out between a drayman and my Lord Chesterfield's

coachman and one of his footmen was killed.' We manage things a little better nowadays.

It is interesting to note Pepys' increasing prosperity as evidenced by his means of transport. To start with, he frequently goes on foot or hires a wherry, but later on he hires a hackney coach at Aldgate. After a week end at Epsom, where he saw Lord Buckhurst and 'Nelly' Gwynne, and went to church with Mr and Mrs. Evelyn, he made a 'resolution . . . never to keep a country house, but to keep a coach and with my wife on the Saturday go sometimes for a day to this place and then quit to another place; and there is more variety and as little change and no trouble as there is in a country house'

In 1667 he bought enough ground in Seething Lane for a coach-house and stable, a year later purchased a coach for 53*l*, and later on bought a pair of black horses, being surprised at the 'craft and cunning I never dreamed of concerning the buying and selling of horses' His coach, being second-hand, soon needed painting, and he was like a child with a new toy, for he sat at a coachbuilder's in Long Acre and watched it being painted yellow from three in the afternoon until eight at night.

Evelyn, who would have town-planned the metropolis if he had been allowed, and actually anticipated Dame Henrietta Barnett's proposal of a circle of green fields round London, also had his complaints to make of the condition of the streets He deplored, as he said with just indignation, the smoke and dirt of London, and thought

> that the streets should be so narrow and incommodious in the very centre and busiest places of intercourse, that there should be so ill and uneasie a form of pavings under foot, so troublesome and malicious a disposure of the spouts and gutters overhead, are particularly worthy of reproof and reformation, because it is hereby rendered a labyrinth in its principal passages and a continual wet day after the storm is over.

The need of fresh bridges over the Thames was not so marked as would have been the case if there had not been a constant supply of wherries plying up and down stream and from one jetty or wharf to another. There were as many wherries on the Thames in early Stuart times as there were gondolas in Venice, and as it was not until late into the nineteenth century that a second bridge was built over the Grand Canal, so London waited till the early eighteenth century before building a second bridge over the Thames, though there was considerable agitation for one all through the latter half of the seventeenth century.

In 1670 (April 4) a Bill was introduced for building a bridge over the Thames at Putney, and though several people gave the idea their support, it never matured. Mr. Jones, M.P. for London, said that the

Bill would question the very being of London; next to pulling down the Borough of Southwark, nothing could ruin it more The through traffic westward for fuel, grain and hay could not be kept up if the bridge was built It would injure the watermen, the King, and the nation

Mr. Walker thought it would be good for Westminster, and instanced Paris and Venice in support of his argument. He deprecated the idea of obstructing public improvements, and commented on the inconvenience caused to the King when he went hunting in the south of London. Sir Thomas Lee thought it would make the new buildings in the west of London let better, while Sir William Thompson said that it would make the skirts too big for the body. Others thought that it would make the river bed shelve up and drive shipping to Woolwich

Considering the enormous number of topics which were dealt with by the pen of Daniel Defoe, it is not surprising that in 1697, the year in which he altered his name, he should in his Essay on 'Projects' have suggested some solution of the road problem. He is discussing the roads through Islington, then, as now, the chief thoroughfare to the north.

There lies [he writes in that extraordinary congeries of ideas] through this large town the greatest road in England and the most frequented, especially by cattle for Smithfield market, this great road has so many branches and lies for so long through the parish, and withal has the inconvenience of a clayey ground and no gravel at hand, that modestly speaking, the parish is not able to keep it in repair, by which means several cross roads in the parish lie wholly unpassable and carts and horses (and men too) have been almost buried in holes and sloughs and the main road itself has for many years lain in a very ordinary condition . . . the parish would part with all the waste land upon their roads to be eased of the . repair . . a noble magnificent causeway might be erected . . . 30 to 40 feet broad to reach from London to Barnet

On another page Defoe writes:

The highways lie in a most shameful manner in most parts of the kingdom, and in many places wholly impassable I have seen the road sixty to a hundred yards broad, lie from side to side, all poached with cattle, the land of no manner of benefit and yet no going with a horse, but at every step up to the shoulders full of sloughs and holes and covered with water.

An interesting sidelight on conditions in London towards the close of the seventeenth century is given by William King in his *Journey to London*, published in 1698. He calls it satirically the 'metropolis of civility,' and refers to the incredible number of alehouses and the ill manners of the children in the streets and of the 'prentices He is also intrigued by the coaches and the disorder created through them, and mentions the 'carmen who in this town overthrow the hell carts (for so they name the coaches) cursing and reviling at the nobles—you would imagine yourself amongst a legion of devils and in a suburb of hell. I have greatly

wondered at the remissness of the magistrate.' In a later passage he refers to the streets 'pestered with hackney coaches and insolent carmen, shops and taverns, noise and such a cloud of sea coals that if there be a resemblance of hell upon earth it is in this volcano in a foggy day'

A speech of Earl Warrington's in 1694 gives a good picture of the condition of the roads and the need for public national policy of reform .

> It is a shameful thing to see how very much the highways are generally neglected and out of repair, the fault of which does mostly lie at the door of the overseers, whose chiefest care in them nowadays is how to shuffle off the matter for their time, being very little concerned for what comes after them, and by this means, they bring at last a great burden upon their townships, which would have been prevented by a small charge if but taken in time and so the township suffer through their neglect

The reason for the rapid decay of roads in the seventeenth century was the growth in new users of them. The development of London, the union of the Crowns and the interchange of traffic between England and Scotland, and the growth of wheeled traffic as a whole, had a devastating effect on the roads. Passenger traffic had greatly increased since Chamberlayne wrote in 1649 .

> There is of late such an admirable commodiousness for men and women to travel from London to the principal towns of the country, that the like hath not been known in the world, that is, by stage coaches, wherein any-one may be transported, sheltered from foul weather and foul ways, and this at the low price of about a shilling for every five miles.

The roads were also full of carts bringing provisions to the various London markets, of which Smithfield and Billingsgate were then, as they are still, the most frequented. To the latter market Folkestone and Lyme Regis had regular services to bring fish to feed London's growing population Traffic by waterways or by sea helped to cope with the road problem, and we read of difficulties at Ware because the Lea was hard to navigate, and it was no good transferring the cargo to the roads, already over-crowded and often impassable

The problem of the traffic and the task of feeding London were too big for anything but a national solution, and the roads needed a comprehensive policy rather than intermittent local effect Such a scheme was not to come till Hanoverian times, and the condition of the roads round London in 1706 is summed up in a contemporary phrase : 'Everyone knows that for a mile or so round the city, the roads and the ditches are commonly full of nastiness and stinking dirt.'

NORMAN G. BRETT-JAMES

SOME ASPECTS OF ENGLISH HUNTING

THERE is an old and picturesque Arab proverb which says 'that Allah reckons not in the life of man the hours spent in the chase.' The Briton, whether his blood be Celtic, Saxon or Norman, seems always to have had in his mind a precisely similar sentiment, certain it is that in no other race in the world has the passion for hunting been so extraordinarily developed as in the men of these islands

In the middle of the last century, when railways were spreading ceaselessly over the length and breadth of the land, old-fashioned country folk prophesied that in another fifty or sixty years the sport of hunting would be coming to an end in England We are now in the third decade of the twentieth century, we have gone through the horrors, the losses and the tribulations of the most terrible war the world has ever seen; and our packs of hounds are not only far more numerous than in 1850, but are attended by much larger fields, The thirst for the chase, in truth, shows no symptoms whatever of being assuaged Even in the last twenty years before the war the number of packs of hounds hunting in Britain showed a notable increase. In the season of 1895-96 there were put into the field in the United Kingdom 182 packs of fox-hounds, 22 of staghounds, and 183 of harehounds, showing a total of 387 packs. For the season of 1913-14 there were included in the *Field* list of hunting establishments 210 packs of foxhounds, 18 packs of staghounds, and 208 packs of harehounds, giving a grand total of 436 packs. Of these no fewer than 352 were maintained in England, Ireland putting into the field 69 packs and Scotland no more than 15. If we consider the small area of these islands and the enormous and still growing population, the figures given are, it will be conceded, sufficiently astonishing But even these did not completely represent the actual number of packs of hounds hunting at that time. Various small private packs of harriers, or beagles, are maintained by owners who do not court publicity, and whose hounds are not therefore recorded in the published lists. In the south of Ireland there were something like a score or more of what are known as 'Sunday packs' of harriers, supported by farmers and tradesmen, which also were not included

in Baily's *Hunting Directory*, or in the *Field* and other lists. After the second year of the war, as the pinch began to be felt and money grew ' tight,' as food for men and beasts became ever scarcer, and all those except the purely selfish began to pull in their belts, the reduction in the number of hounds was perforce very great. There was no longer food for them, the expense could not be borne, and the Board of Agriculture had to step in and demand a severe reduction in the number of hounds

In 1915 I was sending some foxhounds to America to a master of hounds there and had asked the late Duke of Beaufort if he could sell a few couples. He was not able to do this, but he told me that if I went down to Badminton he would show me his pack and allow me to pick out two or three couples of his older hounds which he very generously offered to give me I went down to Badminton and had the great pleasure of inspecting the splendid pack there with the Duke, who showed me some eighty couples and told me he had some twenty couples more, including puppies From those I saw we drew three couples, which were soon after despatched to America In the season of 1916-17 the Duke's pack was reduced, by reason of the pinch of war, to fifty-five couples, while in 1917-18, when the pressure of the great struggle had reached its worst and German submarines were destroying our food vessels by hundreds, the magnificent Badminton pack had been cut down to thirty couples Old hounds were destroyed, or ' put down,' as the phrase goes in hunting establishments and few puppies were bred. I believe the Duke managed to save a certain number of couples by sending them out to America; but the sacrifice of hounds in this historic pack, one of the three finest in England, was sad indeed [1]

This phase of the war was of course a very severe blow to fox-hunting. Some statistics compiled by the late Mr J. Rooke Rawlence, hon secretary of the Master of Foxhounds Association, show that in 1913 there were then 7615 couples of foxhounds and staghounds in England and Scotland These were reduced during the war, by order of the Board of Agriculture, by 2900 couples. By the year 1922 the figures had risen again to 6361 couples, and this season the number of hounds should be approaching the figures of 1913. These statistics do not include foxhounds in Ireland or the many harehunting packs in the whole of Britain.

The total number of packs hunting in these islands had shrunk from 426 in 1913-14 to 348 by the year 1917, and by 1918-19 to 331 These figures have, unhappily, owing mainly to ruinous taxation and the continued impoverishment of the landed

[1] The present Duke of Beaufort tells me that his father sent thirty couple of hounds to the United States and thirty couple to Canada, in 1916, but that most of these unfortunately died during the sea passage.

gentry, suffered a yet further decline; and at the beginning of the last season, 1924-25, the total number of packs hunting in Britain, as furnished in the *Field* lists, was 323, a decline of 123 from the number hunting in 1913-14 This season—1925-26—there is, however, a marked improvement and 346 packs of hounds are in the field in Britain. It is only fair to state that a considerable portion of the reduction since 1914 lies with the various packs of harriers and beagles, establishments which were, as a rule, carried on upon very economical lines by the class of lesser country gentlemen, who under the severe pressure of the times were compelled to relinquish their ancient pastime In Ireland also the political and agrarian changes wrought during the last few years have had a disastrous effect on hunting, and the reduction in the number of packs hunting has been considerable There are now twenty-two packs of foxhounds hunting there, in place of twenty-four in 1913, but harrier packs have sunk from forty-one in 1913-14 to fourteen at the present time, and only one pack of beagles now takes the field

The great reduction in the number of hounds maintained during the later years of the war led, of course, to an immense increase in the price of hounds At the close of hostilities, when hunting men were getting busy again and making preparations for fresh and exhilarating campaigns, the prices of individual hounds soared enormously Everyone who could afford it was buying, and the demand for good hounds was greater than the supply, with the inevitable result. Hounds have been bred freely in the last few years, and the more recent sales indicate that hounds can now be bought at reasonable figures again. This, then, is all to the good for the future of hunting

The recovery in hunting since the war has, notwithstanding the reduction in packs, been very wonderful New classes of sportsmen and women, especially the latter, have entered the field, and the number of followers, especially with foxhound packs, was probably never greater than at the present time The pity is that these new people are mostly ignorant of the rules and courtesies of the game and are apparently not very eager to learn They are, of course, not to be compared with the keen and understanding sportsmen of the pre-war days, so many of whom have been compelled to relinquish hunting or perished during the war The difficulty now, especially in areas known as the fashionable countries, is to keep fields within due limits, and to obtain this *desideratum* not only have hunt subscriptions been considerably increased, but 'capping' to the tune of *1l.* to *3l* per day is now a recognised system, designed to check the ardour of those wandering and selfish sportsmen who for so many years

were accustomed to obtain their hunting at the cost of other and more generous folk.

It was computed just before the war that some 200,000 horses were then maintained for purposes of hunting in the three kingdoms, that these hunters cost their owners somewhere about 10,000,000*l.* of money, and that the expense of their annual maintenance reached a total of something like another 7,500,000*l.* annually. These figures were based on a moderate estimate, and were probably somewhat under the mark. If we add to these the cost of the purchase, breeding and upkeep of the 436 packs of hounds then hunting in the United Kingdom, of the army of huntsmen, whippers-in, second horsemen, grooms, strappers and kennelmen, it will be admitted, without troubling the reader with further statistics, that the sums of money distributed over the rural parts of Britain each year for the upkeep of the ancient sport of hunting were enormous. The expenditure on foxhunting since the war is probably at least as great now, in consequence of the increase in cost, as it was then Abolish hunting, as some envious and jaundiced folk would like to do, and you would lose the only real nursery of cavalry and horses that we have. You would inflict, into the bargain, irreparable injury, not only on a very excellent class of working men, strong, active, hardy, and temperate, but also on innumerable farmers, labourers, horse-breeders and tradespeople, all more or less closely connected with the welfare of our great winter pastime Without going deeply into further figures, it may be said that the cost of maintenance of a single one of our more famous packs of hounds in one way and another runs into anything between 8000*l* and 12,000*l* per annum A quiet country pack can be run for as little as from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* per annum. But a large number of foxhound establishments cost, when all is told, from 3000*l* to 5000*l* yearly. A modest pack of harriers, say of sixteen couples, unless huntsman and whip are, as is often the case, amateurs, could not be run on less than from 600*l.* to 700*l.* per annum, and a small pack of foot beagles for 200*l* for the same period The expense of hunting a pack of hounds steadily increases, and is likely to increase ; the 'damage' and 'poultry' funds, especially, have rapidly mounted up during the last twenty years, and give much anxiety to the hunt secretary and others interested in the adjustment of claims under those heads.

And now, what of the sport enjoyed at the present day ? It is of course, in the best countries, far faster, and probably more exciting, than it used to be ; those who come out, whether men or women, not so much to hunt as to ride, vastly exceed the number of those who really care to see hunting and watch hounds work. Probably the most natural and enjoyable period of English hunt-

ing was in the eighteenth century, when only the squires and their friends, the farmers and a few local parsons, doctors and professional men, went out. In those days the country was of course much less enclosed than it is at present—hounds were slower, but more staunch and tender-nosed, and runs were of much longer duration. Then all those who came out took a personal interest in the pack and knew most of the hounds by name. The great days of hunting lay between 1815 and 1880. At the present time it is almost ludicrous to observe the complete lack of interest with which three-fourths of the field regard the animals which show them sport At the meet the folk who really look at hounds may usually be counted upon the fingers of one hand When hounds are drawing, an almost complete disregard of hunting etiquette and hunting intelligence is too often to be noted in the main body of the field, who talk as loud as they dare, often turn their backs on the huntsman and his pack, and make one wonder what on earth they come out for. It is not surprising that, when hounds find and get away quickly, so many of these people are 'left' and see nothing of the subsequent hunt. The fact is, I suppose, that of those who hunt at the present day more than half have had no sort of education in the sport in early youth. It is the fashion to hunt, and so soon as people acquire wealth nowadays—which they do, apparently, more quickly than their ancestors—they must buy horses, subscribe to hounds, and go a-hunting

These people are utterly at sea in the hunting field. Some few of them who have intelligence and the instincts of sport pick up information and are presently able to acquire the rudiments of the game and become respectable members of hunting society; but to the great majority, the science, the interest, and the beauty of hunting are as a sealed book. If an Act of Parliament could be passed that no one should ride foxhunting unless and until they had first served an apprenticeship with a pack of foot beagles, it would be the finest thing in the world for modern hunting In no other way are the science and the manners of hunting so completely attained, scores of our masters of hounds have acquired the rudiments of the chase from their early lessons with harriers and beagles; and it is a fact that the present Duke of Beaufort, as a youth, had by the advice of his father, that great sportsman, a pack of harriers of his own and thus acquired the inner mysteries of the venatorial art. Fashionable packs have of course their huge fields of votaries, the majority of whom get a gallop and some jumping but see very little of hounds. The few who are really well mounted, mean to keep near hounds, and are keenly interested in the run have in the shires a magnificent time of it. They ride over a grand grass country, at the tail of a first-rate and extraordinarily fleet pack, hunted by one of the best hunts-

men in England. If scent is good and they have a travelling fox in front of them, they enjoy a good many minutes—perhaps even an hour—of bliss, compared with which all other joys are tame indeed But the men and women who enjoy and appreciate these entrancing delights to the full are a wonderfully small minority; their good days are, in reality, few and far between, and their sport is but too often spoilt and hindered by the crowds of ignorant, heedless, and incompetent folk who help to compose the fields that now invade the best countries

Long ago, in the time of James I (that bad king but devoted huntsman), Goodman, chaplain to his queen, Anne of Denmark, wrote thus of hunting people:

> Wherein consist the sport and delight of hunting? Some say in the noise and cry of hounds, others, in the exercise of their own bodies and in the hope of the booty I do not like this variety of opinions, shall I resolve you this one point? The pleasure which you so hotly and eagerly pursue in the Chace consists in the phancy and your own apprehension!

Goodman, by the way, was no supporter of hunting like good Bishop Juxon, who kept a pack of hounds and loved the sport. He writes of 'these outrageous, troublesome, and bloody sports,' and, speaking of the hunters, says 'the highways cannot contain them, but over the hedges and ditches; here begins the cry and curse of the poor tenant, who sits at a hard rent and sees his corn spoiled' How little we have altered in three hundred years! In our day, however, the highways do very often contain a not inconsiderable portion of a modern field. Evidently we are not all such thrusters as they were in Stuart times. We have advanced, too, somewhat since Goodman held forth. In these days the farmer whose crops or fences are injured obtains reasonable remuneration for his loss.

When we look at the huge fields to be seen at meets of the best known packs at the present time, with their strings of motor cars, and their display of wealth and luxury, we wonder what all these people are doing in the hunting field. Various reasons prompt them. Some go because it is the thing to do and because the best people do it. Some like to display themselves in smart hunting kit; others go for air and exercise—in moderation. About a fifth, perhaps, are thoroughly keen and hard-bitten, and mean to see, and do see, most of the fun. The hard-bitten folk, by the way, are, unfortunately, in a decreasing minority. Motor cars are eating steadily into the manliness of the rising generation of sportsmen; many men whose fathers, not many years since rode long distances to covert, only get on horse-back for a brief two or three hours, after which their cars pick them up again and they are whisked home to afternoon tea, bridge, and other enfeebling pursuits. In remote hunting countries, on

Exmoor, and in such localities, a few sportsmen still hack long distances to meets, and by the time they reach home again have covered perhaps from forty to fifty miles; but even these are degenerates, if we compare their performances with those of our hardy ancestors, who would often accomplish seventy or eighty miles in the course of a day's hunting. Parson Jack Russell has been known, in his good days, to ride seventy miles to attend a meet of hounds, to hunt all day, and make his way home at night.

Sir Robert Sanders, M P., late Minister of Agriculture, for years a most successful master of the Devon and Somerset Staghounds, and his successor, the late Major Morland Greig, with their huntsman and whip, Sidney Tucker and Ernest Bawden, in the wild uplands of Exmoor put in before the war some extraordinarily long days to hounds when hunting the wild red-deer of that region; yet even they can scarcely be said to have equalled the feats of the hunting worthies of a century since.

Machinery throughout Europe will, I suppose, sooner or later achieve the downfall of the natural, athletic man; already, since the advent of the motor car, one sees clear symptoms of the distaste for exercise and the decline of physical fitness. The man who habitually uses his car instead of walking, riding, or cycling is increasing in numbers yearly; you may tell him by his appearance He is to be seen commonly in the hunting field, where he usually rides a stone or two more than he ought to do and is never really fit and hard enough to go comfortably through a long and severe day It is a thousand pities; but, unfortunately, motor traction has come to stay, and, as it is already answerable for the increasing luxury and slackness of the race, will in time probably exterminate the horse and put an end to hunting altogether. Already the petrol-driven car has proved itself a sufficient nuisance to the chase in many parts of the country. So much is this the case that in some hunts—the Duke of Beaufort's among them—notices have been issued requesting owners of cars not to follow the hunting. Certainly nothing is more hostile to the true spirit of the chase than the automobile, with its hideous warning note, and its fumes of petrol gas poisoning the clear air of the country-side, which is now found constantly disturbing hounds and destroying any possibility of picking up the line of a fox in the vicinity Happy are the people now who hunt in some quiet part of England, where cars are still few and far between—where fields are small, foxes wild, and the huntsman and whips are not worried at every critical turn of the chase by motorists tearing about the country and ruining utterly the sport of those who maintain, or help to maintain, hounds at great expense and infinite labour The motor problem is one that severely threatens the proper enjoyment of hunting in many countries It is

exceedingly difficult to deal with, for the reason that many of the offending cars are owned by people who have nothing to do with the hunt, have little sympathy with hunting people, and merely rush about the country for their own pleasure, utterly regardless of the fact that they are destroying the sport of a whole district. Appeals to this sort of folk are apparently hopeless; morally the culprits are pirates of the worst kind, who care not the snap of a finger for the harm they do. Some of them even seem to take a fiendish pleasure in their misdeeds. They have the right and usage of the road and you cannot shift them! Hunting people, therefore, have to make the best or worst of them The electrification of railways will of course not tend to make matters easier for hunting folk Foxes and hounds will be slain and hunters will be unable to cross the line.

The increase of barbed wire fencing goes, unhappily, steadily forward, and with the abuse of motor cars and motor cycles may be coupled as the great enemy of modern hunting. In the richer and more fashionable countries this evil is to a considerable extent kept in check; but in countries where hunt funds are small and wire cannot be taken down for the season, the free usage and pleasure of hunting as it was once enjoyed is becoming largely a thing of the past. Where field after field is wired up riders can no longer jump freely, and the finest pastime in the world is becoming robbed of its former zest. In some countries it is the exception to see a hunt where free fencing can be indulged in; and the field has more often than not to use roads and gates and follow hounds as best they can. This is, of course, not hunting as it used to be known I was surprised to find last season, even in the wilds of Dorset, how wire has spread and to hear from the huntsman what a curse the thing is becoming.

The increase of poultry farming and the spread of bungalows and small houses over the countryside in the South of England are infallible warnings of the curtailment of hunting in many wide districts.

In the crowded fields of the present day we certainly see all sorts and conditions of mankind. Adversity, it is said, introduces us to strange bedfellows, but surely in prosperity—the prosperity of the hunting field—we meet with equally strange specimens of mankind. A few years back there was a pathetic picture in *Punch* representing a master of hounds at the digging of a fox which had been run to earth. A young sportsman of Semitic descent has been submitting his views to the master, who retorts, not without heat: 'Yes, but we're not hunting jackals round the walls of Jericho!' Verily, masters and huntsmen are much tried in these days. Still, even in the days of the Regency, unaccustomed figures and the influence of rapidly acquired wealth were

beginning to make themselves felt in the hunting field. One remembers the witty, if cruel, remark of Lord Alvanley to the member of a family of a very famous firm of pastry-cooks, who was out hunting on a pulling horse and was complaining of the hotness of his mount. 'Ice him, Gunter, ice him!' cried Alvanley, amid the laughter of the field.

Foxes at the present day are far more numerous than they were fifty or sixty years ago. They are, in fact, in many countries too numerous by a third. The stout old breed of the wild, indigenous English fox is far less in evidence than it used to be, and the animals hunted are but too often miserable, short-running brutes, which yield poor sport and are quickly accounted for. The importation and turning down of foxes has resulted—as was of course likely—in the steady deterioration of the breed in many countries This is a product of the changed condition of affairs, it can scarcely be avoided, and is one of the natural symptoms of the artificial state of things to which, in hunting as in other matters, we are slowly but steadily approaching.

Bad foxes are not by any means the rule, yet it may be said with truth that a good fox which yields a really fine hunt in the old-fashioned manner is the exception. The number of foxes killed in the days before the war was astounding—147 brace in the season was recorded by a well-known huntsman, but these holocausts by no means represented continuous good sport, or anything approaching it. An Irish master of hounds wrote somewhat feelingly upon this topic. 'We have neither the money, nor the wish, to eat several brace of "Leadenhallers" every morning we go cubbing and whenever we feel inclined in the regular season.' Turned-down foxes were, in fact, far too numerous, and there is no real credit to any huntsman in the killing of them I agree entirely with the Irish master. I would far rather see thirty brace of good foxes killed in a season, in a wild and unfashionable country, than a hundred brace—two-thirds of them short-running, spiritless brutes, probably—accounted for in a country where such animals are numerous Things have changed for the better in this respect since the war, and the number of foxes killed is now nothing like what it used to be, partly owing to the fact that good earth-stopping is now a thing of the past, and a considerable proportion of hunted foxes get to ground. Still, good wild foxes do exist, and happy are the pack, the huntsman and the field, that get hold of them.

The real, wild, *varmint* animal is at the present time much more frequently to be sought in remote parts of the kingdom, in what are known as provincial hunts, where the breed remains

much as it was a hundred years ago, and where imported abominations are unknown. You will find plenty of these staunch, wild-bred British foxes in the Lakeland districts, where the hardy dalesmen hunt them on foot and see some wonderful runs with them. These foxes of the Cumberland and Westmorland hills are often of great size, and run to very heavy weights. Some years since Joe Bowman, huntsman of the Ullswater Foxhounds, a foot-pack, killed, with the aid of a famous terrier, three dog foxes which weighed together 62 lb ! An average fox, in most parts of England, scales from 11 lb. to 14 lb. The Welsh hill foxes are also often of great weight and size, and yield extraordinary sport to the small rough packs which hunt them Some of these packs of the Principality are hunted to Welsh cries ; and those who may wish to see much the same class of rough sport which our forefathers enjoyed, more than a century since, in the wilder parts of England, may be advised to try their luck with the Welsh farmers and see their well-nosed, rough-coated hounds at work among the mountains and valleys of that fair country. To those who prefer quiet sport with good foxes in a rough and wild country, where small fields are the rule and every phase of the hunt can be seen and enjoyed, from the throw-off to the kill, there are still a good many districts where such things are attainable Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall are all good counties ; and, in addition to Wales and the Lakeland districts, the wilder parts of Yorkshire and the Border countries may be cited as regions where foxhunting in the old-fashioned manner is still attainable The Border, Bewcastle, Eskdaill, Liddesdale, and Jed Forest are all hunting countries where this kind of sport may be seen in perfection. One of the Lakeland packs, the Blencathra, in Cumberland, was formerly mastered by the then Speaker of the House of Commons, the Right Hon J. W. Lowther, now Viscount Ullswater This pack, with which most of the hunting has to be done on foot, musters no more than fifteen couple of hounds ; yet some years since, although hunting in one of the wildest and roughest parts of Britain, they killed twenty-four brace of foxes and ran fourteen brace to ground In these Lakeland districts foxhunting is pursued not as a fashionable sport, but as a serious business, carried on for the purpose of keeping down the number of foxes, which are a serious menace to the farmers' flocks, especially in the lambing season.

If in some respects the fields that now follow foxhounds in the better known parts of England are not all that could be desired from a sporting point of view, containing, as they do, large numbers of people who know nothing of the sport they seek, and who apparently never even care to acquire the rudiments, it may be said, on the other hand, that the hunt servants and a large

proportion of the masters are as good as they ever were. It matters little in what country you may watch them, the huntsmen and whips of the present day are still the keenest, hardiest and most active of mankind, well up to their work, capable of enduring immense fatigue and of turning out, day after day, to their sport, often in appalling weather, throughout the season. There is not a finer, more manly, or more efficient class of man in the United Kingdom than the professional hunt servant, or one that endures greater fatigue and strain with so cheerful a spirit. In the fashionable countries, where large and thrusting fields are constantly on the heels of hounds, the anxiety and difficulty of hunting a fox successfully are of course enormously enhanced. Only a natural-born genius for the sport can carry a man through under such conditions The huntsman must be a man of strong character and determination, quick as lightning, having the eye of a hawk and the serene patience of a Job. Such a man as the late Tom Firr, for example, possessed all the attributes of a successful general The late Will Goodall and Tom Isaac, Frank Gillard, F Freeman, the present huntsman of the Pytchley, and Arthur Thatcher, late huntsman to Mr Fernie's, may be cited as typical examples of natural-born huntsmen, fitted to pursue the fox successfully under the most difficult conditions If we remember the merely physical part of the labour of hunting hounds five days a week in a fashionable country, and add to that the strain of having to show sport with a field of two or three hundred horsemen and women thundering at your heels, it is, in truth, surprising that so many huntsmen should be found proving successes and not failures. There are failures, of course—men who can show good sport in a quiet country, but who are not quite equal physically and mentally to the enormous strain of hunting hounds in the shires. We have not, thank goodness, many huntsmen at the present day of the calibre of the celebrated Mr. Richard Bragg, who once offered his services to John Jorrocks, Esq , M F H. Foxhunting has become much more of a serious business since the thirties and forties of last century, and the Braggs are now speedily detected.

Considering their hard work and responsibilities, huntsmen have a knack of retaining their nerve and powers in a wonderful manner The free, open-air life is, of course, much in their favour. Tom Firr at fifty-eight was admittedly as good as ever in his last season with the Quorn, before he met with the accident that ended his career. Will Dale, who so successfully hunted the Duke of Beaufort's hounds, had had an active career of fifty-three years with hounds, and had served as huntsman with the Burton, Lord Fitzwilliam's, the Brocklesby, and the Duke's for thirty-seven years—a wonderful record. Not all huntsmen of fashion-

able packs are, however, able to stand the strain, The two famous Will Goodalls both died untimely, and in more recent days Tom Isaac, of the Cottesmore, who was developing all the characteristics of a most brilliant huntsman, was snatched away by death. Yet, as a class, huntsmen mostly live to a good old age. Among amateur huntsmen and masters of hounds one finds, happily, at the present day plenty of sound instances to prove that the gentlemen of Britain, in spite of infinite temptation to luxury, are still, many of them, of the right stamp—hardy, active and enterprising, not only able and willing to take the field against stag, fox, and hare, but, as the Boer War and the Great War proved, to ride or march against the foe when needed. The percentage of hunting men who fought and distinguished themselves in our two most recent wars bears ample tribute to the saying of the Duke of Wellington that his best officers were foxhunters. We have still plenty of amateur huntsmen forthcoming, men who are willing to endure fatigue and foul weather for the pure love of sport. Some few among them are worthy to be classed with the eighteenth Lord Willoughby de Broke, Colonel Anstruther Thomson, and the late Duke of Beaufort, three of the greatest amateurs that ever carried the horn. Among leading amateurs of the present day may be cited the names of the Rev E. A Milne (of the Cattistock), Sir George Thursby (New Forest Buckhounds), Major J. L Priestman (Braes of Derwent Foxhounds), Mr Curre (who hunts his own pack of light-coloured foxhounds in Monmouthshire), the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Southampton (South Durham Foxhounds), Mr Archie Pape (Silverton Foxhounds, Devon), Sir Ian H. Amory (Tiverton Foxhounds), and Mr T W. Robson Scott (Jed Forest Foxhounds, Roxburghshire).

There are innumerable other instances to be found, tending to show that among real hunting folk there are plenty of amateurs to be found who, from sheer love of sport, will undergo cheerfully great toil and exposure in the hunting and mastership of a pack of hounds The risks, which are not inconsiderable, are, of course, never counted in the day's work In an age of softness and steadily growing luxury and self-indulgence it is cheering to find so many of our gentry still exhibiting the characteristics that have distinguished the race during a thousand years. When Britons cease to take an interest in field sports good soldiers will surely be hard to find in these islands.

Foxhounds have during the last eighty years been greatly improved all round in pace and looks. An immense amount of care and attention is now bestowed upon the breeding of hounds of all sorts. It is permissible to suggest that in aiming so much at speed and appearance the ancient and cardinal qualities of nose and voice have been somewhat neglected. During the last twenty

years the conformation of the forelegs and feet of hounds, especially among the fashionable packs, have been much altered for the worse, and too many hounds are to be seen which stand so much over at the knee and have such misshapen forefeet that they would have been drafted as cripples in the old days. This mischievous tendency has, I believe, more recently received a check, and one may hope will in time disappear, though it will now take years to correct what can only be termed a freak of fashion in hound breeding.

Horses are probably as good as ever they were, and men who hunt were as a whole never better mounted than they are at present. I will not say that horses are *better* than they ever were, because I am not absolutely convinced on that point. I was lately looking over particulars of the sale of the Earl of Stamford and Warrington's stud in the year 1863 Lord Stamford was master of the Quorn from 1856 to 1863, and at the sale of his hunters three fetched 500 guineas and upwards, seven went for 400 guineas or more, while seven others realised more than 300 guineas apiece I take it that even at the present day, when good hunters are certainly more valuable than they ever were few studs would reach such figures as these realised sixty years since. The only other sale that I can remember to compare with this of Lord Stamford's was that of the present Lord Lonsdale's stud, when he gave up the Quorn in 1898. Of his own hunters one, Bay Prince, sold for 660 guineas, another, Tern, for 500 guineas; two went for 470 guineas each, one for 450 guineas, while three others went for 400 guineas or more and three for 300 guineas or more apiece Of Lady Lonsdale's, Œdipus realised 760 guineas, Eggshell 630 guineas, and seven others from 250 to 430 guineas apiece I suppose there never were got together in any one stable a more perfect lot of hunters than Lord Lonsdale's at the termination of his mastership of the Quorn Hounds.

Harehunting, which had a great revival in the thirty years before the war, was then flourishing exceedingly. It has, as I have elsewhere shown, suffered since the war a severe setback, and mounted packs have much declined in numbers This quiet form of sport appeals to many people who are unable to afford the expense of hunting with foxhounds. Foot-packs, chiefly of beagles, have, too, suffered a decline; where they exist they are increasingly popular and are welcomed by farmers in all parts of the country. Last season some fifty packs of these little hounds were hunting in England Harehunting with Basset hounds may be styled the caviare of the modern chase. These heavy, short-legged and crooked but handsome hounds push a hare very slowly, and are, of course, hunted on foot. They have glorious voices, and a 'cry' of these hounds is a real pleasure to listen to, as they

puzzle out the mazes of their quarry's flight. Five packs of these hounds are now in the field. Hares are certainly more plentiful than they were thirty years ago, and harehunting goes on its quiet way, on a reduced scale, in fair prosperity.

Wild red-deer are, of course, still pursued with hounds in one corner of Britain, the Forest of Exmoor and the neighbouring country. The sport, which grows more and more in popular favour, as the huge staghunting fields of August and September now testify, is in an extremely flourishing condition. Three packs of hounds, the Devon and Somerset, the Tiverton, and the Quantock, kennelled respectively at Exford, Tiverton, and Quantock Lodge, are engaged in the pursuit. Twenty years ago the red-deer were so numerous that no fewer than five packs of hounds were engaged in reducing their numbers The superabundance has been to some extent got rid of, and, though it is computed that 800 head of deer now wander over the glorious uplands of Devon and Somerset, three packs are found sufficient to keep them in check There is no finer or more entrancing sport than the chase of the wild red-deer in these favoured counties.

In spite of certain excrescences which disfigure, if they do not actually injure, the great sport of hunting—excrescences which are chiefly to be attributed to the growth of wealth and spending power and the desire for luxury which attends it—the chase, whether of fox, hare or wild deer, in these islands still happily shows abundant signs of vitality and gives the promise of maintaining a robust existence for many a long year yet to come. In republican France there was during the last thirty years before the war an extraordinary revival of hunting in all its branches, and red-deer, roe, wild boar, wolf, hare, and occasionally fox, were eagerly pursued by more than 330 packs of hounds. This excellent state of affairs has, of course, been much altered for the worse since 1914. Our Gallic neighbours were then in the happy position of owning a far larger extent of huntable country than we can aspire to, and were yet able to point to a stationary, or even a slightly dwindling, population. We, on the contrary, find our hunting fields constantly becoming circumscribed by the growth of towns and suburbs and a population which still exhibits a healthy annual increase. In the very nature of things it is clear that hunting must cease to exist in certain counties where great centres of industry and growing populations require more and more space Surrey, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and parts of Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lancashire are instances in point. Here and there small holdings and the growth of poultry and fruit farming will, too, have a deterrent influence on hunting and hunting folk. Yet, even so, there will probably remain for the better part of another century room and verge

enough for that great sport so dear to Britons. Sad, indeed, will be the day, gloomy the fair countryside, and dull the village street when the last red coat has been seen, when the thrilling note of the horn is heard no more, and no longer the glorious music of the running pack floats over the fields. A catastrophe so mournful is, happily, for the present still far away in the dim and distant future.

H. A. BRYDEN.

THE ARTHURIAN LEGEND IN BRITTANY

No more notable example can be furnished of the close association existing in the early days of history between Great Britain and the country sometimes referred to in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* as Petit Britain than the story of the Arthurian legend.

In the Middle Ages the Arthurian cycle, as it is called, was by far the most popular of the four great cycles of stories dealing with heroes and heroic events—Arthur, Charlemagne, Alexander the Great, and the tale of Troy. All Europe rang with it. Many times, and in many countries, was it written down , and finally in England Sir Thomas Malory gave it the authoritative, definite form in which it has descended to us to-day. Largely on Malory Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*—those ' falsetto preachments of the modern Muse,' as an eminent folklorist has called them—are based. And just as Tennyson has succeeded in making his hero a respectable Victorian, so did Malory and every writer of the legend who preceded him impart to Arthur much of the period in which the writing took place What they did, in short, was to adapt to the popular taste of the time legends already formed and well-known

Though Arthur was probably an actual historical person, the very century in which he lived has been disputed; and in the legends that have grown up about him folklorists find ' Oriental stories, bits of classical myth, and, above all, Celtic tradition.' It is, of course, the Celtic tradition which interests us

Now Celts migrated at some prehistoric period both into England and into France, and by Roman pressure were gradually pushed westward—into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and into Brittany. Both branches must have taken with them the same or similar traditions ; both took with them the same religion. But in different countries these traditions tended to develop along different lines.

When, therefore, the Roman, and subsequently the Saxon, pressure began to be exercised, many thousands of British Celts migrated to Brittany, or Armorica as it was then named, and these Breton immigrants carried to their new country the traditions and folk-tales with which they themselves had become familiar, and

which both modified and enriched the folklore of the Breton Celts. On both sides of the Channel these folk-tales dealt, we may be sure, to a considerable degree with heroes whose prowess was in arms, who could kill more men, who could ride a horse farther, than their fellows. And around these hero chieftains gathered their bands of followers, each with his peculiarity to distinguish him vividly, in the minds of those who listened to the tale, from the rest of the band. Sometimes the central figure of the chieftain is overshadowed by the deeds of his warriors, but both he and they are gifted with magic powers which lift them far above the level of those to whom the tale was recited, and all of them, by virtue of their magic, are, in part at least, one is tempted to think, absolved from such restrictions of morality, sexual and social, as obtained in the days when the legends were taking shape.

Both in England and in Brittany the figure of Arthur became popular at a very early period, and the legends about him grew apace But it was not the Arthur

> Who reverenced his conscience as his king,
> Whose glory was redressing human wrong,
> Who spake no slander, no, nor listened to it;
> Who loved one only and who clave to her.

Far otherwise. Even in more developed stories than these early oral ones, Arthur has three wives; in others, three mistresses; in others, again, he is guilty of incest with his sister. His court is a gruesome mixture of warfare and wantonness. His warriors are endowed with marvellous, if seemingly rather useless, attributes: one of them, for example, by standing on the highest mountain in the world, can make it a plain beneath his feet; another can suck dry the sea, a third can spread his beard, red and untrimmed, over the forty-eight rafters of Arthur's hall.

But gradually, as the social sense developed, the first steps in the etherialisation of Arthur were made, the more obvious grossness being either glossed over or abandoned, the magic, which may have been remnants of the Celtic Druidical religion, being Christianised into an affair of vague spirituality. Both in Wales and Ireland and in Brittany Arthur becomes a trifle more recognisable to modern eyes. And in this process non-Celtic hands played a decisive part.

In the middle of the ninth century the Normans overran the east of Brittany, and when the line of Breton dukes arose a century and a half later, they found themselves related to the Dukes of Normandy and their dukedom in a manner owning the Dukes of Normandy as overlords. In this way a close relationship grew up between the two peoples; and in this way, too, the Arthurian legends passed from the imaginative Bretons into the adapting

hands of the Normans. After the Conquest—at which probably the majority of William's army was composed of Bretons—the parallel series of legends that had been growing up in Wales were also thrown, so to speak, upon the table of Norman editorship; and so very gradually, with local variations and at the price of great geographical confusion, the several forms were welded at last into something approaching a complete whole.

Nor must we forget the probable influence of the story's popularity in other countries. Only thirty years after the Norman conquest of England we find the legends reaching Italy, and in the succeeding two centuries, when their popularity all over Europe was comparable only to that of an international 'best-seller' to-day (a best-seller orally transmitted), many twists and turns must have been given to the narrative that were absent while it remained confined to, at most, three countries.

Now the extent of the Norman editorship of the legends may be judged by the fact that they took and adapted and fitted into the story not only the traditional tales that had clustered about the name of Arthur—tales so traditional that it was possible to attribute to him a victory which took place two centuries after his probable time—but they fitted into these tales legends having no relation to Arthur which have since come to be regarded as the key-stones and corner-stones of his cycle The legends of the Holy Grail rose, in the opinion of those qualified to judge of these things, in Wales, on the other hand, Merlin, Lancelot, Tristram, and the two Ysouds probably originated in Brittany; and in all these cases it would be unsafe to venture upon the statement that they had in their early days any relationship whatsoever with the main story of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. Probably they arose independently and lived a long, independent life, to be seized upon one after another and adapted to the main end—the creation of a greater and greater Arthurian story to meet a ravenous public demand.

The Normans, then, edited the legends; and in one other direction did they—or more correctly their descendants—fashion them into the glittering story as written by Sir Thomas Malory in the middle of the fifteenth century. When the Normans had completed their work upon them, Arthur and his men had ceased to be British or Breton; they had become Norman. When Malory wrote his *Morte d'Arthur*, his hero had ceased to be Norman; he was arrayed in the panoply of a mediæval knight, conducting himself according to the laws and usages of mediæval chivalry. From the gross, half-magical Arthur of the early Celtic tribes of Wales and Brittany to the chivalrous knight whose magic is dispensed, as it were, at second hand, as depicted by Malory, is, indeed, the measure of a civilisation's march.

I make no apology should this introduction have proved disjointed, for folklore bloweth where it listeth over the face of the earth and cannot be confined entirely to one country. Having outlined the development of the cycle in general, I propose to devote the rest of this paper to an attempt at identifying some of the spots in which a lover of the legend may find congenial Breton company But he will be able to imagine a few at least of the difficulties attendant upon such an attempt ; and if the pilgrimage be short and meagre of results he will, I am sure, consent to deplore the lack of maps and guide-posts rather than the indifference or ill-will of the guide For not only are these guide-posts often absent, so that one must trudge many miles in blind faith, but they appear sometimes deliberately to mislead, those who erect them, seeming to be overcome by patriotism for their own countries and twisting every post in their desired direction

We have already mentioned Merlin as of Breton origin. He was born, it is said, in the Ile de Sein—what more suitable spot could be found than this stronghold of Druidism ?—the son of a demon and a nun. But it was not there that his work was performed He departed at an early age to the magic forest of Brociliande or Brécilien, which the Breton identifies with the Forêt de Paimpont, between Rennes and Ploermel

Brociliande was the most famous of Breton magic forests, the cradle of Breton sorcery, and imbued with all the fearful fascination of the Black Arts According to mediæval chroniclers and poets, no one who was not a magician lived within its shades, so that mortal men and women dared scarcely set foot inside it , and was a new witchcraft or a new heresy to be promulgated, it was to the forest of Brociliande that its progenitor retired to give it birth. Thus, in the twelfth century, a certain Eon de L'Etoile repaired thither , and, emerging again, offered as proofs of his new religious doctrine demonstrations of such extraordinary magic as made the flesh of Brittany creep. So evil did the reputation of this and other forests become, and so widespread was the art of sorcery in the country, that St Vincent Ferrier, a fifteenth century Spanish priest who is buried at Vannes and who has become a popular Breton saint, judged it his duty to combat the iniquity . and as the result of much travel and inquiry expressed, with characteristically mediæval exaggeration, the opinion that scarcely a single town or district in the whole province was exempt from its corruption

But his campaign seems to have achieved little result, for, in spite of it, sorcerers and sorceresses continued to flourish, and witches' meetings were frequent in Brociliande ; and there are still Bretons who declare that such meetings are held even to-day upon the calvaries of La Croix Madame at Bruz, a few kilometres

south of Rennes, and of La Croix de Migraine, on the edge of the forest. To enable them to reach the former place of rendezvous, witches, according to tradition, must rub upon their bodies the fat of a newly killed infant and must repeat this verse.

Par dessus has
Par dessus bois,
Olmont de la cheminée
Je m'en vas [1]

At La Croix de Migraine meetings are declared to be held on the Saturday preceding the new moon. The point of departure is the Croix de Yaume, some two kilometres distant; from Yaume to Migraine the assembly dances its way, and dances throughout the night round the latter, so that belated washerwomen in the neighbouring pool can sometimes hear the shuffle of the witches' feet. Should a mortal encounter the witches on their journey from calvary to calvary, or in any manner interfere with their festivities, he is dragged into the whirlwind of the dance, and his broken and mutilated body is left on the roadside at dawn as a warning to his fellows.

At Guer, to the south of the forest, is told a strange tale of the Huguenots, the central figure of which is a certain beautiful Margot who embraced at the same time the new religion and sorcery. She and her companions, Huguenots and sorcerers all, lived in the Château de Couedor, near Coetquidan, the very mention of which made the neighbouring villages tremble

One night Gurval, on his return from Paimpont to his house in Guer, came unexpectedly upon a meeting of witches with Margot as the central figure To advance was to be drawn into their fatal circle; to retreat was to bring them like a swarm of wasps about his ears Gurval had but one course of action left him: he opened his clasp-knife and threw it with all his force into the middle of the dance. In an instant the witches had disappeared.

A year later he was called mysteriously to the notorious Château de Couedor, where he found Margot, *la Huguenote*, upon the point of death.

'You it was,' she declared, 'who wounded me with the knife; you alone it is who can withdraw it. I beg of you to save my life'

But Gurval, honest man, would not save her life without at the same time saving her soul. Persuading her to abandon her Huguenot heresies, he withdrew the steel and put it once more in his pocket. Nor did his goodness stop there. He married Margot and lived with her to a ripe old age.

Yet, goes the tale, in spite of the honesty of Gurval and the reformation of Margot, their children were all witches.

[1] 'Over hill, over brake,
Up through the chimney my way I take.

To the devout Breton Huguenot and sorcerer have always been, if not synonymous, terms at least very closely related. For were not the Huguenots forced to practise their rites in woods and waste lands and deserted houses? And is not this characteristic also of sorcerers from time immemorial? This reasoning led in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is said, to the curious sight of Bretons destroying their own wayside crosses and calvaries—the symbols of their own Catholicism—from fear that they should fall into the witches' clutch of the Huguenots, and also because of stories that had grown up of hoards of witches' treasure to be found at their base. Nearly 5000 crosses, I believe, were thus destroyed in the single diocese of Léon.

Within the forest of Brocihande is the Fountain of Barenton, the water of which, runs the legend, enabled Merlin to perform many of his enchantments. This fountain is the resort of fairies robed in white; the method by which they may be invoked is described in the Welsh folk-tales of the Mabinogion, translated by Lady Charlotte Guest:[2]

> Take [said he] that path that leads towards the head of the glade, and ascend the wooded steep until thou comest to its summit, and there thou wilt find an open space like to a large valley, and in the midst of it a tall tree, whose branches are greener than the greenest pine-trees. Under this tree is a fountain, and by the side of this fountain a marble slab, and on the marble slab a silver bowl, attached by a chain of silver, so that it may not be carried away. Take the bowl and throw a bowlful of water upon the slab, and thou wilt hear a mighty peal of thunder, so that thou wilt think that heaven and earth are trembling with its fury. With the thunder there will come a shower so severe that it will be scarce possible for thee to endure it and live. And the shower will be of hailstones, and after the shower the weather will become fair, but every leaf that was upon the tree will have been carried away by the shower. Then a flight of birds will come and alight upon the tree; and in thine own country thou didst never hear a strain so sweet as that which they will sing.

It was only after these formidable preparations that the fairies would consent to appear. The fairies of Barenton are supposed to be especially the friends of children. There exists a curious old manuscript, the fragment of a mediæval romance founded upon this peculiarity, which describes how Butor de la Montagne, on the birth of his son, is desirous that he shall receive the fairies' blessing. The infant is therefore sent, under the care of a trusty knight, to the 'Bois Bersillant' and placed before the enchanted fountain. Before long the little people appear, endowing him with the choicest gifts they have it in their power to bestow. One of them, however, envious of the extreme brightness of his prospects,

[2] In the story of the Lady of the Fountain, from which this method of invocation is quoted, it is not fairies, but the black Knight of the Fountain who appears; nevertheless, the same invocation seems, at other times, to have brought to view less fearsome folk.

dooms him to disappointment in love. On his return to his parent one of the benevolent fairies disguises herself and becomes his nurse—and the fragment ends just as the story of his disastrous love adventure is about to commence.

The fountain is now the resort of those in need not of fairies but of rain. The same method of invocation is employed—the throwing of water on a stone slab—and in cases of fierce drought all the inhabitants of the surrounding parishes go to it in procession, headed by priests and banners, ringing bells and chanting psalms. On arriving at the fountain the rector of the canton dips the foot of the Cross in its waters, and rain is considered certain before a week is ended.

In Brociliande also is the tomb of Merlin—a megalith under which the great enchanter is supposed to lie buried. Its legend is an interesting variant on those more popular to-day. Merlin, enamoured of Viviane, the Lady of the Lake, was persuaded by her to lie in the tomb he had constructed for himself, under pretence of discovering whether it would be sufficiently large to hold both the lovers. As soon as he had entered it Viviane threw down the stone lid, sealing it so effectively by arts Merlin himself had taught her that henceforth it could never be opened.

Mention of the Lady of the Lake recalls the opinion of one of the foremost folklorists that she may be possibly identified with that Mary Morgan who is a sea-spirit held in great dread in Finestère. Morgen in Breton means sea-born, or offspring of the sea; in Welsh the name becomes Morgan, or Morcant. Now Morgan le Fay, common in Breton folklore, is the name of a designing and wicked person; though Morgan le Fay, in the Arthurian legend, was a well-disposed lady of the same fairy kind who took Arthur away to be healed after Camlan in her home in Avalon (identified, be it recalled, not only with Glastonbury, but with various towns and islands between the Ile de Sein and the Shetlands, and especially with a small island off Trégastel-Plage). On the coast of Finestère, which she haunts, Mary Morgan has just that same characteristic—that she takes men away to her home, not upon a barge 'dense with stately forms, black-stoled, black-hooded like a dream,' but in her own tempting, passionate arms. May she not be, this Mary Morgan, not only the Lady of the Lake upon the one hand, but Ahès, the erring daughter of good King Gralon, destructress of the famous Ker-Ys, Druidical deity of the sea, upon the other? In short, has not Ahès descended into modern times as the Lady of the Lake?

But, whether this be the case or not, the Lady of the Lake interests us in another Arthurian connection—as the fairy who brought up the great Lancelot.

According to the legend, Lancelot was the son of a king.

This king was hated by his subjects, who finally rose in revolt against him and took his castle by storm. King and queen fled with their year-old son. The king, mortally wounded, expired after drinking a draught of water drawn from a neighbouring fountain; but just before the queen was captured, a fairy rose in a cloud of mist and carried away the infant Lancelot from where he had been left under a tree The fairy took him to her own land—an island surrounded by an impassable wall in the middle of the sea, whence she derived her name of La Dame du Lac, or Lady of the Lake, and her foster-son that of Lancelot du Lac, while her kingdom was called Meidelant, or Land of Maidens. Here she brought him up to be the deliverer of her own son, who was oppressed by a giant named Iweret. At the age of fifteen Lancelot, having been trained to arms, sets out upon this quest, meeting countless adventures on the way, killing giants, becoming enchanted, marrying twice, killing at last Iweret and marrying as his third wife Iweret's daughter, Iblis, whom he presented at Arthur's court.

It is of interest to note, while mentioning Lancelot's several love affairs, that his passion for Queen Guinevere may be a story of Breton origin, as it finds no counterpart in Welsh sources.

Topographically, however, the chief interest of Lancelot is near Landerneau Here was his castle, ' that he had won with his own hands '—the Joyous Garde of Malory—' garnished and furnished for a king and a queen royal there to have sojourned.' Malory, it is true, declares the Joyous Garde to be at Alnwick or at Bamborough, but the Breton is not to be dissuaded from his own conviction on that account. Only a semicircular vault and an overgrown entrance gate dating from the twelfth century remain, but the ground is thick with memories of jousts and tournaments, of feasting and pleasure in which the Knights of the Round Table indulged Arthur was often here, and here, too, Sir Tristram de Liones brought La Beale Ysoud when he had stolen her from King Mark of Cornwall, her lawful husband

Now King Mark of Cornwall was a Breton who lived near Douarnenez. His change of nationality need not severely tax our powers of credulity when we recall that Malory spells Cornwall as Cornewaile and that the western part of Finestère is known as Cornouaille. He was, indeed, that March to whom Plomarch, the town of March, owes its name. Vestiges of what is said to have been his castle have been discovered in this little hamlet March in Breton means horse, and the story—found as well in Cornwall, Wales, and in the classical legend of Midas—runs that King March, because of a curse laid upon him in infancy, suffered throughout his life the ears of a horse. This deformity he took

every precaution to hide, even to the length of executing hi barbers lest they should spread abroad the news.

But there was one barber for whose life his mother pleaded so earnestly that the heart of the king was touched; and dismissing the executioner, he allowed the man to go free.

The secret, however, preyed terribly upon the barber's mind, till one day, as he walked along the shore, the loneliness and sterility of the sands suggested respite.

'The king has horses' ears!' he screamed.

Only once did he utter the fateful words; but near the spot upon which he had broken his vow grew, in time, three clumps of reeds, to which there came a bard in search of pipes. He sought only the very best pipes, did the bard, for he was to play before the king He cut the reeds

'Give us a song, Master Bard,' cried the king in his raftered hall.

The bard put the pipes to his lips and began to play. But all the tune he could wring from them was

'The king has horses' ears.'

It was the bard who was executed with great pomp and ceremony. The barber, when he learned what had befallen, drowned himself

By the time the Arthurian legend had crystallised into Malory's fifteenth century work Tristram, or Sir Tristram, had become only King March's nephew; in earlier versions Tristram was in addition March's champion or general. But, in whatever capacity he was found, still he loved March's wife, La Beale Ysoud. The story goes that one day he sent March's swineherd on a message to that lady, begging her to appoint a meeting with him; and in the swineherd's absence Tristram himself undertook the care of the king's swine. But just in that interval Arthur arrived, bent apparently upon capturing them, whereat Tristram defended them so stoutly that by no means, fair or foul, could Arthur obtain even one little porker.

Tristram was the son of a lord of Liones whose mother died in childbed; wherefore he was christened Tristram—'that is as much to say as a sorrowful birth.' His father took as second wife the daughter of a Duke of Brittany, who conceived a great hatred of Tristram, since he, and not her children, should inherit the kingdom. She therefore tried to poison him, but her own son drank the draught. Again she tried; the king was about to drink it, but she pulled it from his hand, standing by this action self-confessed. Whereupon the king condemned her to be burned; but Tristram stepped into the fire and saved her life. After that the king, not unnaturally, 'would never have ado with her, as at bed and board. But by the good means of young

Tristram he made the king and her accorded. But then the king would not suffer young Tristram to abide longer at his court.'

So forth Tristram fared to demand in due course from her father, the King of Ireland, the hand of La Beale Ysoud for King Mark, his uncle The story of the love potion and of its dire consequences need not be here repeated, except to draw attention to the Ile Tristan at Douarnenez, upon which the two lovers are declared to have passed their days. Ysoud les Blanchmains, whom Tristram eventually married, was the daughter of King Howell or Hoel of Brittany.

Arthur himself appears as hero in one of the most constant and widespread of the legends, when he slew the giant Dinabuc upon Mont St. Michel

Dinabuc, who was ' of marvellous bigness,' and ' hath arrived out of the parts of Spain,' lived, according to one version of the story, chiefly on babies. He had, moreover, seized Helena, niece of King Hoel, out of the hands of them that had charge of her, ' and had fled with her unto the top of the mount that is now called of Michael, whither the knights of the country had pursued him. Howbeit, nought might they prevail against him, neither by sea nor by land, for when they would attack him, either he would sink their ships with hugeous rocks, or slay the men with javelins or other weapons, and, moreover, devour many half alive '

Against this monster Arthur, accompanied by Kay the Seneschal and Belvedere the Butler, set himself Belvedere, who was sent to ' spy out the certainty of the matter,' discovered ' upon a smaller mount not far away from the first ' (Tombelaine possibly) a newly made grave mound over which an old woman bewailed the fate of Helena, her foster-child, and warned Belvedere of the giant's might.

Then Arthur, knowing that his adversary was upon ' the greater mount,' made his way thither. ' Just then that unnatural monster was by the fire, his chops all besmeared with the clotted blood of half-eaten swine, the residue whereof he was toasting on spits over the live embers.' Valiantly Arthur attacked the giant, smiting him upon the forehead so that the blood gushed forth and nearly blinded him. The giant returned the blow with such a buffet upon the king's shield ' as that the sound of the stroke filled the whole shore, and did utterly deafen him ' Long the battle continued, with many perilous moments for the king and, we are asked to believe, for the neighbouring Forêt de Scissy, which was torn up right and left, till at length Arthur, ' hacking the cursed monster first in one place and then in another,' gave him a blow which ' buried the whole breadth of his sword in his

brain-pan. The abhorred beast roared aloud and dropped with a mighty crash like an oak torn up by the roots in the fury of the winds Thereupon the king brake out on laughing, bidding Belvedere strike off his head and give it to one of the squires to carry to the camp as a rare show for sightseers.'

Between Audierne and the Pointe du Raz is Plogoff, with a church dedicated to St. Ké, or St. Collodan, or St. Collédec, a Welsh monk who landed near Roscoff and who possessed a marvellous bell which by ringing warned him of the evil actions he was to avoid and the good actions he was to perform. He is said to have been an archbishop in his native country, and he it was, if the legend is to be believed, who, after Arthur's fatal battle of Camlan, persuaded Guinevere to repulse the advances of Lancelot and to enter a convent.

From the ramblings and apparent contradictions of this paper, the reader may well question the very existence of so elusive a company as King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. But the Breton has no manner of doubt, for near Trébeurden is a dolmen which the natives declare is the tomb of none other than that Arthur who was king over the Bretons and founder of the great order. Nor have they ever doubted that Arthur is not dead, but 'rex futurus', in 1113 even, when some monks from Léhon visited Bodmin, in Cornwall, they provoked a small riot within the very precincts of the sanctuary by defending this *espérance de Bretagne* against the scepticism of the Cornishmen. When Bretons are challenged in their belief, let Englishmen look to their armour.

W BRANCH JOHNSON

SCHOOLBOY POETRY

HAZLITT said somewhere that one of the surest signs of literary mediocrity was to have been a University Prizeman. He was speaking, in his petulant way, of the Prize Essayist, but without doubt he would have extended the malicious criticism with equal or greater relish to the Prize Poet It is always pleasant to poke fun at established reputation, whether in individuals or in institutions, and Hazlitt in this instance must have enjoyed doing so in direct proportion to the feelings of glee on the one hand and of indignation on the other which he hoped to arouse It is worth observing, however, two things first, that Hazlitt's criticism is probably true, secondly, that those who resent the implication that the universities are not the homes of learning which they had always supposed them to be are taking offence at an imaginary insult Homes of learning they certainly are, but not homes of literature, and the forms of activity which literature and learning respectively represent are not only different, but often hostile the one to the other, and complementary, when they are complementary, not by necessity, but by a very fortunate accident

The poetry of young men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three, provided that these same young men have no title immediate or prospective to real greatness, is seldom poetry at all in any true sense They have read too much and know too little For them the age of poetry is past, they have left it behind, as they have left their riotous songs and their rich inventiveness of play, which are a kind of poetry. Boys, on the other hand (and doubtless girls, too, in an equal degree), frequently, between the ages of ten and fourteen, make poetry which true criticism is forced to recognise as genuine

To many people this statement will seem odd They will either resent it, or put it aside with the kind of impatience usually felt towards parents, schoolmasters, and other specialists, who can judge nothing except by the standard of their own narrow and immediate interests, which they expect other people to accept To these people even to-day, when the aims and scope of education are rapidly changing, the very association of poetry with

schoolboys will seem incongruous and absurd. Everyone knows, to be sure, that schoolboys *learn* poetry, even English poetry, they 'get it up' for preparation, learn it by heart, repeat it, forget it, and so begin again Poetry is a lesson, like other lessons; it is easier, possibly, than mathematics, but certainly duller. Shakespeare, like Homer, is full of hard words, which have to be hunted through notes and lexicons, lest retribution follow upon ignorance as night upon day This relationship between schoolboys and poetry is as familiar now as it probably was to the mothers and fathers in old Rome, who sent their sons to learn oratory and the poets from the lips of the rhetors But that schoolboys should like poetry, and, which is stranger still, that they should themselves write it, not only with less or more success as a schoolboy's exercise, but in such a way that people whose business lies far from the appraisal of such things should be able to find genuine charm in it—this, surely, is something which must be seen in order to be believed

Yet it is not an extravagant claim that schoolboys are capable of such work, and do actually produce it with surprising frequency.

A word of caution is here necessary. If schoolboy poetry is to have any interest for people other than schoolmasters, it must be able to command that interest by its merits *as poetry* It is not enough that the boys should be found to show merely an amusing precocity in the imitation of their elders, and play at verse-writing with a greater or lesser degree of comparative skill, as they play at cricket, or arithmetic, or lawn tennis Their poetry, in short, must be excellent *in its kind*. It is worth while, therefore, to consider for a moment what that kind is likely to be, and on what grounds it may be called true poetry at all.

There is an acknowledged and familiar difference between poetry and verse, there is also a difference, no less real, but harder to define, between poetry and great poetry. What, for instance, is the connecting link, or the point of comparison, between one of Shakespeare's sonnets and *King Lear*? or between a lyric by Blake, say the *Nurse's Song* in the Songs of Innocence, and *Paradise Lost*? Here, in every case, is poetry. Each poem, taken by itself, might easily enough be called great poetry, but as soon as we come to compare them the absurdity of calling them all equally great is apparent Each one has the beauty which is appropriate to it, and which no process of comparison can either dim or brighten, yet in point of what, for want of a better word, may be called greatness—of breadth and subtlety of experience, of passionate knowledge, of the power of intense and constitutive thought—there the difference between the sonnet and the drama, the lyric and the epic, is immeasurable. Two things, presumably, are necessary to a poem: something to express and the power to

express it. Given a right harmony between these two—between thought and utterance—and the result will be beauty of a kind, however humble. What that kind is will depend upon the richness and extent of the former, and the power of the latter to master and communicate it. Thus throughout the whole range of poetry which is excellent in its kind there runs a vast ascending scale which determines its ultimate poetic value, quite apart from its particular excellence in a particular sphere. Shakespeare wrote the song

Come unto these yellow sands,

and he also wrote *The Tempest* Probably the charm of the song is heightened by the enchantment of the whole supreme poem of which it forms a part. But taken by itself that song, sweet as it is, might have been written by any of a thousand lesser men It would hardly be arrogant to say that you might have written it yourself It is a beautiful song—of course it is, but beauty is common as air, if you can but see it Thousands of such songs have come down to us without a name, in folk literature and balladry, with tunes to fit them, old and plain Such songs are full of a sort of twilight beauty, and it should be remembered that the twilight, too, is revelatory, even though it has neither the grandeur of night nor the splendour of noon Besides the poetry which is built on profound experience and impassioned knowledge there is also the poetry—akin to the former, however far beneath it in the scale—which is, as it were, plain speech made musical. To this most of our ballads belong, and many songs. And this, too, is the kind of simple music which it is reasonable to expect in poetry written by boys

Schoolboy poetry, at its best, is not the doing worse (incomparably worse) what has already been done by adult poets; a child has not got the same things to say as a man, his world is a different world, it is less complex, and more direct, there is no veil between his eyes and what they look out upon, no hint of the eternal allegory in things, or secret correspondences between what is within and what is without, which seem to be the breath of all poetry but the earliest And it is this world of his, and no other, which he must tell of In fact, a child's poetry must be childish, and that in no derogatory sense, but in the natural and true one. He describes what he sees, he tells the kind of story that interests him, and he does this simply and truly.

Here is a poem about what a hot June day looks and feels like:

The trees are green, the flowers gay
Are sprinkled on the ground,
The skylark rises from the hay
Unto the Heaven's bound.

I wander through the scented fields
With little flowers bright,
Each to the bee his honey yields
Or to the insect light

I wander through the lonely wood
With swaying pine trees green,
And orchids tall, and pale monk's-hood
The sweetest I have seen

I wander on the river's bank,
The wild duck seeks the reeds,
White watercress and hemlock rank
Grow o'er the marshy meads [1]
[Age twelve]

The visible picture in these lines is delightfully clear and true The measure, though of the commonest, is handled with natural ease and grace The variation of pause and stress (the whole secret of melody in verse), especially in the six lines beginning at 'Each to the bee his honey yields,' could hardly be improved, though the writer himself was, of course, entirely ignorant of the need of such mechanism in verse at all, and produced his effect by happy accident, and, lastly, the language is surer and purer than most boys of that age ever produce in prose The charm of the lines is in their simplicity and truth, and in a sort of natural music which a trained ear cannot fail to catch. This sense of rhythm is, indeed, one of the most remarkable qualities in boys' poetry Most boys *read* poetry badly, in a given poem they will usually catch the metre but miss the rhythm, with a disastrous result; in their own composition the opposite commonly occurs—the metre often enough being rough and unfinished, but the rhythm, or general movement, being expressive and satisfying The reason of this, undoubtedly, is that they do not fully grasp the meaning of the poem presented to them for reading, whereas in their own work they are expressing something of their own which has to them definite and full significance

The tall grass is waving in the meadows all around,
While I lie a-thinking undisturbed by any sound
Except the gentle swishing of the soft summer breeze,
As it gently, softly, murmurs through the thick green trees
The whole world seems happy now, in quiet rest and peace,
For on this summer morning all cares and worries cease,
In the peaceful happy resting of the long June day
'Neath the trees that up above us in the soft breeze sway

These stanzas, taken from a poem by a boy of thirteen, though they contain one very weak line, and are less successful as pure description than the poem previously quoted, are a good example

[1] All the verses quoted in this article have appeared in the *Draconian*, the magazine of the Dragon School, Oxford.

of natural ease and grace of movement, which is a distinctive quality of boys' poetry. That quality, together with an entire absence of affectation, or attempt to describe anything other than what is actually seen and felt, is what lifts these compositions above the level of mere verse-writing, and gives them a charm analogous, in a certain degree, to that of some of our older ballads and songs.

Many boys find little labour in metrical composition. This may be partly because their own minds are unhampered by any external critical standard, so that they feel no compunction in leaving in the rough such places in their work as cause them difficulty This, however, explains nothing but the defects of their work, its qualities are only the more remarkable The following poem, by a boy of thirteen, was written against time in an examination for a scholarship—surely the most dismal circumstances which could possibly clog a poet's fancy! The question was, ' Write a short poem, beginning with the following lines

> *I think I know what I would be*
> *If they would leave the choice to me* '

The answer, which follows, in spite of many bald patches and flat lines, is full of spirit and speed.

> I think I know what I would be
> If they would leave the choice to me,
> I would, I have no doubt at all,
> Be excellent with bat and ball,
> A cricketer professional
> Like Gunn or Hardstaff, Hobbs or Hitch.
> I really do not quite know which
> Or I'd be Alletson, and hit
> Sixes, and watch the fielders flit
> Across the field, and see the ball,
> Flying along, elude them all
> A two, a three, a six, a four,
> Each over many runs I'd score,
> Until at last a hit would rise
> Higher and higher to the skies
> ' A six, a six!' the crowd would say,
> But every dog must have his day,
> For see! Along the boundary fence
> There runs a man with muscles tense
> He stretches out his hand, the ball
> Into his palm doth swiftly fall
> He keeps it there, a wondrous catch,
> Which for their side may win the match
> Or else I would a bowler be,
> The scattered stumps I'd love to see
> Or umpire's hand uplifted high
> Towards the lovely turquoise sky
> But oh! how terrible to see
> The umpire gazing straight at me,

And lifting up his hand say, 'Out!'
When I have made precisely Nowt.
(I hope you will excuse this rhyme:
I'd change it if I had more time.)
You see, I know what I would be
If they would leave the choice to me
I do not envy a K C.
I never would be an M P
Nor would I earn a lawyer's fee,
A policeman's life, a sailor's free
Existence, I'd not have, you see
I know what suits me to a T.
'Tis not to ride the swift gee-gee,
Nor yet to sail as an A B,
Nor use the Editorial 'We'
But I'd excel with bat and ball,
A cricketer professional.

[Age thirteen]

This is undoubtedly verse, and not poetry, but it is so much better than the semi-facetious, mock-Gilbertian verses for which many boys have an easy talent, that it deserves quotation in full in company with pieces which claim a more real merit. Part of its interest, moreover, derives precisely from the fact that the boy who wrote it so obviously does not possess the special temperament and abilities which would be naturally associated with literary interests He is a perfectly 'normal' boy. Forced to express himself in verse, he has the good sense to do so literally and truthfully, and, with the help of the clear, direct vision, and of the sense of rhythm, which are natural to most boys, he produces a set of verses which are admirable in their vigour and liveliness

Here are two poems, of a more strictly imaginative kind, on a favourite subject—pirate ships:

'Twas a stormy night and the waves leapt high
Toward the dark and thundering sky
The lightning, herald of each roar,
Revealed the dark and wave-beat shore,
And 'midst this awe inspiring sight
A ship went battling through the night
Her ancient sails of grey and brown
In worn and tattered strips hung down,
And masts and rigging torn by gales
Lay in confusion with the sails
Then when the great ship nearer drew
Upon her decks we saw her crew,
Clothed all in garbs of time long past,
Stand silent 'mid the furious blast,
And as the vessel onward came
In lettering dim we saw her name
We shuddered Men had often told
Of Van der Decken, pirate bold,

Doomed with his crew to try to sail
For ever round the Horn, and fail
Then when the Dutchman saw our craft
Battling the waves, he loudly laughed
Then, urging on his ghostly crew,
He faded in the stormy blue
[Age fourteen]

And this, by a boy a year younger ·

Ever and ever I sail these seas,
Ever and ever again.
I sail through snow, while the east winds blow,
And through the driving rain

I lived my life as a pirate bold,
A pirate bold was I
And now I am dead, whose hands are red
From the thousands I made to die

A horrible fate indeed is mine,
A fate of horror untold,
For ever to sail while the east winds blow,
And the blood in my veins runs cold

And though my body is counted dead
I still feel bodily pain ,
The lashing foam, like a fairy gnome,
Leaps o'er me again and again

There are times when I nearly round the Horn,
And always the false wind turns
And I rave and curse till my throat grows hoarse,
And oh how my fierce heart burns !

There is never a cabin on my ship,
In my ship by the tempests blown ,
And my skeleton crew, who number few,
Make many a dismal groan

The sailors always steer me wide,
As wide as they well can go
For if ever they sight my ship all white,
'Tis the sign of death, they know

Ay, if ever a man should see my ship,
My ship with its ghastly crew,
Who shriek and wail like a rending sail,
Let him pray, for his hours are few

Such the life I live 'tis life in death
To live on in this way
And I think of the pain, and the cold, and the rain ,
And I long for judgment day
[Age thirteen]

Both these versions are good , the second, by the younger boy, is undoubtedly the better of the two. It has the true ballad quality , it leaves just enough of the story to be supplied by the reader, and it gets its effect by unexaggerated emphasis

I have already suggested that the particular merit of boys'

poetry is akin to the merit of ballad poetry in general; for boys are naturally best at telling a story, or at describing directly and straightforwardly some scene or object with which they are familiar. The poem, therefore, which I propose to quote now is not, to my mind, a typical specimen of boys' poetry at all. It is more reflective and elaborate than is usual in their naïve and simple music. It aims (in a sense) higher, and possibly is less successful. It is nevertheless very interesting, especially in respect of the unusual mastery by so young a boy (he was eleven years old) of the highly intricate and difficult Spenserian stanza:

The stars are rolling, rushing, racing past,
Shedding their light o'er all this endless space,
Approaching now the earth; now fleeing fast
And hiding from the sun—they fear his face;
They reverence his gleam, his lordly grace.
And solemn Saturn seated in the sky,
Sedately seeks some star in its wild race;
His clust'ring constellations round him ply,
Holding some unknown, unseen train as forth they fly.

And warlike Mars prepares his deadly arms;
And crack and crash the blacksmith's hammers go,
Down on the anvil, bang! No gentle calms
As are on peaceful Saturn. Blow on blow
The workman's hammer shapes the steel like dough;
And, clang again! is fashioned now a spear
That some great warrior may carry—so!
And now a sword that one may fighting bear,
And bring down mighty armies—make them flee in fear.

And fiery Jupiter with heat red hot
Urges his servants—o'er his realm doth call,
Filling all worlds with utmost lusty shout:
'Make some more thunderbolts, and let them fall,
And the great Sun or Saturn let them maul.
For I hate Saturn, who loves not good war,
And Sun, who says he's ruler of us all;
Cast out the lightning, make my thunder roar,
Let stupid, sleeping Saturn tremble to the core.'

But the great Sun is ruler of them all,
Spreading his light upon his kingdom great,
On every planet. Each one, lest he fall,
Must pay due homage to the potentate;
And Jupiter and Mars control not fate.
Before the Sun, their ruler dread, they kneel;
They fall before the Sun, who sits in state;
They ask forgiveness; and in woe or weal
He will make Mars to fall and Jupiter to kneel.

[Age eleven.]

This, I say, is possibly less successful than the other poems I have quoted, because it aims higher than it can reach. Nevertheless, it is as well to be on one's guard against bringing to bear upon

it an irrelevant criticism, which might easily enough be led by that familiar and majestic measure to expect, by an unconscious association of ideas, a content wholly different from what is actually there, or possibly could be there. Yet the poem is by no means wholly imitative ; and no reader, who does not expect to find figs growing upon thorns, can fail to recognise in it lines and phrases and rhythms which come direct and spontaneous from the imagination

Another experiment in a difficult metre—the heroic couplet—is the following The passage is taken from a poem of some sixty lines in length on ' The Fall of Man '

> . The serpent was not there, not one to see ,
> But still her fingers twisted nervously
> She bit , it tasted sweet , then to the man,
> Her husband, with a joyful step she ran
> ' O Adam, taste the lovely fruit as I,
> And fall not down, as God hath said, to die '
> He took and ate Thus was the first great crime
> Committed on the earth
>
> A little time
> Has passed, and still the garden of the blest
> Bloometh, a paradise of joy and rest
> And still the flowers grow, and still the trees
> Stretch out their arms to heaven, and still the breeze
> Favours the garden, and the tree of life
> Is there But where are Adam and his wife ?
> Alas, no man nor woman moves within
> The garden, for the punishment of sin
> Has fallen on them
>
> [Age twelve]

The subject, imposed, not chosen, is unpromising enough for a boy of twelve Yet he has succeeded, at some slight cost of orthodoxy, in making it his own , and the latter half, at least, of the lines I have quoted is full of genuine poetic feeling

These two poems were written by boys of unusual general ability , they have, it is true, the qualities common to the majority of boy-poets, natural ease, directness, lucidity , but the form in each case is somewhat more elaborate and probably beyond the reach of the average boy The ballad which follows is, I think, a more typical example of schoolboy poetry at its best

THE BLACK KNIGHT

> Oh, mark him well, a gallant knight,
> His armour glistening in the sun,
> Upon a charger, black as night —
> No danger horse or rider shun —
> The Black Knight rides

A dusky plume his helmet bears,
'Tis ever seen in thickest fight.
And on his breast he ever wears
A matchless rose of purest white—
The Black Knight's pride

He freed the land from many a foe,
And rescued damsels in distress,
Setting them free from shameful woe,
The poor and aged join to bless
The Black Knight's deeds

In joust and tourney ever first—
First is he when the trumpet sounds—
He dares the Norman do his worst,
With blow on blow the air resounds—
The Black Knight reels

The moon looks down on Senlac's field,
On Saxon churl, on Norman knight,
On broken lance, on battered shield
Bathed in a flood of moonlight bright
The Black Knight lies

[Age thirteen]

These few poems should be enough to indicate the grounds of the belief—a belief somewhat surprising to many people who are not familiar with the mental life of small boys at school—that schoolboys of the preparatory school age have a natural aptitude for writing verses Much that is interesting might also be said about their feeling for the poetry which is truly great Nobody, indeed, can teach boys either to write poetry or to appreciate what is written, the most that a teacher can do is to see that fine and true poetry is presented to them in an intelligent manner, and to understand that, even with schoolboys, delight in good literature is the condition of any subsequent knowledge of it which is worth possessing.

The selection of the poems I have quoted was a difficult matter An immense body of these verses is produced, many of them, indeed, are worthless; but even in those which are least successful as *poems* there are nearly always passages, scattered and scanty enough, which show, by some vivid phrase or sudden grace of movement, that the faculty is there, however fitful.

That faculty, in the great majority of cases, disappears as the boys grow older. There have been published, it is true, for many years past, collections of Public School Verse, but these, though interesting, are, to me at least, definitely inferior in genuine poetic value What has been gained in knowledge and experience is of less value for this particular form of expression than what has been lost. The period of adolescence has passed, the world has grown more complex and bewildering, the boy becomes more inwardly tumultuous, more outwardly reserved and secretive

He loses that bright immediacy of perception which is peculiar to childhood and to poets He is critical of what he says, and of what other people will say of what he says. Hence, if he tries to write poetry at all, he will usually avoid writing directly of what he sees and knows, and cast about for a subject which he hopes will be 'poetical', he has, in fact, begun consciously to imitate, and to do worse what other people have done well, instead of being content to do something which is essentially his own. Lastly, he is probably given far less opportunity and encouragement to express himself But with younger boys the case is different With them the power to see and the power to say still run parallel, they are seldom diffident, and they produce their poetry with something of the unconscious ease with which, not long ago, I heard a small girl four years old deliver, in the course of a long and mostly nonsensical soliloquy, the following words · 'I must travel all that way to see the little birds in the nests and all the people.' 'No, you will get your wings broken, and they will tear your wings and kill you' 'I must go I don't mind if they kill me at all I make myself alive again I never let people kill me I must go there'

Of course, into the words of children, as into the verses of schoolboys, we cannot help reading all sorts of significances which the authors of them never dreamt of But that is also true of all poetry, and in some degree of every other art as well That the poetry of children, if it does succeed, should succeed, as it were, by accident, is no reflection upon its quality, and of its remarkably frequent success, within the limits I have here suggested, there can be little doubt.

AUBREY DE SÉLINCOURT

JANE AUSTEN ABROAD

'DEPUIS elle le roman de mœurs anglais a su se compliquer de paysage de farce et de pathétique, Jane Austen l'aura formulé dans son type le plus pur'

These weighty words formed the sole preface to M. Féréon's able translation of *Northanger Abbey* in 1899 They—and much more—excuse a curious glance at certain foreign attitudes towards an essentially English genius There is the surprise of finding the two least unsatisfactory biographies of Jane Austen to be written in French and Italian by those of her own sex. There is the greater surprise of finding that the Germans have let her severely alone A vain quest at the British Museum brought, from one in authority on the matter, an asseveration that nothing was to be found because there was nothing to find

Is one charming hypothesis too far-fetched ? Could it be that the Germans took umbrage at her airy persiflage of Kotzebue and his turgid *Lovers' Vows* when rehearsed for the Theatre Royal, Mansfield Park ? On the other hand, they might well be flattered at Edmund Bertram's tribute to the rage for Kotzebue and his imitators—' so that it be a *German* play no matter what ' Or is the silence of the German critics due to envy of that richness of irony and humour in which they are notoriously deficient ?

To leave this insoluble problem, and to pass to another more personal, is to be puzzled again. Did Jane Austen herself know of the popularity of contemporary translations of four of her novels running into several editions ? Though it is certain she had a good knowledge of French, there is not a syllable as to this in her published letters. Her brief sojourn at Madame La Tournelle's school at Reading possibly laid a foundation for the later lessons from the pretty cousin who became her sister-in-law People who speak of the lack of incident in the short and simple annals of one of such rare achievement, forget an event sensational indeed to the youthful writer of that perennial joy *Love and Freindship* This was the dramatic arrival of the Comtesse de la Feuillade—or Feuillide (*née* Hancock)—at Steventon, when Jane was about fifteen. An elegant fugitive, a captivating widow, what could appeal more strongly to the novelist in embryo ? Such a

family link with Paris would surely have specially interested Miss Austen in the translations, and led to comment had she been aware of their prosperous existence Yet her descendant, Mr Hubback, holds an opinion expressed in his courteous reply to an inquiry upon the subject

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE, ROME,
20th of August, 1917

Dear Madam,

It was a great pleasure to have your letter and to read also *The Times Literary Supplement*, which you were kind enough to send me I am afraid I must confess ignorance of Madame Bassi's book, it is very wrong of me not to have read it, but when I tell you I have only been eighteen months in Rome and before that I had very little knowledge of Italian, you will not be surprised I should value anything more from your pen on J A *I do not* absolutely know if she was aware of a certain amount of popularity in France, but I should think she can hardly have been unaware of it You see, Eliza, whom she mentions so often in the later letters, was almost French, as her first husband had been the Count de la Feuillade, a noble of the old *régime*, and duly guillotined about 1794 There is some reason to suppose that Napoleon made an allowance to the Comtesse continuing after she became Mrs Henry Austen, in consideration of loss of estates in Guienne So that Aunt Jane being often a guest with the H A's, especially during Eliza's last illness, would be in some sort of touch with France It was believed in the family that her health was undermined by the nursing ending with Mrs H A's death in 1813

Be this as it may, it is pleasant to observe the invariably cordial recognition of French critics for the masterpieces of Englishwomen There was a clamour to place a bust of Fanny Burney in the Panthéon when she was alive to visit it. Forcade—contemptuous of Lady Eastlake and her British bludgeonings—did ardent homage to Charlotte Bronte when she was still 'Mr' Currer Bell 'C'est une femme indocile et brave qui s'est battue avec la vie' When neither Blackwood nor George Eliot could convince England as to the authorship of *Adam Bede*, Paris in chorus pronounced it indisputably feminine Only yesterday the late Mlle Merlette gave us the sole approach to an adequate life of Mrs Browning

Thus it is not unexpected to find the terse notice of Jane Austen in the *Biographie Universelle* a note of admiration The familiar tribute of Sir Walter Scott is quoted in full with the comment 'L'auteur d'*Ivanhoe* s'y connaissait'

In 1811 Mme de Montolieu translated *Raison et Sensibilité Orgueil et Préjugé* followed in 1816, and a later version gave the title as *Orgueil et Parti pris*. 'H V' brought out *Le Parc de Mansfield* in the same year To *Emma* a significant sub-title was added, *Les Caractères Anglais du Siècle* After Jane Austen's death Mme. de Ferrière translated *L'Abbaye de Northanger* and *Persuasion*. That the latter was warmly welcomed as *La Famille*

Elliot illustrates—Taine apart—the frequent handsome French manner of divorcing politics from literature For is not *Persuasion* a hymn of praise to the victorious British Navy,[1] with dashing captains fighting at Trafalgar, and marrying on French prize money ?

Mme de Ferrière prefaced *Northanger* with a fervent eulogy embroidered on Henry Austen's pathetic memoir foreword when the two books, Alpha and Omega of genius, at last appeared. She is easily forgiven her enthusiasm, and the absence of Mlle Villard's occasional tartness

> ' Jane Austen était douée de tous les avantages qui séduisent Sa conversation était aussi agréable que ses ouvrages Je ne peux mieux compléter l idée que je voudrais donner d'elle qu'en disant qu'elle charmait tous les heureux qui vivait en sa société Tout ce que sa plume traçait était parfait Elle avait des idées claires sur chaque sujet Ses expressions étaient toujours bien choisies, et je crois ne rien hazarder en assurant qu'elle n'a rien écrit, ni lettre ni billet, qui ne fut digne de l'impression '

Madame has proved a true prophet, though she could not foresee Lord Brabourne gravely asking Austenites to excuse shortcomings ! He affords perhaps the finest extant illustration of unconscious humour

Unlike Maria Edgeworth, or such great unknowns as provided *Lady Flabella* for Kate Nickleby to read aloud to Mrs Wititterly, Jane Austen scorned the long-prevailing obsession for scraps of French. M Féréon at least peppers the pages of his version of *L'Abbaye de Northanger* with better English than his predecessor For Mme de Ferrière renders the Lower Rooms at Bath '*petit salon inférieur*,' speaks of Mistress Thorpe 'Willaume,' '*une jeune lady*,' '*le gentleman*,' and make Catherine's decorous nightcap of wine and water sound Bacchanalian as '*le grog*.' The dancing, flirting parsons surely astonished such *petites saintes mousselines* as were admitted to their company They may well have cried 'Shocking ! ' at one liberty taken with the text ; for instead of the 'Beggar's Petition,' with which Catherine was excusably bored, Mme. de Ferrière reports that she took three months to learn her Paternoster, and that with '*son père bien que clergyman*'

Despite effort, this translation scarcely conveys that spirit of the original which M. Féréon really approaches. Part of Catherine's own portrait may be cited to prove the difference

> In many points she came on exceedingly well, for, though she could not write sonnets, she brought herself to read them , and though there seemed no chance of her throwing a whole party into rapture by a prelude on the pianoforte of her own composition, she could listen to other people s performances with very little fatigue.

[1] See my article 'The Navy, the Army and Jane Austen,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1917.

This is the version of Mme. de Ferrière :

'Elle finit aussi par acquérir quelques connaissances sur d'autres sujets Sans être capable de faire des vers, elle parvint à gouter ceux qui étaient bien faits, sans être virtuose sans s'extasier quand elle entendit un morceau de Rossini (!), elle parvint à l'écouter sans ennui et même à juger assez sainement de l'exécution'

Not thus has M Féréon deleted all the sparkle :

'*Sur ce point sa culture était suffisante, sur mainte autre elle approchait* à la perfection, car si Cathérine n'écrivait pas de sonnets s'appliquait elle à en lire, et quoiqu'il n'eût eu pas apparence qu'elle fût au piano jetter en extase un publique par une prelude de son cru, elle pouvait écouter sans fatigue la musique des gens'

He really reflects the dialogue tolerably, as when Henry jests with Catherine about the journal he refuses to believe she does not keep 'Comment décrire l'état de votre âme et de votre chevelure ?'

By a coincidence of cordial intention Mlle Villard's ambitious venture was published in 1914 It waited till 1924 for an abridged translation by Miss Veronica Lucas. In its preface Mr Brinsley Johnson scarcely claims too much when he says that 'The essential value and importance of Mlle. Villard's intriguing study of Jane Austen is derived from the manner and point of view with which a distinguished French critic approaches so characteristically English a writer of genius. Her enthusiasm is discriminating, her knowledge intimate in the extreme Nor has, indeed, any English writer attempted what one may call so technical an analysis of Jane Austen's psychology and style' A good translation is marred by a few slips 'Austin' is unpardonable, and when the Vicar of Thornton Lacey is persistently gallified as 'Edmond' he becomes almost a stranger. Mlle Villard is a brilliant critic, with masterly knowledge of the English language and literature She has one serious fault—a frequent tendency to sweeping generalisations in order to gain her point. She asserts that Jane Austen is '*presque ignorée en France*' in the face of the above evidence to the contrary. Such *obiter dicta* as those of the *Biographie Universelle* and of M Féréon are not to be discounted because they are concise. Moreover, the fact of prompt contemporaneous interest in Paris is plain by the dates of the translations

The first part of a careful study is admirable. The second shows that a grasp of the technique of the novels, extraordinary for one of another nationality, has not extended to any convincing intuition of the character of their writer Mlle Villard, for all her modernity, is a sentimentalist at the core She is resolved to prove that Jane Austen was hard and unfeeling until the moment of her thickly veiled love story She insists

that this supposititious hardness spoilt the three first books, and that the perfection of the rest was due to purely romantic reasons. Then—still in support of this favourite theory of hardness—Mlle Villard levels a far more serious accusation, and Mr. Johnson deserves applause for a decision of omission :

> To her important critical estimate Mlle Villard added (in her thesis when standing for her doctoral degree) a record of Jane Austen's life which nearly doubled the length of her work The late Mr William Austen-Leigh was 'gravely dissatisfied' with several misjudgments in the life, although he was pleased with its minute analysis The erroneous charge of irreligion has been omitted in this translation as being too dogmatically and sweepingly expressed

Those who have read the entire book in French will at once perceive that, with a lack of logic unworthy of a *Docteur ès lettres*, Mlle Villard here conducts her case without one jot of evidence What of Henry Austen's pathetic story of that too early deathbed, all sweet submission and 'sure hope'? What of Mr Austen-Leigh's well-grounded claim for Jane Austen as 'a humble, believing Christian'? If Mlle Villard dismisses these as the partialities of loving relatives, the religion of Jane Austen has a formidable outside champion

For Archbishop Whately based a memorable article in the *Quarterly Review* upon the arresting contrast between the 'mere morality' of Maria Edgeworth and the consistently Christian standpoint of Jane Austen Mlle Villard maintains that Jane Austen coldly ignored the Evangelical movement because she spared us a theological novel Yet when writing to the favourite niece hesitating over the acceptance of a lover she says .

> I am by no means certain we ought not all to be Evangelicals Don't be frightened by his acting more strictly up to the purpose of the New Testament than others

Mr Austen-Leigh remembers 'Aunt Jane' as constantly sewing for the poor, and visiting the cottagers after the less intimate fashion of the day. Mlle Villard accounts for her passion for Crabbe thus .

> 'Peut-être aimait-elle chez le poète des misères villageoises dans la description de tant de vies sans beauté et sans joies, l'accent d'un monde ignoré '

The inaccuracy of a minor allegation is easily shown. Mlle Villard would have us believe that Jane Austen disliked animals because she gave them none of their modern prominence in fiction. When she claims that Lady Bertram's pug is the only dog mentioned, she ignores an episode of Catherine's visit to her Henry at Woodston 'A charming game of play with a litter of puppies just able to roll about brought them to four o'clock

when Catherine scarcely thought it could be three'; and people do not amuse themselves with pups for a whole hour unless they love them. Fanny Price was evidently devoted to the old grey pony, and later to the mare lent her by Edmund, described by Mary Crawford as a 'dear delightful animal'

There is, however, too much to enjoy in these fresh French pages not to make hypercriticism ungracious Dissenting from Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Mlle Villard instances 'Lady Susan' as evincing an astonishing maturity of mind

> 'Par un choix bien extraordinaire de la part d'un auteur de dix-sept ans, cette héroine est une femme de trente-cinq ans, et sur ce point Jane Austen a fait preuve d'une grande originalité Au moment où la jeune fille règne sans partage dans le domaine du roman, où les aventures se déroulent en quatre ou huit volumes, elle est invariablement une ingénue Lady Susan commence gauchement, il est vrai, la brillante lignée de femmes de trente ans qui occuperont une si grande place dans le roman et le théâtre du dix-neuvième siècle Le style est sentencieux et terne, et, ce qui semble vraiment surprenant, n'est jamais éclairé par une pointe de gaîté ou par la *fine ironie*'

To recognise Lady Susan as the ancestress of Mrs Charmond and Mrs Hauksbee is to add a fresh laurel to the crown of Jane Austen, yet Lady Susan herself was a near relative of Laura in *Love and Freindship*, ready for a new flirt at fifty.

Mlle Villard's appreciation of the later Austen irony proves her clear vision. She almost forestalls Mr G K Chesterton in his preface to *Love and Freindship* itself. She defends *The Watsons* in a passage valuable for its conclusions

> 'Pourquoi ce roman dont le début est intéressant et les personnages bien présentés, fut-il complètement abandonné? M. Austen Leigh suppose que Jane Austen, ayant placé son héroine dans un milieu trop modeste, presque vulgaire, interrompit son travail lorsqu'elle s'aperçut des difficultés que lui réservent la peinture d'une classe inférieure à la seule qu'elle connait bien Cette ingénieuse explication ne semble pas bien probante Emma Watson n'est inférieure ni par la distinction naturelle, ni pas l'éducation, aux autres héroines Il n'y a pas de traits plus "vulgaires" dans les scènes où la vie étroite et sans beauté des Watsons est révélée que dans la scene fameuse du *Château de Mansfield*, où sont décrites avec un réalisme impitoyable la laideur et la tristesse où regne le désordre et le gène'

This is when Fanny sits disillusioned in the mean house she had fondly dreamt of as home:

> She felt that she had indeed been three months there, and the sun's rays falling strongly into the parlour, instead of cheering, made her still more melancholy, for sunshine appeared to her a totally different thing in the town and the country Here its power was only a stifling sickly glare, serving but to bring forth stains and dirt that might otherwise have slept There was neither health nor gaiety in sunshine in a town She sat in a blaze of oppressive heat, in a cloud of moving dust and her eyes could only wander from the walls marked by her father's head to the table

cut and notched by her brothers, where stood the tea-board never thoroughly cleaned, the cups and saucers wiped in streaks, the milk a mixture of motes floating in thin blue, and the bread-and-butter growing every moment greasier than when Rebecca's hands had first produced it. Her father read his newspaper, and her mother lamented over the ragged carpet as usual

To give a specimen of the translation, Mlle Villard may here be quoted in English

This description, for anyone who did not know its origin, might be quite reasonably attributed to certain French masters in modern realism This page, with its austere and poignant truthfulness, leaves us with an impression of agony We can feel vibration in the artist's pitiless sincerity, a vibration of the patrician's repugnance to the spectacle which disgusts her taste There is no analogous page in her writings

Mlle Villard justly lauds Jane Austen's amazing reserve of power hand in hand with reticence She disdained to offer familiar fare to a sated public She agreed with Maria Edgeworth that 'there is nothing more tedious than a picture in prose,' at a time when forests were always gloomy and moonlight punctual as limelight to irradiate the heroine 'expiring elegantly on a sofa' like Sarah Siddons in Fanny Burney's luckless Anglo-Saxon tragedy

The vividly drawn Lyme Regis of *Persuasion* shows Jane Austen could sketch from Nature. It was a pity she did not mention that the scene of Louisa's disaster was, and is, known as Granny's Teeth. Mlle. Villard rightly says.

'Elle exprime franchement dans ses lettres son amour de la nature mais elle ne saura le faire dans son œuvre . . Si parfois elle note la grâce d'un paysage elle le fait en quelques phrases qui peignent moins qu'elles ne suggèrent'

Mlle Villard speaks of the letters as they deserve. Not for nothing is she compatriot of the incomparable woman who loved to '*laisser trotter la plume sans bride*' She says that in them

'Jane et Cassandra nous apparaissent comme les petites sœurs un peu guindées, mais cependant fines et charmantes, de ces Rosalinds et Béatrices, dont l'altière beauté, la grâce tendre spirituelle et fière, s'épanouissent dans le décor enchanté d un jardin d'Italie ou le forêt des Ardennes'

This last is a quaint misprint for 'Arden' She values these letters as the searchlights they are upon Jane's possession of the golden quality of detachment. She can, for instance, fill pages to Cassandra about frocks and frills, and is almost silent concerning them in her work Yet she subtly carries conviction that her girls knew how to dress Mlle Villard is incorrect in translating 'cap' '*chapeau*' Jane refers to one of the caps then modish at balls and to the anxious question of changing a black feather to one of '*coquelicot.*'

Few will agree with the authoritative pronouncement that the heroes of Jane Austen were suggested by the books she read rather than the men she observed. There might be a superficial analogy between Lord Orville and Darcy, but wherein does Frank Churchill resemble Waverley, or Willoughby either of the walking gentlemen of *Belinda*?

Possibly the most interesting part of Mlle Villard's criticism lies in an elaborate *aperçu* of the life in the country houses as reflected in the books.

'Bâtie pour abriter le loisir d'une classe privilégiée, les châteaux ne sauraient donner asile aux mesquins soucis materiels à d'autres occupations que les fatigues de la chasse et les plaisirs de l'hospitalité.'

Bitter is the contrast between that vanished freedom from sordid care and the dry-rot of ancient privilege in *The Last of the House of Allard*.

Mlle. Villard sternly underlines the absence of recognition of the sacredness of the priestly office:

'Fille et sœur de pasteurs, elle exprime cette opinion d'ailleurs celle de son temps, que la fonction du pasteur n'a rien en soi qui l'élève au niveau des professions que peut exercer un gentleman.'

Of the heroes as lovers she says:

'Amoureux, ils doivent chercher à plaire, et Jane Austen le sait bien: ils ne sauraient le faire qu'en se consacrant entièrement au service de ceux qu'ils aiment.'

Dull Edward Ferrars, satisfactory George Knightley, and absentee Frank Churchill are undeniable exceptions to this rule.

Quick-eyed Mlle. Villard has certainly not overlooked that jewel of a letter wherein Jane, in announcing that she 'has flirted her *last* with Tom Lefroy,' proves she had flirted at first. Moreover, she avows that this was after 'doing everything that was profligate in the way of sitting down between the dances.' Why, then, should the heroes be libelled as imitations? Let her deny it as she may, Jane Austen drew from life and was not profligate for nothing. For Henry Crawford Mlle Villard confesses to the weakness most clever women acknowledge.

'Portrait vraiment intéressant d'un amoureux et d'un séducteur, Henry Crawford réalise le paradoxe à être irrésistible sans avoir rien du héros du roman.' *Tour de force* would be an apter phrase than the one word 'paradoxe.' To realise the perfection of the portrait of Henry compare him with George Eliot's Stephen Guest, neatly described by Swinburne as a 'barber's block.'

Of the heroines Mlle. Villard makes an analysis at once delighted and delightful. If she now and then suggests Miss Bingley in her treatment of Elizabeth, and forgets that the charm

of the latter lay in the mixture of '*sweetness* and archness,' she treats her three favourites handsomely, and even commends the unpopular Elinor of *Sense and Sensibility*. For the leading lady of '*le plus brilliant et le plus exquis des romans*,' Emma, she is all praise. She has also Sydney Smith's adoration for Fanny Price·

'L'héroine aussi seduisante que la brilliante Elizabeth, elle nous apparait douée d'une beauté morale et d'un charme émouvante qu'Elizabeth ne possédait pas'

Anne Elliot is for her, as for many,

exquise rose d'automne dont le parfum délicat et la grâce un peu effacée ont plus de charme encore que la jeunesse et la fraîcheur des autres figures feminines de Jane Austen'

Anne is naturally the pivot of Mlle Villard's theory as to the marked change in artistic method

'Une chose est certaine, cette épisode qui contient toute la vie sentimentale de Jane Austen est à l'origine du changement qu'on remarque dans les trois derniers romans Rien ne fut changé au cours paisible de son existence, mais la sympathie et la tendresse que l'amour avait éveillées en elle laissèrent dans la seconde partie de son œuvre une trace lumineuse et parfumée'

It is charmingly insisted, yet who can perceive saucy Emma in the '*jardin secret*,' where Fanny and Anne might have taken sweet counsel together?

Mlle. Villard rightly lays admiring stress upon the fact that, at a time when 'old maid' was a term of contumely, the Austen damsels were fearless of the dreaded fate of spinsters. Fifty Longbournes might have been entailed on Rev Collins, and still heart-free Elizabeth would have had none of him. The future baronet might 'breathe his hope' that Anne would never change her name—he wasted his breath. Fanny's outlook was dark when she believed Edmund destined for naughty Mary Crawford, yet she faced even the wrath of Sir Thomas by rejecting the all-conquering Henry The Austen heroines never fainted and rarely wept, yet they knew how to love.

'Jane Austen nous montre l'amour et étudie son influence d'une façon originale, neuve, et surtout profondément vrai Sur quoi se fonde cet amour si profond dans sa tendresse calme et sur? Plus ce que sur aucun autre sentiment il se fonde sur le respect qu'inspire un être doué de qualités non pas nécessairement plus grandes, mais entièrement différentes de celles qu'on possèdent soi-même'

Except prudent, plain Charlotte Lucas, and surely Marianne Dashwood when she forgave Colonel Brandon for mentioning his flannel waistcoat, we can agree with Mlle. Villard that Austen girls made love-matches.

Before final admiring quotation one last protest is inevitable. Mlle. Villard compares Jane Austen with Mme. de Lafayette

because both knew when to stop. To wrestle with *La Princesse de Clèves*, even mindful of Sainte-Beuve's laudations, is to deny its writer any such rare merit. We may now own the truth about the 'Princesse,' bepuffed into a sort of pseudo-classicism, and the truth is that she is a bore. Jane with her irony and humour sparkling in her every page—Madame de Lafayette's lachrymose meanderings in the *pays du tendre*. Poles are not further apart.

> 'Jane Austen écrivit pour la joie d'écrire. . . . Sans être jamais formulée explicitement, la philosophie de la vie que renferment les romans de Jane Austen est remplie de la triomphante assurance des vers de Goethe "Dis-moi que fais-tu de la vie?" "Je vis." . . . Au milieu des solides et vastes constructions édifiées par les grands maîtres du 18ième siècle, parfois decorées avec une fantaisie et une richesse deconcertantes, le roman de Jane Austen s'élève un petit temple aux colonnes blanches au fronton pur. Pour être rare en Angleterre la sobre elegance des lignes qui en fait toute la beauté n'a cependant rien d'exotique. L'autel qu'il abrite ne saurait jamais manquer de fidèles. Car cet autel est consacré à un dieu de la terre et de la race anglaise, de l'humeur qui sourit d'une levre moqueuse cependant que les yeux attachent aux choses un regard pénétrant.'

These are sound conclusions indeed.

It was curious that Signora Emilia Bassi should have published *La Vita e le Opere di Giovanna Austen* also in 1914. It still awaits and deserves a translator. This small volume, with which is included a drastic criticism of George Eliot, shows something of Jane Austen's own skill in painting in miniature. The picture in its narrow frame is ably drawn and vivid with colour. Signora Bassi's few pages from *Pregiudizio e Orgoglio* retain their original brightness in a manner striking when the divergences of the two languages are considered. She tells us that in the Vittorio Emanuele Library in Rome there are two complete editions of the novels. She could well supply a third in translation without fear of giving cause to quote the ancient aphorism—'*Traduttore Traditore*.'

Mr. Hubback makes yet another interesting remark in his letter:

> By the way, when you make her into Giovanna, why not Agostina? Austen is nothing more than Augustine, and Kent was our county at the dawn of the family history.

Signora Bassi naturally remembers to quote Mr. Austen-Leigh where he tells us his incomparable great-aunt 'knew a little Italian.' Aware that Jane Austen never paraded her knowledge, she may yet have suspicion that she might have said with Anne Elliot:

> 'I do not pretend to understand the language. I am a very poor Italian scholar.' 'Yes, yes, I see you are,' said her cousin. 'You have only knowledge enough to translate at sight the inverted, curtailed trans-

posed Italian lines into clear, comprehensible, elegant English You need say no more of your ignorance. Here is complete proof' .

On one important point Signora Bassi is at variance with Mlle Villard, for she says

> The profoundly moral character of the Austen novels is plain on every page In them we find no pedantry, no intention of posing as a preacher in petticoats, but we breathe an atmosphere of wholesome piety and common sense She represents the sense of duty as the guiding principle of life, and all her heroines are more or less influenced by it . . In all Miss Austen's novels the effect of strictly Biblical religion is felt There are neither religious disquisitions nor ascetic aspirations, and they are entirely devoid of the narrowness and bitterness which disfigure the work of some Protestant sectarians

This is high praise, yet not higher than that of Archbishop Whately.

Signora Bassi makes a notable point when she observes that 'Jane Austen never touched the hand of a fellow-genius.' She thus avoided the pitfall of the hero worship leading to imitation. Her jesting wish to marry poet Crabbe never tempted her to shackle herself with rhyme She was a 'delicious Protestant' against the 'romantic furore' with which Signora Bassi is equally out of sympathy

This Italian biographer sketches the Austen family in a few sure strokes, and is pleasingly impressed by its 'good breeding' For the Rev George Austen she has special admiration, regarding his performance of his duties, whether private or parochial, as 'ideal.' When we speak of Jane Austen's home education we often forget that her father was a most popular university coach and plainly an excellent teacher. Signora Bassi considers his influence to have been paramount 'Her father was her best master From him she received rational education and wholesome culture.' We may question the asseveration that 'Mrs Austen's only weakness was a certain pride of race'—possibly the sole passage in the book in discord with English opinions. Her summing up is excellent :

> 'Giovanna' was no super-woman Her life was a joy to herself and a joy to others She understood the true philosophy of life, and her happiness consisted in loving and making happy all who were around her, never dissatisfied with the restricted society in which she was forced to live, never clamorous for wider horizons or unrealisable ideals . Jane Austen was a writer, and a great one, because real genius always evinces itself even when circumstances are unfavourable Are we not often amazed to see a flower sprout from the crevice of a wall almost without light or water ? This, however, was not the case with Jane Austen, who did not spring from an arid or sterile soil, but the ordinary conditions of an ordinary girl The difference lay in this. What would have been uninteresting to an ordinary child was for her spirit of observation, her artistic sense, and the imagination touching the commonplace with colour,

an inexhaustible study Everything and every person was analysed The fancies of her brain found abundant food and became living to her. She felt the need of giving them form, and she wrote because she had something to say

If Signora Bassi proves she understands the character of Jane Austen better than Mlle Villard, they are at one in comprehension of her work and, above all, its humour

Signora Bassi says amusingly that Mrs Bennet's 'poor nerves' were very modern, and whilst sharing the general opinion that *Sense and Sensibility* is the weakest of the series, she instances Mrs Jennings the plain-spoken as 'a character study showing profound knowledge of human nature' She thinks '*Mansfield Park* the most delightful of all,' considering Fanny to have 'the beauty and soft freshness of a white violet,' though her warmest tribute is to Aunt Norris, 'for without her Mansfield would not be Mansfield' Admitting that *Persuasion* 'contains the most exquisite touches of the art of Jane Austen,' she yet gives the palm to *Mansfield Park* for constructive perfection and humour 'Every expression is chosen with fine discernment, rendering the thought absolutely clear' Giovanna had a sensibility too exquisite to inflict pain of caricature, and in her irony there was nothing bitter or caustic !

That Signora Bassi herself can be both when she chooses, her biography of George Eliot proclaims, and over *Romola*, 'to write which George Eliot put on a cap of lead,' she is extremely severe. If her praise of Jane Austen is practically unqualified, she always has logic in her reasons for bestowing it

She ends with an adaptation of Queen Charlotte's alleged eulogium of Fanny Burney, maintaining that one book by Jane Austen is worth a thousand others It is unquestionable that her own contribution to Austen literature is worthy of her subject. Thus France and Italy unite with us in crowning Jane Austen genius.

LILIAN ROWLAND-BROWN.
(*Rowland Grey*)

THE FRENCH

Sometimes I think of the French like this .

They are the only civilised grown-up people in the world Even those who are ignorant or narrow have a mature attitude toward life, never a raw schoolboy attitude They are logical in a world of insanity For them not only do 2 plus 2 make 4, but 32 plus 32 make 64—not, as Blasco Ibañez said of the Russians, 4589 Their minds are orderly, swept and garnished, clear like their language, to hear which spoken by cultivated Frenchmen is an exquisite æsthetic pleasure, and to hear which falling precisely and crisply, even from the lips of shopkeepers, makes one sigh with relief at having come away from countries such as America or Italy, where common speech is a slovenly massacre, and where voices seem designed for the great open spaces

Their prose is the marvel of the centuries Its quality never stales The mere flavour of the words on a page of Montaigne or of Anatole France is delicious And no one who has learned that their poetry is not something to be compared with English poetry, but something of a different kind, will ever deem it thin Racine thin ? Alfred de Vigny thin ?

Whatever thought they touch they clarify, and it is not true that they do not themselves originate and think creatively It is only that to people who think muddily obscurity seems profound and simplicity superficial.

They have a fine respect for the individual. Nowhere else is the individual quite so free as in France—free within very broad limits as to behaviour, almost totally free as to thought The French are infinitely less subject to the tyranny of majority opinion than, for example, the Americans or the Germans. Their minds are not standardised 'Equality' and 'Fraternity' may have gone by the board, abandoned as impracticable ideals, but 'Liberty' still means something true in France—liberty for the individual

They live soberly, disliking excess, spending less than they earn, saving for their children, whom they do not, like the Italians, treat as adorable playthings and cover with kisses and spoil, but educate sensibly as human beings.

For them marriage is not a reckless juvenile adventure in romance, but a partnership full of grave responsibilities, of which the woman must bear her part, as well as the man his, with the result that perhaps nowhere else does marriage work so well, so fairly, as in France

And as with marriage, so with the whole of life The French do not set for themselves Utopian ideals impossible of realisation, the gulf between which and the actual facts of existence can but end in disillusioned despair, but reasonable ideals, difficult indeed of attainment, yet not beyond the conceivable reach of struggling mortals

And yet, and yet . there is in the French a recurrent touch of madness that keeps all this from becoming grey and monotonous The sense of drama is a clarion call to them At almost any time they will sacrifice much that they hold dear for a ringing phrase, a *beau geste*, and they have more than once staked everything—their patient savings, their lives, their very national existence—on a noble idea, no whit less noble if later it proved to be false

And then again I think of the French like this

They are small and mean and petty Those periods of exaltation are but rare raving moments, in all the long hours of their lives the French are hard and selfish

Their love of money is a cold, terrible passion, acquisition is not for them, as for Americans, a romance involving recklessness, imagination, and some other of the virtues to be found in higher adventures, but a cold, steady, ignoble thing, rendering them capable of any baseness, any cruelty The Americans gamble for high stakes boyishly, risk everything, and desire money for the power it brings, the French run no risks, play safe, and desire money from an ignominious fear of poverty Their fixed universal longing is to become *rentiers*. No French Government either dares or desires to tax income adequately Nor are they generous with money, like the Americans or like the Italians, though they are rich and the Italians poor A French girl may have every quality to fit her to become an exemplary wife and mother, but unless she has a *dot* she must die a spinster.

And as in their love of money, so in a multitude of other ways are the French small and sordid of spirit.

They are without generosity. They never give something for nothing And therefore they are incapable of gratitude.

They will not concede superiority of whatsoever sort to another race, and when, as at the Olympic Games, this is demonstrated beyond question they grow peevish and ill-mannered

They are narrow. Once having made up their minds they

never change them. Alone among the nations to-day they wi not admit that the Treaty of Versailles was other than righteou or that the Allies had any share of responsibility for the war

They detest Americans because America is rich, Italians because the Italian race is strong and prolific, the English because England would leave Germany a nation, and all these and all the others because they are not French

They are infinitely more insular than the English. All that they touch they Frenchify Read any French romance of ancient Athens or Alexandria, and you feel yourself at once dishearteningly on the boulevards They know little, and care less, about contemporary life in any other country than their own They are smug

Their Press is corrupt to—and beyond—the point of blackmail, and by comparison with theirs, American politics are lily-white

One Frenchman in every five is a Government employee Nowhere else does there exist so limp, obstructive, and deadening a bureaucracy

In the long run I find something cheap in their love of thrilling phrase, of effect, of dramatic climax, because to it they sacrifice truth There was something cheap in Victor Hugo, who could write of Napoleon . 'This man had become too great He inconvenienced God ' There was something cheap in Napoleon himself. There is a strain of cheapness in Anatole France

And, at all times, all of them, all Frenchmen, talk about France Englishmen do not perpetually talk about England, nor Americans about America, but Frenchmen are forever talking about France 'La France qui marche à la tête de la civilisation . . . la France qui a fait tant de sacrifices . . . la France ! la France ! ' It is unendurable.

I do not like to think in either of these two ways about the French ; there is too much passion, too much prejudice, in both estimates I would like to think of them as I have no difficulty in thinking of the English or the Italians—as individuals, good and bad, very much mixed But I cannot, no matter how many individual Frenchmen I meet—for they will not let me. The truth, I say to myself, should lie somewhere about half-way between ; but, instead, I swing helplessly from one of these two exasperating estimates to the other and back again, until, in a pet, I give up for a time thinking about the French at all.

Obnoxiously overstressed as nationality is to-day, one cannot simply dismiss it, deny its existence or even, I suppose, its importance. The things that men do and think and feel are the same everywhere, but in each of certain circles made up of language,

climate, and, in some slight degree, race the angle of approach to these things is, roughly, unified, and somewhat different from that in the other circles. That a man is a man is far more significant than that he is a Swede or an Englishman, still in saying that he is a Swede or an Englishman you *have* said something significant about him, you have suggested certain probable variations (though even then you must be very careful, a Swedish poet is, in most ways, likely to resemble an English poet more closely than he resembles a Swedish butcher)

It is difficult and quite fruitless to determine whether in the past these differences of nationality have been more beneficial than harmful, or *vice versa* They have been the cause of infinite bloodshed and misery, but we are also the richer for inheriting, say, both Dutch painting and Spanish painting. Presumably they are still of some value No great poet could write in Esperanto, and German music is composed in German idiom

But it is, I think, fair to say that the value of nationality is at the origin, the bottom Nationality is like the essential underground roots of a tree, the tree itself springs up into the universal air Thus in all countries national prejudices are strongest among the uneducated and the half-educated, whereas the more truly cultivated men become, the less marked in them will be their national differences There are no barriers between an intelligent educated American and an intelligent educated Englishman or Italian—merely subtle distinctions in point of view that add to the richness of their mutual relationship. Their nationality is behind them, not with them Men of genuine cultivation grow impatient at all this flaunting of nationalism They find themselves too similar to men of other countries to believe any longer in the grosser national generalisations Indeed, they distrust generalisations of any sort, and grow more and more inclined to take everything, fact by fact, as they find it. Thus, as the mature man whose development has not halted feels an increasing desire to get away from himself, so, too, does he feel an increasing desire to get away from his nationality—not, like the petty Anglomaniac or Francophile, into some other, but into a broader human fellowship Neither desire can ever be completely realised, but each is noble—a craving to shake off fetters of the mind Perhaps the two desires are really one When emancipated men of this sort witness the disagreeable act of some foreigner it is to them simply a disagreeable act committed by an individual of faulty breeding They do not say, with a shrug, 'Characteristically Italian, that, eh?' or, 'A Boche is always a Boche'

That, I fear, is precisely what, with fewer exceptions than among any other Western People, a Frenchman would say—or, at any rate, feel. It appears, for some reason, extremely difficult

for him to emerge from being a Frenchman into being a m
Perhaps the desire is not very strong. Far more than the Engl
man, whose sense of racial superiority is currently supposed to
enormous (and is, of course, among the half-educated, but I a
not considering them here), the Frenchman leans on his nationali
for support, assumes its heritage of greatness as his own. So f
as I am aware, no Frenchman has ever written anything simil
to the famous song in *Pinafore*—

> He is an Englishman!
> For he himself has said it,
> And it's greatly to his credit,
> That he is an Englishman!
> That he is an Englishman!

Doubtless there is some measure of compensation for th
willing narrowness of outlook, even though to-day one can hard
believe in Emerson's neat pattern of balance, life appearing to u
too much confused and too rich Something of the French sureness
something of the French clarity, probably derives from the Frencl
man's persistent cultivation of his own garden and refusal to allo
himself to be intrigued by the vast variety of exotic plants to l
found elsewhere He does know his own garden better than an
of the rest of us know ours And it is true that wide acquaintan
with the varying minds of many different groups often leads t
sterility, a poised inaction.

Often, but not always Here it seems to me that the Frenc
sacrifice a possible rare greatness to a moderate average of succes
One admires French achievement for being so French, and yet
even while admiring, is faintly dissatisfied that it is not somethin
other than that, and greater One wearies of so much perfectio
It does not seem an adequate interpretation of a chaotic worl
French art is noble; yet it has never produced a Tolstoy,
Wagner, a Shakespeare, or a Michelangelo It is not universa
enough, it is too French At an earlier day, when it was still bu
half formed, it came perhaps closest to such heroic stature i
Rabelais

Probably more than any other one factor, it is their languag
that cuts the French off from other peoples and renders them s
circumscribed. For it is, when spoken, very different from othe
languages. The whole system of voice production is different A
foreigner with no knowledge of any language save his own might
mistake Spanish for Italian or Italian for Spanish, but he could
not possibly mistake either for French Its system of prosody is
so different from that of other related languages that foreign
poetry simply cannot be even approximately translated into
French poetry You can translate Shakespeare into German or
into Italian and hear some echo of the original sonority—not

into French It is curious that the spoken language should have developed into this unique isolated instrument, since written French is extremely like any of the other Latin languages, but so it is

There are no worse linguists in Europe than the French. But this may also be because they care so little about learning foreign languages, have so little esteem for them. It is rare to find a cultivated Frenchman who can speak English with even tolerable ungrammatical fluency, though shopkeepers and hotel porters in France of course speak some English, because it is to their financial advantage to do so Moreover, even a literary knowledge of other languages is rare among the French When reputable English or Italian authors have occasion to insert a French sentence in a novel the sentence is usually correct, a French author can seldom so much as quote a foreign phrase correctly Paul Morand, who, I believe, has spent many years in the Diplomatic Service, and whose brilliant cosmopolitan short stories do reveal interest in the national characteristics of other peoples, is frequently guilty of solecisms in the foreign phrases he now and then employs In Henri Béraud's excellent historical novel, *Le Vitriol-de-Lune*, the principal character is an Italian who is called, throughout the book, 'Guiseppe,' though Giuseppe is one of the commonest Italian names Alone among the contemporary French writers with whose work I am acquainted André Maurois reveals a genuine knowledge of English And it is significant that he, too, is practically alone in revealing a genuine sympathetic understanding of the English people *Les Silences du Colonel Bramble* occasionally crosses the line into national caricature, but it is at least caricature based on knowledge, not wild, unrelated caricature like Abel Hermant's As for *Ariel*, a work of far greater importance—well, written by an Italian, it would have been, if surprising, at least credible, since there are many Italians who love and understand Shelley, written by a Frenchman, it appears little short of miraculous. But I repeat that André Maurois stands alone [1]

So, reluctantly, I end, as I began, with those two irreconcilable, but I think equally justified, estimates of the French—save that each has at the moment lost something of its intensity for me through the relief of putting it into written words

It will not be the French who will overthrow the barriers between races, sacrifice their nationality to something broader and greater, or conduct the League of Nations to a position of supreme importance. True, there are those moments of national madness

[1] I do not happen to have read anything by Valéry Larbaud, but from what I read about him I conclude that possibly M Maurois may find a little relief from loneliness in his company

when it is as though the French were atoning for all their habitual narrowness. But one cannot say: 'Come, let us now have a moment of madness.' No, for the achievement of unselfish uncircumscribed ideals the world will have to depend on individuals who in their growth have gradually sloughed off all that is narrow, restrictive and myopic in their nationality. Such individuals have come in the past, and should come increasingly in the future, from many different peoples—hardly from the French.

On the other hand, even though we may feel that nationality is narrowing, and that at best it should be only a means to an end, we may nevertheless be actually grateful that the French have made it an end in itself The similar devotion to it of the Poles arouses principally distaste, in the French we not only excuse, but admire it For there is about it in their case, and in their case alone, something akin to the results of intensive cultivation in agriculture, something that the best minds of other races must sacrifice (rightly, I think) to broader results a perfection, an orderliness of thought, a fine, neat thoroughness, incapable of achievement in any other way than through this persistent nurture of nationality, and to the contemplation of which we can always turn with pleasure

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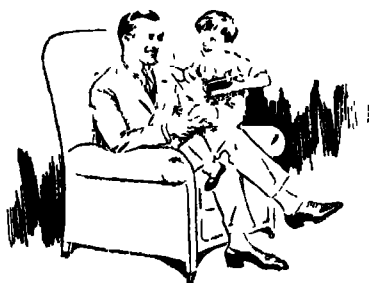
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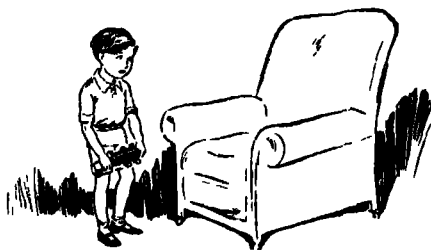
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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

No DLXXXVI—December 1925

ROSEMARY AT CHRISTMAS

It is a thousand pities that the old association of rosemary with Christmas should have been allowed to lapse Time was when its fragrant grey-green branches mingled on every hand, in both church and home, with the dark shining sprays of holly and ivy, holding proud rank with them, if not indeed surpassing them in closeness of tie with the festival Old writings and old carols make this point abundantly clear The poet Gay, over two centuries ago, even speaks of rosemary as a herald of Christmas

> When Rosemary and Bays—the poet's crown—
> Are bawl'd in frequent cries through all the town,
> Then judge the festival of Christmas near,
> Christmas the joyous period of the year,

while churchwardens' accounts referring to the amounts paid for greenery for church decorations frequently include payments for rosemary Thus in the records of St Margaret's, Westminster, for

1647, two years before King Charles was beheaded, we find 'Item, paid for Rosemarie and Bayes that were stuck about the church at Christmas, 1s 6d' Indeed, our forefathers were inclined to be so lavish in their Christmas joy that later the *Spectator* grumbled at the plethora of ivy, holly, and rosemary that transformed a church into 'shady walks' and 'arbours'

Not less abundant was it in the houses of the people A Christmas carol included in *Poor Robin's Almanack* for 1695—but of much older date—describes how

With holly and ivy
  So green and so gay
We deck up our houses
  As fresh as the day
With bays and rosemary
  And laurels compleat
And every one now
  Is a king in conceit,

and Herrick, a century earlier, makes it plain that its use was habitual even in Elizabethan days, for in giving an account of the doings on Candlemas Eve, February 1—chief among which was the taking down of the Christmas decorations—he exclaims

Down with the Rosemary and so
Down with the Baies and Mistletoe,
Down with the Holly, Ivy, all
Wherewith ye dressed the Christmas hall,

and the fact that its name comes first suggests that it was among the chief of the evergreens used A small but rather interesting point is that rosemary and bays are almost invariably mentioned together in these old writings, while holly and ivy are similarly linked, and the reason for this association is by no means clear, unless, indeed, the holly and ivy are merely decorative, while rosemary and bay have certain aromatic qualities in addition.

It is, perhaps, a little curious that rosemary should have taken this prominent part in the celebration of the festival that is our most truly national one, for it is not really a British plant and was not known here until the middle of the fourteenth century Old manuscripts tell us that the first rosemary plants seen in England were sent over here by the Countess of Hainault as a present to her daughter Philippa, who had married our Edward III, and was thus Queen of England With the plants the Countess thoughtfully sent a Latin treatise setting forth the manifold virtues inherent in them. Writers of the time speak of 'the litel boke that the scole of Sallerne wroat to the Cuntasse of Henowd and sche sente the copie to hir dougter Philip the quene of England' Apparently the book was commissioned by the Countess, for in a

translation of it (still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge) the translator (who describes himself as 'danyll bain,' or, as we should say to-day, Daniel Bain) refers to his work thus. 'This is ye lityl boke of ye vertuys of rosmaryn yt ye scole of Salerne gaderyd and compiled at instance of ye Cowntesse of Henowde, I, danyll bain, translated into vulgar ynglysch worde for werde as fonde in latyn.' Daniel Bain further adds that before 1432 rosemary was unknown in England.

The Countess evidently knew what would please her daughter, for Queen Philippa appears to have delighted in treatises of this sort, and there are in the British Museum and elsewhere still existing various little 'bokes' on the virtues of herbs which once belonged to her.

Rosemary seems to have 'caught on' in a wonderful way, and Miss Eleanor Rohde, in her *Old English Herbals*, gives a list of fourteenth and fifteenth century documents that were written (and are yet extant) to extol rosmaryne, rosemary, rosus marinus, rose mary, rosses mare, or rose-mary, as it is variously called. The title of one of them—'The Vertu of Rose-mary and other Secrets' (fifteenth century)—has a distinctly intriguing sound. But apparently (according to Miss Rohde) none of them, except the first 'litel boke,' mentions the rather pretty old tradition that rosemary never grew taller than the height of Christ when He was man on earth, and, moreover, that when it is thirty-three years old its growth upwards stops, any further increase being in girth only. This tradition still lingers in remote country parts.

The plant thus became notable and of widespread reputation, and some of its virtues, evidently based on those given in Queen Philippa's book, are quaintly set out in the first English herbal that was ever printed—*Bancke's Herbal*, 'imprynted by me Rycharde Banckes/ dwellynge in Lōdō/ a lytel fro ye Stockes in ye Pultry/ ye XXV day of Marche. The yere of our Lorde MCCCCC & XXV.' Reading them through, one is struck with what our friends across the Atlantic would call their 'uplift,' general beneficence and exhilaration. Thus we are told:

'Take the flowers thereof and make powder thereof and binde it to thy right arme in a linnen cloath and it shale make thee light and merrie.'

'Also put the leaves under thy bedde and thou shalt be delivered of all evill dreams.' (Always has rosemary been bound up with the idea of happy dreams. 'I dreamt last night of Rosemary, that betokens Honour,' wrote Estcourt in 1706.)

But not only did it invigorate the mind and spirit, it also helped the body to greater beauty.

'Boyle the leaves in white wine and washe thy face therewith and thy browes and thou shalt have a fair face.'

'Also if thou be feeble boyle the leaves in cleane water and washe thyself and thou shalt wax shiny.'

Moreover—priceless gift—it held within itself the secret of youth:

'Take the Timber thereof and burn it to coales and make powder thereof. . . . Smell it oft and it shall keep thee youngly,' or alternatively

'Make thee a box of the wood of rosemary and smell to it and it shall preserve thy youth.'

No wonder the young Queen valued her mother's present of rosemary, and no wonder, too, that her subjects, as they learnt of its virtues, increasingly appreciated the new-comer. And so all through the troubled fifteenth century, while the Wars of the Roses were keeping the country in a turmoil, this quiet-hued, fragrant herb grew into the knowledge and love of the people, and had sweeter attributes and more and more alluring charms credited to it as it became more and more bound up with their lives. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Skelton spoke of it as 'Souerayne Rosemary,' while Sir Thomas More said: 'As for Rosemarine I lett it run all over my garden wall not onlie because my bees love it but because 'tis the herb sacred to remembrance and therefore to friendship.' So deeply had it rooted itself in sentiment by this time.

But not only did it 'run over garden walls' or grow as a bush on every hand: it was itself being planted to form garden hedges, 'being a great ornament to the garden,' as Gerard remarked. In fact, in those days, when sentiment was peculiarly strong and coupled with a growing appreciation and care of a garden, it made a very special appeal and was a great feature of every notable Elizabethan garden; for instance, we know that at Hampden Court it was to be found in the greatest abundance. In the early days of the seventeenth century it was so definitely a plant of the people that Parkinson, in his delightful garden book *Paradisus*, wrote: 'Being in every woman's garden it were sufficient but to name it as an ornament among other sweet herbs and flowers in our gardens.' 'Being in every woman's garden' has perhaps in it a sly reference to a countryside belief, then widely held, that rosemary only grew where 'the Mistress was Master,' and hence every woman took good care that at any rate it should be found in *her* garden.

And so it was from this abundance, and out of these aromatic hedges, that when evergreens were sought for Christmas decorations the slender scented branches of rosemary were cut. What better contrast to the vivid shining greens of holly and ivy could be found than its soft grey-greenness? And when this æsthetic satisfaction was allied to fragrance it was irresistible. Our ancestors

were peculiarly alive to aromatic qualities and herb values—did not the remedies for all the ills that flesh is heir to lie within those herb tissues ?—and to them the strewing of sweet herbs about a room made, in a very definite and actual way, for the production of happiness and content. They realised empirically what science has now established as an undoubted fact, that scent is pre-eminently the vehicle of memory, and more readily awakens an association of ideas than any other stimulus of sensation :

> Sweet scents
> Are the swift vehicles of still sweeter thoughts
> And nurse and mellow the dull memory
> That would let drop without them her best stores.
> (SAVAGE LANDOR.)

And so 'Rosemary, that's for remembrance,' said sad Ophelia, while Perdita, too, welcoming the pseudo-shepherds Polixenes and Camillo, gave them gifts of rosemary and rue :

> Reverend sirs,
> For you there's rosemary and rue ; these keep
> Seeming and savour all the winter long .
> Grace and remembrance be to you both,
> And welcome to our shearing ! .

Thus rosemary, memory-evoking and unchanging in its evergreen persistence, was to our forefathers—and would be to us if we would but revive its use—a most suitable and natural adjunct to Christmas, the festival of reunion and remembrance. (Incidentally one realises how great an asset to reflection and meditation were those same trim rosemary hedges that flanked the narrow paths in the stately Elizabethan gardens. The gentle brushing of the leaves as one passed to and fro would call forth, all unconsciously, their memory-haunting aroma, and thus the best possible background for thought would be formed.)

Carrying this idea a step further, we find it quite obvious that rosemary should be the plant associated with the dead. 'A sprig of it hath a dumb language, that maketh it the chosen emblem at our funeral wakes and in our buriall grounds,' said Sir Thomas More.

> Dry up your tears, and stick your rosemary
> On this fair corse ; and, as the custom is,
> In all her best array bear her to church :

counsels Friar Lawrence by the side of the dead Juliet , and it became the common custom for mourners to carry sprigs of rosemary in the funeral procession and throw them into the grave upon the coffin. The poet Gay, of *Beggar's Opera* fame, describes how at a funeral

> To show their love the neighbours far and near
> Followed with wishful look the damsel's bier.
> Sprigg'd rosemary the lads and lasses bore,
> While dismally the parson walked before;
> Upon her grave the rosemary they threw,
> The daisy, butter-flower and endive blue,

and another writer, T. Browne (1700), exclaims: 'There goes a Funeral with the Men of Rosemary after it'; while still another writer, a trifle earlier, expresses the wish that the last obsequies may be, 'My body to the earth without any ceremony but Rosemary and Wine.' Rosemary was held to be an emblem of immortality (its evergreenness lending itself to this idea); its aroma was supposed to preserve the dead body, and an old superstition was once rife that a sprig of the herb placed in the hand of the dead would grow and eventually cover the whole corpse.

Rosemary was also used as a sweet token of remembrance at weddings.

> The Rosemarie trail
> Grows for two ends, it matters not at all
> Be't for my Bridall or my Buriall,

said Herrick; and it was customary for a bride's attendants, both man and maid, to await her with sprigs of the plant in their hands. Brides, as, for instance, Anne of Cleves, also wore a small piece in their wedding coronal.

But the aromatic qualities of the plant led it to play yet another part—a not unimportant one—in Christmas celebrations, a part that was directly related to feasting and jollity, for rosemary was an essential part of that supreme and peculiarly Christmas dish, the boar's head, the dish that was served first at the Christmas feast, and one that, in the halls of the great, was brought in at the head of a stately procession heralded by music. The very carol that was then sung had special reference to it:

> Caput apri defero
> Reddens laudes Domino.
> The boar's head in hand bring I
> With garlands gay and Rosemary,
> I pray you all sing merrily,
> Qui estis in convivio.

As the big silver platter was set on the table one could see that the boar's head was garnished all about with rosemary and bay, while pieces of rosemary were stuck through its ears, adding to its festive and rakish appearance, and adding also to the general savouriness of the whole. An old poem thus describes the dish:

> Sweet rosemary and bays around it spread;
> His foaming tusks with some large pippin graced,
> Or 'midst those thundering spears an orange placed,
> Sauce, like himself, offensive to its foes,
> The roguish mustard, dangerous to the nose.

The whole stately ceremony is still carried out at Queen's College, Oxford, a variation of the above carol being sung.

Where so much state was not possible, still the boar's head with its rosemary was not lacking, and Sir Walter Scott describes in *Marmion* how, when

> On Christmas Eve the bells were rung,
> On Christmas Eve the mass was sung,
>
> . . . .
>
> Then was brought in the lusty brawn
> By old blue-coated serving man,
> Then the grim boar's head frowned on high
> Crested with bays and rosemary

In yet humbler homes, where even a boar's head was unprocurable, the rosemary persisted, for a 'good piece of beef stuck with rosemary' served for the festive fare We find this rosemary-flavoured beef mentioned in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, of date 1611.

This garnishing of the boar's head is referred to in a curious tract by one 'Thomas Dekker' on *The Wonderful Yeare*, 1603, concerning persons afraid of catching plague 'They went,' he relates, '(most bitterly) miching and muffled up and downe, with rue and wormwood stuff into their eares and nosthrils, looking like so many BORE'S HEADS stuck with branches of rosemary, to be served in for brawne at Christmas' And he further tells us that at that time of fear rosemary, which usually cost twelve pence an armful, was sold at 6*s*. a handful, so great was the demand for it as a preventive of infection The belief in its efficacy in this respect did not diminish with experience, though we know now it was really groundless, for in the days of the Great Plague, half a century later, small bunches of rosemary were hawked about the streets of London at 6*s*. 8*d*. each. Undoubtedly it was with this same object of warding off infection that an old Christmas custom was for so long maintained at Ripon, though it came to lose its significance in course of time. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790 relates how 'at Rippon, in Yorkshire, on Christmas Day the singing boys came into the church with large baskets full of red apples, with a sprig of Rosemary stuck in each, which they presented to all the congregation, and generally have a return made them of 2*d*, 4*d*., or 6*d*. according to the quality of the lady or gentleman.' Presumably one might go up a definite step in the social scale if one advanced one's customary Christmas box of 2*d*. to a donation of 4*d*.!

The apples stuck with rosemary were allied, of course, to 'pomanders,' or scent balls, which once were commonly carried as a protection against pestilent airs. One remembers Cardinal

Wolsey's famous pomander of an orange filled with vinegar and scented matter, which he delicately held to his nose when the common people thronged around him. Though rosemary took premier place as a guard against infection, other sweet-smelling herbs had similar remedial qualities attributed to them. As Gerard wrote, 'If odours may worke satisfaction they are so soveraigne in plants and so comfortable that no confection of the apothecaries can equall their excellent vertue.'

Rosemary belongs to a family of sweet-smelling herbs; lavender, marjoram, mint, thyme, sweet basil, and pogostemum, from which patchouli is derived, are all members of that family. In itself it is a plant of some interest. A native of the south of France, it is specially at home in dry, sandy places, particularly by the sea, as its Latin name—Rosmarinus—implies. It is not always realised how wonderfully it is adapted to meet the limitation of an environment of drought. Not only is it covered by a thick coat of white hairs—hence its grey colour—to protect it from being shrivelled up by the sun or injured by cutting winds: it has also the edges of its leaves turned sharply back on to the midrib, so that the leaves are more or less needle-shaped, and a very small surface is exposed to the direct rays of the sun. Moreover, each leaf is set on the stem pointing sharply upwards, with the result that when the keen, dry winds blow through the shrub the leaf-faces are all pressed on to the stems and are thus shielded, the full blast being received by the felted back. The lavender-coloured two-lipped flowers contain honey, which, when extracted by bees, is supposed to have a particularly good flavour. It was an old superstition that flowering began on the day of the Passion of Christ.

It would appear that it was in the later half of last century that rosemary disappeared out of the Christmas celebrations Chambers' *Book of Days*, published in 1869, still mentioned it quite naturally with holly, laurel, and ivy, as a plant used in decorations. It also lost any place of prominence in the garden, brilliant geraniums, vivid calceolarias, and lobelias ousting its demure greyness in Victorian days. Lately, however, with the revival of herb gardens and the planning of new gardens on old-fashioned lines, it has come more into notice again.

But one ends this paper as one began it. It is a thousand pities that a plant with so much charm, tradition, and sentiment behind it should drop out as a Christmas plant. Could not its cultivation for this purpose be stimulated from a commercial point of view?

Christmas is the poorer for the absence of the 'herb of remembrance.'

G. Clarke Nuttall.

LES ANGLAIS

[*In the November number of this Review there appeared an article, 'The French,' by Mr. Claude C. Washburn. In the following article, by the author of* Les Silences du Colonel Bramble *and* Ariel, *we are shown the other side.*—EDITOR, *Nineteenth Century and After.*]

IL y a des jours où j'aime les Anglais.

Ces jours-là je pense à un pauvre homme que j'ai vu l'an dernier à Salisbury. J'avais voulu retrouver l'endroit d'où Constable a peint la cathédrale. J'y étais arrivé en suivant une petite rivière bordée de joncs. La flèche de pierre brodée dominait les arbres. A côté de moi, sur le pont de bois, s'était accoudé ce vieillard.

'Sir,' me dit-il, 'je vais vous raconter une chose extraordinaire. Hier j'ai dû aller à Londres pour y chercher ma pension. J'ai été surpris par l'orage devant ce grand monument qu'ils appellent "National Gallery," et j'y suis entré. . . . Eh bien, Sir, vous ne le croiriez pas, j'y ai vu notre cathédrale. Et le plus beau tableau que je connaisse Ces arbres y sont et cette flèche, Sir, sous un arc-en-ciel. Alors ce matin je me suis dit : "Il faut que j'aille la voir, notre cathédrale, comme elle est peinte dans ce tableau." Malheureusement il manque l'arc-en-ciel, mais je reviendrai jusqu'à ce qu'il y soit.'

Aucun peuple n'a plus que celui-ci le goût naturel de la beauté. Nation d'esthètes ; la seule qui lise ses poètes ; la seule dont les poètes vivent et meurent en poètes ; la seule où l'on pouvait trouver dans un même régiment Rupert Brooke, Charles Lister et Raymond Asquith, dans une même décade Byron, Keats et Shelley ; la seule qui soit assez riche en poètes pour décréter que Byron n'en est pas un.

Peuple dont la capitale atteint à la beauté par une incohérence géante, dont les maisons de campagne, si belles, couvertes de lierre, de vigne vierge, donnent une impression de négligence amicale et délicieuse. (Les folles bordures de plantes vivaces y remplacent nos sages alignements de géraniums et de bégonias. Une fleur bleue se pose au creux d'un vieux mur.)

Peuple de qui les grands livres ressemblent à ses jardins. Un désordre magnifique tout semé de coins sombres ou charmants y enchante le lecteur patient.

Peuple de qui les romanciers sont, avec les Russes, les plus puissants. Eux seuls écrivent ces romans-fleuves où la vie coule lente, inévitable. Il est vrai que nous avons Proust, qui, disciple d'Eliot pour le fond et de Ruskin pour le style, est le premier des romanciers anglais. Mais eux, leur richesse est incomparable. En ce moment même ils ont Forster, Virginia Woolf, Maurice Baring, David Garnett ; ils ont Beresford, Huxley et tant d'autres, en un temps où Hardy, Bennett, Galsworthy, Moore, Wells, sont encore bien vivants. Ils possèdent l'art mystérieux, divin, de faire apparaître dans une pauvre vie tous les reflets de l'univers.

Aucun peuple plus que celui-ci ne méprise les sciences, et aucun ne produit de plus grands savants. Dans leurs écoles, la physique, la chimie, sont baptisées 'stinks' et négligées, mais en un siècle ils ont eu Tyndall, Faraday, Thomson, Ramsay, Maxwell, et leurs savants sont originaux parce que leurs professeurs ne les ont pas formés.

Malgré tant de réussites, ils sont modestes. Ils ne parlent ni de leur famille, ni de leur fortune, ni de leurs succès. Ils sont disciplinés. Ils ont le respect des conventions, le respect de l'arbitre. Pour payer les impôts ou pour faire la guerre, les citoyens jouent le jeu envers la nation. Leur grand souci à la chasse est de donner une honnête chance à la bête, et pendant des séances entières, à la Chambre des Communes, on peut entendre les orateurs bien qu'ils parlent à mi-voix. Ils font les choses avec paresse, donc avec grâce Ils ont horreur des hommes qui montrent un excès d'activité. Ils ne méprisent pas le succès, mais ne le poursuivent qu'avec modération. Un de leurs mots favoris est 'gently,' doucement.

Ils sont généreux, dépensent volontiers, donnent largement. Leurs hôpitaux sont entretenus par des souscriptions particulières. C'est le seul pays au monde où l'on puisse publier une annonce, 'Ancient officier a besoin d'argent,' et recevoir une réponse. Si les Américains y avaient consenti ils auraient annulé les dettes de guerre. Keynes le proposait, sagement d'ailleurs. Et il est probable que cela se serait fait si les fonctionnaires de la Trésorerie n'étaient tous des Ecossais.

Ils sont discrets. 'Never ask questions' Aussi leur pays est-il celui où il est le moins pénible de souffrir. C'est parmi eux qu'il convient de passer toutes les convalescences sentimentales. Ils ont le tact de vous faire sentir par d'imperceptibles nuances que cette discrétion n'est pas indifférence. Ce sont des amis exquis, les meilleurs.

Il y a des jours où je n'aime pas les Anglais.

Alors je pense à la scène suivante :

Un charmant cottage noir et blanc ; un jardin à l'herbe drue, bien coupée, bien roulée ; de grandes masses de fleurs bleues et roses ; là vit un couple sans enfants sur lequel règne Sarawak, chat siamois superbe et méprisant.

Du matin au soir Doris lui parle, s'inquiète de ses désirs, les satisfait. Sarawak partage sa chambre. Au milieu de la nuit il part en chasse. D'un trot souple et silencieux il va droit vers les terriers ; d'un bond il est sur le dos du malheureux lapin qui prenait le frais. Puis il ramène le cadavre dans la chambre de sa maîtresse. Le lendemain elle décrit cette nuit sanglante, et je laisse voir mon dégoût. Elle échange avec son mari des regards un peu méprisants. ' Ces Français ! Qu'ils savent mal aimer les animaux.' Lui rappelle des souvenirs. ' Pendant la guerre vos abominables charretiers . . . ' Elle devient sentimentale : ' Pauvre Sarawak ! Le méchant Frenchman ne vous aime pas.'

Le chat ne l'écoute plus. Inquiet, attentif, il guette puis bondit Il tient une souris, une très petite souris qui pousse des cris faibles et aigus. L'ayant doucement griffée, il la laisse fuir, puis la reprend, lui donne un coup de dent, avec beaucoup de grace. Cruel inquisiteur oriental, que tu accomplis bien, Sarawak, les rites funèbres et sadiques du repas des chats, de la mort des souris. ' Archie,' dis-je, ' par pitié tuez cette souris ou sauvez-la.'

Doris me jette un regard indigné : ' Pauvre Sarawak ! Le méchant Frenchman veut vous enlever tout votre plaisir.' Elle m'explique : ' C'est très bon pour mon chat ; cela lui fait prendre de l'exercice.' ' Peut-être, Doris, peut-être, mais vous qui prétendez protéger les animaux, pensez à ce que doit être la terreur de cette bestiole ! '

Un grand étonnement sur ce joli visage.

' Vous voulez dire la souris ? Oh, Archie, il plaint la souris ! Mais elle croit que c'est un jeu, la souris.'

' Naturellement,' dit Archie, haussant ses larges épaules, ' c'est du grand sport pour la souris.'

Là-dessus les cris deviennent plus aigus, se rapprochent, décroissent, s'éteignent. Enfin la souris est morte Un peu écœuré, je rêve dans mon fauteuil.

O réaction très britannique, besoin de voiler ce qui est déplaisant sous des dehors sentimentaux, candide indifférence aux maux des autres, forces adroites et profondes, que vous savez bien satisfaire ces consciences exigeantes. Quand se plaignent l'Irlandais, l'Egyptien, l'Indien, ou même le Français, comme vous rassurez l'honnêteté anglaise en repoussant sur le plan du comique ces étrangers aux cris désagréables. Grand sport pour la souris ! Grand sport en vérité !

Et je pense encore :

Leurs pacifistes sont quelquefois un danger pour la sécurité

des autres pays, jamais pour celle de l'Angleterre. 'Au contraire,' dit Mr. Haldane, 'ils représentent pour elle une puissante réserve militaire. Dès le début des hostilités, la plupart d'entre eux deviennent violemment patriotiques, alors qu'avant la guerre ils ont amené nos ennemis à sous-estimer notre force. Après quelques années de combats, quand les politiciens belliqueux du début commencent à se fatiguer, les anciens pacifistes, comme Lloyd George ou Pitt, commencent à être en pleine forme. Cela augmente la force de résistance du pays.' Il y aurait un joli essai à écrire : 'De l'action conservatrice des anarchistes anglais.'

Sainte-Beuve, parlant de l'horreur des Français pour le mystère, disait modestement : 'Dieu n'est pas français.' Mais presque tous les Anglais sont certains que Dieu est anglais Dans la pièce de Shaw, un chapelain nie les voix de Jeanne parce que Saint Michel ne parle pas anglais. Est-ce une caricature ? A peine. Lord Curzon dédiait un livre : 'A tous ceux et à toutes celles qui croient, comme moi, que l'Empire Britannique est, après la Providence, la plus grande force qui soit au monde pour le bien de l'humanité.' Et Cecil Rhodes affirma toute sa vie que le monde est un univers anglo-saxon, créé par un Dieu anglo-saxon, pour le bénéfice des anglo-saxons.

Cependant, ils disent que les Français sont nationalistes et leur reprochent de ne pas savoir émerger du Français pour devenir l'Homme. Mais ils n'ajoutent pas que, s'ils se montrent, eux, capables de pratiquer cette vertu, c'est que par l'Homme ils entendent l'Anglais. Un Français ou un Allemand est nationaliste, pensent-ils, quand il croit son pays supérieur aux autres, car il n'a aucune raison pour le croire tel. Un Anglais, au contraire, peur croire à la supériorité de l'Empire Britannique sans aucun nationalisme, dans l'abstrait, et en quelque sorte du point de vue de Sirius, parce que la civilisation britannique est supérieure dans l'absolu à toutes les autres civilisations. En fait, il n'y a pas d'autre civilisation, et une nation peut être dite 'civilisée' dans la mesure où elle a adopté les mœurs anglaises. L'attitude de l'Angleterre à l'égard du monde est celle de la nurse : elle enseigne les manières au genre humain. Les mœurs étrangères lui paraissent 'queer,' ou 'funny,' ou 'quaint.' 'Their queer little French ways,' disent-ils. Car c'est aussi une de leurs idées fixes que l'étranger est toujours petit et que, par conséquent, il lui faut peu de place. Quand une nurse anglaise entre dans une famille française, elle occupe l'une après l'autre toutes les pièces de l'appartement et finit par cerner dans quelque cabinet obscur les parents français vaincus. Ainsi quand ses ancêtres conquérirent leurs Iles ils repoussèrent dans un coin les populations indigènes et les appelèrent 'Welsh,' les étrangers.

A quoi je sais bien qu'ils me répondraient que cela n'est pas

vrai des Anglais très cultivés, mais l'objection vaut aussi pour les Français. Et même je ne suis pas certain que l'Anglais, même très cultivé, ne conserve pas, au fond de son cœur, un plus secret mépris pour l'étranger.

Ils ne souffrent pas de ces contradictions parce qu'ils n'ont aucune logique. La France est peut-être le seul pays au monde où $2 + 2 =$ toujours 4. Mais à Cambridge $2 + 2 = \infty$ et à Oxford personne ne s'abaisse jusqu'à faire une addition. Ils raisonnent peu et acceptent des idées toutes faites au nom desquelles ils agissent. Après la guerre tous mes amis anglais me répétaient : ' Nous sommes traditionnellement les alliés de la Puissance la plus faible du Continent ' sans vouloir comprendre que les axiomes de politique étrangère sont moins immuables que ceux d'Euclide. Maintenant ils s'obstinent à dire : ' Les Français ne veulent pas payer d'impôts ' quand cinq minutes d'examen leur prouveraient que les impôts français sont beaucoup plus lourds que les leurs.

D'ailleurs, ils ne demandent pas à une pensée d'être vraie, mais d'être paradoxale et brillante. Le temps n'est plus où Lord Hartington leur plaisait parce qu'il était ennuyeux. Depuis Oscar Wilde ils vous jettent au visage épigrammes sur épigrammes. C'est fatiguant. Et puis c'est facile. On prend une platitude, et on la retourne. C'est du victorianisme à rebours Qui écrira ' Witty Georgians ' ? Désormais la conversation d'un Anglais spirituel est toujours inattendue ; il en résulte qu'elle est attendue. Après de tels feux d'artifice le bon sens un peu élémentaire du Français moyen m'enchante. Descartes disait : ' N'accepter aucune chose pour vraie qu'on ne la reconnaisse évidemment pour telle,' mais eux, ils méprisent la vérité quand elle a le malheur d'être évidente.

Cet orgueil serait charmant, naïf et en somme sympathique s'ils ne prétendaient se faire une vertu. Ce qui est irritant c'est qu'ils mêlent à toutes choses la morale. L'attitude de Ruskin devant les tableaux est la vraie attitude anglaise. Il ne peut se dire simplement : ' Je les aime,' mais ' Je les aime parce que la beauté est toujours le signe de la beauté morale.' Pour admirer les jolies filles avec une conscience tranquille, il a besoin de se répéter : ' All pretty girls are angels.' De même le marchand britannique, s'il a besoin d'une nation pour le succès de son commerce, désire lire dans ses journaux : ' All good customers are angels.' Et il arrive à le croire. Tant mieux pour lui. Je suis très heureux de savoir son âme en paix. Mais s'il veut ensuite faire de cette attitude un sujet d'édification pour le reste de l'univers, je proteste, c'est insupportable.

De ceux qu'on aime vraiment les défauts plaisent aussi. On aperçoit leur caractère comme un ensemble tellement indivisible

que tout sentiment critique disparaît devant le plaiser de comprendre. On ne souhaite pas même changer leurs manies, leurs tics, leurs défauts de langage. On ne voit dans leurs faiblesses que la rançon nécessaire de leurs vertus.

Ces Anglais, par exemple, je viens de les discuter parce que le jeu dialectique m'y forçait, mais la vérité est que je les aime bien et que je les ai acceptés depuis longtemps. Entre eux et les Français la grande différence c'est que l'armature de la personne est différente, cela pour des raisons historiques. L'Angleterre a été un peuple heureux. Avec l'aide de Dieu et de la Marine, elle n'a jamais été envahie. La petite révolution qui détrôna les Stuarts est un incident négligeable si on la compare à la nôtre. Son système féodal ouvert lui a évité pendant longtemps la haine de classes. Ainsi s'est formé en elle au cours des siècles un optimisme invincible tandis que se construisait en France une austérité réaliste.

Sollicité par les directions diverses de son histoire, le jeune Français doit réfléchir et choisir. Il a besoin de s'affirmer ; dans la vanité qu'on lui reproche il y a bien de la modestie. Ses idées sont des forces actives et dangereuses qu'il doit manier avec prudence. Pour l'Anglais la construction intellectuelle demeure un jeu. Comme une vapeur superficielle, elle flotte au-dessus d'une vie végétative profonde qui est homogène dans la nation au-delà des individus. L'Anglais n'a pas besoin de dire : 'Nous sommes forts.' Cela se voit, et il le sait. Il vit bien au-dessous des régions du langage. La raison compte si peu pour lui qu'il prend un plaiser vif, et qui nous paraît coupable, à jongler avec elle et à l'humilier. Le 'nonsense' qui l'amuse nous ennuie, nous choque. Nos enfants s'écartent d'Alice avec inquiétude et mépris.

C'est ce qui explique que les autres peuples voient parfois de l'hypocrisie dans l'idéalisme anglo-saxon. L'idéalisme anglo-saxon n'est pas hypocrite ; il est sincère. Il l'est d'autant plus qu'il est en l'air, c'est une chanson. Leur réel, c'est une vie instinctive et forte, profondément cachée, jalousement défendue. Ce qui en donnerait le mieux l'idée, ce serait une image musicale. Pensez au prélude de 'L'Or du Rhin' : une basse sourde, monotone et comme ondulatoire, richement nourrie par tout l'orchestre, sur laquelle l'esprit se sent flotter avec une reposante et douce sécurité ; une basse qui donne le sentiment de l'éternel, de cet invincible écoulement du temps, à la fois mélancolique et rassurant. Là-dessus l'intelligence, instrument grêle, isolé, brode des motifs légers, rapides, rarement repris par l'orchestre, et toujours la basse sourde roule son fleuve de sons. Nous ne comprendrons jamais les Anglais tant que nous ne saurons pas que l'essentiel se passe dans cette basse monotone, que les jeux, d'ailleurs charmants et

ingénieux, de leur pensée, ne sont pour eux que des jeux. Une doctrine ne commence à devenir motif d'action que lorsqu'elle a lentement pénétré toute la masse des eaux comme une goutte de certains colorants puissants, diluée jusqu'à l'infini, peut colorer une rivière.

Un autre trait important à saisir, c'est que l'Anglais a toujours besoin de réaliser le Paradis Terrestre. Peut-être parce que ses passions sont violentes, il désire que l'âme humaine apparaisse comme épurée. C'est là le sens profond du sport. Le sport est une lutte, mais dégagée de toute méchanceté. Il joue dans la vie d'un peuple exactement le même rôle que l'art. Il apporte des possibilités d'évasion. Esthète et athlète, c'est le même homme. L'esthète crée un univers irréel où se composent suivant des lois harmonieuses des vases chinois, des cretonnes, des fleurs. L'athlète crée un univers irréel où se composent avec même harmonie des directs du droit, des crochets du gauche, des passes de rugby, des sets de tennis.

C'est le peuple le plus sentimental du monde. Ce sentimentalisme s'étend à la politique, où les partis aiment à penser qu'ils se traitent mutuellement suivant les règles du sport. Même dans les relations internationales, en théorie, l'Anglais désirerait sincèrement croire que tout est réglé par des soucis moraux Il sait au fond que cela n'est pas, mais il ne désire pas le savoir, et une conspiration nationale entretient cette consolante et agréable fiction.

Quand le réel s'impose avec trop de vigueur, le mécanisme auquel l'esprit anglais recourt pour exprimer la vérité sans souffrir, c'est de la transporter sur un plan éloigné du possible où elle cesse d'être offensante parce qu'elle devient invraisemblable. C'est l'humour Le mécanisme fonctionne automatiquement pour détruire tout réel gênant. Pendant la guerre l'enfer où vivaient les combattants ne pouvait être peint comme paradisiaque, mais ils le dissociaient, ils l'annulaient en en parlant avec une plaisante légèreté. Bairnsfather et son ' better hole,' Heath Robinson et sa machine à nettoyer les genoux des Highlanders, Bateman et ses incroyables généraux, n'auraient pas été tolérés en France au même moment. Aux Anglais ils rendaient le service d'écarter d'eux l'horreur véritable.

Une autre raison pour leur goût du paradoxe et de l'humour c'est qu'ils sont le peuple le plus conformiste du monde (cela s'applique aussi aux non-conformistes qui sont des conformistes à rebours). Ils sont timides ; ils ont peur de choquer. Or seul le ton plaisant ne choque jamais.

En outre l'humour leur sert de défense pour interdire l'accès de ces régions profondes où se passe leur vie véritable et qu'ils souhaitent tenir secrètes. Si l'on classe les races diverses par ordre de pudeur croissante, l'échelle commencera par le Russe et

se terminera par l'Anglais. Le Russe confesse sa vie intim
l'homme qui vient s'asseoir à côté de lui sur un banc de gare
prend plaisir à s'humilier. L'Allemand se confesse encore, m
tire aussitôt de sa confession une métaphysique dont il
glorieux, d'autant plus que l'homme du banc ne la comprend p
Le Français ne raconte rien, mais vit sur la place publique
feignant le cynisme parce qu'il craint le ridicule. L'Anglais ca
sa vie intime, qui est semblable à celle des trois autres, fait de
morale au Français, à l'Allemand et au Russe, et écrit un ron
freudien pour libérer ses refoulements.

Mais parce que les peuples sont différents est-il nécess
d'établir entre eux des classements ? Chacun n'est-il pas parfa
ment ce qu'il est ? Peut-on concevoir un Français possédant
vertus anglaises, un Anglais muni des vertus françaises ? Je c
que l'important est plutôt de chercher à les comprendre, l'ur
l'autre, et que c'est aussi le plus agréable. Il y a des jours
j'aime les Anglais ; il y a des jours (plus rares) où je n'aime pas
Anglais. Mais les Anglais sont toujours les Anglais, et ce n'est
moi qui les changerai.

ANDRÉ MAUROIS

THE NEW OUTLOOK IN COSMOGONY

ASTRONOMY has always stood aloof from the other sciences; her field of research is apart, her methods are entirely her own, and, most significant of all, her results have different values from those of other sciences. While these reward mankind by utilitarian gifts, new methods for the production of wealth, the increase of pleasure or the avoidance of pain, astronomy has so far given us only food for intellectual contemplation. This is pre-eminently true of cosmogony, the branch of astronomy which is concerned with the problem of how the astronomical bodies come to be where they are and as they are.

From the practical standpoint, the outstanding difference between astronomy and the other sciences is the difference of scale. Most sciences progress by pursuing Nature into the realms of the infinitely small, but for astronomy and cosmogony progress lies in the direction of the infinitely great, or, to be more exact, of the unthinkably great. For we now know with fair certainty that there is no infinitely great. A number of considerations combine to show that the universe is finite, and it is just because we know this, and are beginning to discover the actual limits to the size of the universe, and to its duration in time, that the present position in astronomy and cosmogony is of quite unusual interest. These sciences stand to-day somewhat in the position in which geography found itself when the world had been circumnavigated and the limits of what remained unexplored first begun to be known.

It was not until 1838 that the distance of a star was measured, and the scale of structure of the universe revealed. In that year three astronomers, Bessel, Henderson and Struve, independently measured the distances of three different stars. In each case the method employed was the 'parallactic' method: the motion of the earth in its orbit causes the near stars to appear to move against the background formed by the remote stars, and from observations of the amount of this apparent motion the distances of the near stars can be deduced. But it has long been clear that the majority of stars are much too far away for their distance to be measured in this manner, and in no event could

the method tell us the distances of the most remote stars in universe, for it cannot succeed unless the star under observat is seen against a background of even more distant stars. I only quite recently that other methods have provided a meas for sounding the furthest depths of the universe.

The most fruitful of these methods depends on the spe properties of a certain class of stars called 'Cepheid variabl after their prototype, the star δ Cephei. These stars do not sh with a steady light; at intervals which are always perfectly regul but may range for different stars from a few hours to seve days, they flash out to two or three times their original brig ness. Just as the mariner recognises a lighthouse from amon a crowd of other lights by the regular succession of its flashes a the nature of these flashes when they come, so the astronon recognises a Cepheid variable by the regularity, period, and nat of its light variations. In 1912 Miss Leavitt, of Harvard Obser tory, discovered a simple relation between the periods and t luminosities of the Cepheids which occur in the Smaller Magella Cloud; the slower the light variation of the Cepheid the m luminous it is—broadly speaking, its luminosity varies invers as a definite power of its period. More recently Dr. Shapl the present Director of Harvard Observatory, has shown that t relation, now generally known as the 'period-luminosity law,' true of Cepheid variables in general. Whenever the astronon detects a Cepheid variable and can measure the length of period, he can deduce the amount of light it emits By compari this with its apparent brightness, as observed through a terrestr telescope, it is easy to determine its distance from us. T method is simply that of a mariner who estimates his distance fro land by identifying a lighthouse, looking up its candle-power in book of reference, and noticing its apparent brightness at the sp where he happens to be The analogy to the parallactic meth would of course be if the mariner, knowing the speed of his shi should try to estimate his distance from land by noticing the ra at which a church spire or chimney on the coast appeared to mo against a background of distant hills. This method does n demand the existence of a lighthouse of known candle-power, b would obviously be useless for a mariner far out at sea, and, as v have already noticed, it could in no case give the distance of t most remote objects visible.

The discovery of the 'period-luminosity' law opened up new world as regards exact survey of astronomical distances. was first used by Dr. Shapley himself to determine the distanc of the remarkable objects known as 'globular star-clusters These, as their name implies, are closely-packed groups of stars approximately globular shape; seen through a powerful telescop

they look rather like a swarm of bees, and produce the impression of being nests or birthplaces of families of stars. Only sixty-nine of these objects are known, and, as practically no new ones have been discovered since the time of the Herschels, it is likely that there are none left to discover. They are all rich in Cepheid variables. Dr. Shapley finds that the distances of these sixty-nine clusters range from 21,000 to 216,000 light-years. In this and similar measurements the light-year is taken as the unit of distance because it is futile to express astronomical distances in terms of miles or other ordinary terrestrial standards of measurement. Light takes some eight minutes to travel from the sun to the earth, so that in one year it travels about 64,000 times the distance from the earth to the sun; this is the distance that the astronomer describes as one light-year and takes as his unit of length. We begin to realise what is meant by the distance of a star-cluster being hundreds of thousands of light-years if we reflect that what our telescope shows us is not the star-cluster as it now is, but the cluster as it was when primæval man dwelt on earth. Through the long prehistoric ages, through the slow dawn of civilisation, and through the rise and fall of empires and dynasties, the light which left the cluster in remote ages has been travelling towards us at the rate of 186,000 miles every second and has only just reached us.

Quite recently Dr Hubble, of Mount Wilson Observatory, has discovered Cepheid variables in certain of the spiral nebulæ, and so is able to estimate the distances of these nebulæ. The most remote of the nebulæ so far discussed proves to be the well-known 'Andromeda nebula' (M 31), at a distance of 950,000 light years; others are at comparable distances. Using a slightly different method, Dr. Shapley has estimated the distance of the star-cloud N.G.C. 6822 as being about a million light-years.

The two objects just mentioned are the most remote at present known. Are we to suppose that they fix the approximate limits of the universe, or must we look forward to a continual expansion of the observed size of the universe as the power of our telescopes continually increases? It is not possible to give a final answer to this question, but a considerable mass of evidence points to the former alternative as being probably the true one. Our sun is one of a group of some two or three thousand million stars which form a disc-shaped or biscuit-shaped structure girdled by the Milky Way. It has long been understood that this particular star-group cannot be of infinite extent. If it were, the sky would appear as a continuous blaze of light, and the gravitational force produced by this infinite mass of stars would be so intense that our sun and other stars would move with almost infinite velocities. The star-field cannot even be of uniform density as far as our

telescopes can reach, for if it were the number of stars visible in different telescopes would be proportional to the cubes of their apertures. This is not in actual fact found to be the case; a two-inch telescope has ten times the aperture of our naked eye, but does not reveal a thousand times as many stars. Thus the stars must thin out quite perceptibly even within the distances we can sound with a two-inch telescope. By a refinement of this method it has been found possible to explore the limits of size of the star-field of which our sun is a member and to estimate the number of stars it contains.

This star-field, although it may quite possibly be the largest single object in the universe, is by no means the whole universe. Outside it, or possibly on its outer confines, lie a variety of other objects, in particular the star-clusters, all of which are much smaller, and the spiral and other nebulæ, the largest of which approximate to it in size. The theory of 'island universes' which was originally propounded by Sir W. Herschel, but subsequently fell into disfavour, seems to be reinstated by recent observational work, and we now get the best picture of the universe by thinking of it as consisting of a number of sub-universes, detached from one another like islands on an ocean. We can form a rough estimate of the extreme distance of some of these islands from a consideration of the extreme faintness of the individual stars; but the Cepheid variables, the lighthouses on these islands, enable the astronomer to map out their positions with comparative accuracy. Our own star system is a very big island indeed, with the sun not far from its centre; the big nebula in Andromeda is another big island, smaller but of comparable size; while the star-clusters and smaller nebulæ are islands on a smaller scale. Considerations similar to those already mentioned, which enable astronomers to assign limits to the size of our star-field, show that we must also fix limits to this ocean of island universes, and it seems probable that the limits do not lie very far beyond the two most remote objects whose distances have so far been measured, namely, the spiral nebula M31 at 950,000 light-years, and the star-cloud N.G.C. 6822 at about a million light-years.

To fix our ideas we may suppose, although it is little more than a guess, that the most remote objects of all in our universe are at four times the distance of these two remote objects, and so at four million light-years from us. We may now attempt to get these ideas into focus by constructing a model of the complete universe on the scale of a million million miles to the foot. The amount of reduction involved in such a scale is best visualised, perhaps, by thinking in terms of motions rather than of distances. Light, which can circle the earth seven times in a second, would move in

our model with a speed rather below that at which a blade of grass grows in the spring. On this scale the whole universe will be represented by a sphere of the size of our earth, the star-cloud of which our sun is a member will be an island of about the size of Yorkshire, while the big Andromeda nebula will be rather larger than the Isle of Wight, although with very ill-defined boundaries. The whole solar system in this model can be easily covered by a grain of sand, while our earth, now shrunk to less than a ten-millionth of an inch in diameter, is hardly larger than a single molecule in this grain of sand.

Such is the universe which the astronomer hands over to the cosmogonist for interpretation. The cosmogonist, accepting the universe as it is, must try to discover why it is thus and not otherwise. What the astronomer regards as a compilation of observed facts is for the cosmogonist the last link in a long chain of processes, a cross-cut through the warp and the woof of cause and effect. While the astronomer is satisfied if he can see the universe as it is, the cosmogonist must ever strive to see it as it has been and as it will be. As just as one of the astronomer's main problems is to assign limits to the universe in space, so one of the main problems for the cosmogonist is to assign similar limits in time.

There must be such limits. The universe cannot go on for ever as it now is, and neither can it have existed in its present condition from all eternity. Every star is continually radiating energy away into space, and we have no knowledge of any appreciable part of this radiation coming back or of the stars replenishing their sources of energy in any way. The universe is running down like a clock which no one winds up.

The sun has some ten thousand million million million square inches of surface, and every square inch is radiating away energy at a rate which represents the energy output of a fifty horse-power engine. If this energy were supplied to the sun from a power station, coal would have to be burned at the rate of about a million million million tons a minute This makes it clear that the sun's energy cannot, as was at one time thought, originate in the combustion of the sun's mass. At a later date Meyer suggested that the sun's energy might be continually replenished by the infall of meteorites, while Helmholtz subsequently propounded his well-known contraction theory, according to which the energy of the sun's radiation is provided by the falling in of the sun's mass under his own gravitational attraction. Both these theories implied limits to the duration of the sun's radiation, and both limits were far too short to accord with known facts. Meteorites could not have been falling into the sun for ever, or the sun would already be of infinite mass; in actual fact it was shown that meteorites could not have been falling into the

sun at the requisite rate for more than about twenty million years, or the sun would by now have become more massive than it actually is. Similarly as regards the Helmholtz theory—the sun cannot have been contracting to the requisite extent for more than about twenty million years, or it would have shrunk already to less than its present dimensions.

Such periods of time are impossibly small for the sun's life. Geologists find evidence that things have been much as they now are on our earth for periods of at least hundreds of millions of years, while physical research on the radioactive contents of certain Canadian rocks fixes their age at fourteen hundred million years at the least, and analysis of other rocks gives confirmatory evidence. If, as is generally accepted, the sun is the parent of our earth, the sun must at least be older than the oldest of terrestrial rocks. It was at one time thought possible that radioactivity could provide our sun with energy for an almost unlimited span of radiation, but the possibility did not materialise. Sir Ernest Rutherford calculated that even if the sun started life in the most radioactive state possible, namely as a sphere of pure uranium, its radioactivity could provide for at most five million years of radiation at the present rate. It was by now abundantly clear that the true source of the sun's energy must be such as to provide the sun with a length of life of a different order of magnitude from anything hitherto thought of.

In 1905 Einstein's first theory of relativity appeared. This required that an increase in the energy of any material system should be accompanied by an increase in its mass. It had for some years been recognised as a special property of electrified bodies that their mass increased *pari passu* with their energy; the theory of relativity now showed this to be a general property of matter in all states and conditions. The converse must of course also be true, so that a body, such as our sun, which is losing energy by radiation must also be losing mass. When the rate of loss of energy of any body is known, it is easy to calculate the corresponding rate of loss of mass; from the sun's known rate of radiation it is found that its mass must be diminishing at the rate of about two hundred and fifty million tons a minute.

This statement does not necessarily imply that there are fewer atoms or molecules in the sun at the end of the minute than there were at its commencement. If the sun were merely cooling down, like a red-hot cannon-ball suspended in space, the heat agitation of each molecule would be less at the end of each minute than at its commencement, so that, on the average, the molecules would be moving more slowly and so have smaller mass. The aggregate of the decreases of mass of all the innumerable molecules in one minute would amount to exactly the two hundred and fifty million

tons in question. The crux of the situation lies in the circumstance that at most a millionth part of the total mass of the sun is of this easily shed kind, and that if this were the only part of its mass of which the sun could dispossess itself, its radiation could not possibly last for more than a few millions of years. Suppose, however, that processes are at work in the sun's interior by which the molecules can be not merely slowed down, but actually annihilated. In such a case the whole mass of the annihilated molecule is turned into energy, and the whole mass of the sun—two thousand million million million million tons—becomes available for transformation into radiation. At the present rate of radiation, represented by two hundred and fifty million tons a minute, the total mass of the sun would provide radiation for fifteen million million years

The most likely way in which mass could be completely transformed into radiation would be by the positive and negative electric charges of which all matter is constructed rushing into one another and mutually annihilating one another When the two terminals of a charged Leyden jar are brought into contact, we see a spark and hear a snap—a thunderstorm in miniature—which show that energy has been set free somewhere In actual fact we know that the energy came from the rushing together of electric charges of opposite sign which have neutralised one another. Recent research has shown quite conclusively that a hydrogen atom consists of two electrically charged particles, one, the electron, being negatively charged, and the other, the proton, being positively charged , there is nothing else If these two charged particles could be brought into actual contact it is fairly certain that the charges would neutralise one another, and, as we have no experience of uncharged electrons or protons, it may reasonably be supposed that the electron and proton would annihilate one another also. It is even more probable that there would be nothing left to annihilate, for it is already known that the whole mass of the electron comes from its electric charge, so that to speak of an uncharged electron is a contradiction in terms, and the same is almost certainly true of the proton. Thus, in the falling together of the electron and proton of the hydrogen atom, the whole mass of the atom ought to be transformed into radiation. It hardly seems likely that more complex atoms would annihilate themselves in a single process of the kind ; more probably there would be a successive falling in of electrons one at a time, so that the atom would gradually diminish its mass, and, of course, also its complexity. But the details of the process are unimportant ; in whatever way the annihilation of mass is achieved, the final result is the same, as also, of course, is the total amount of radiation which is set free.

In 1914 Professor H. N. Russell, of Princeton, propounded a scheme of stellar evolution whose main features at least have won general acceptance. According to this scheme, all the stars are moving down the same evolutionary ladder. Some start at the top, some perhaps join in part of the way down, but all pursue the same course and all end in the same way. At the top of the ladder are stars of the very highest luminosity, radiating perhaps ten thousand times as much light and heat as our sun. Moving down the ladder, the luminosity of the stars decreases, we pass stars like Sirius radiating some forty times as much as our sun, then, well down on the ladder, our sun and stars of similar luminosity; finally, on still lower rungs, are stars so faint as to be almost invisible. No doubt there are even lower rungs occupied by stars which have become perfectly invisible, but these need not concern us here.

Since the appearance of Russell's theory, it has gradually emerged that the stars on the highest rungs are of far greater mass than those on the lowest rungs. Not only so, but all the stars on any one rung—*i.e.*, all stars having the same luminosity—are of approximately equal mass, and there is a gradual diminution of mass as we pass down the ladder. If, then, as there is no serious reason for doubting, the stars are all moving down the ladder as their evolution progresses, it follows that they must all the time be diminishing in mass. Having reached this conclusion, it becomes natural to conjecture that the diminution of mass precisely represents the output of radiation. The hypothesis becomes something more than a conjecture when it is found that it satisfies every quantitative test which can be applied to it.

Since the rate of radiation of the stars on each rung of the ladder is known, it becomes an easy matter to calculate the rate at which they would be moving down the ladder on the hypothesis that their diminution of mass is the exact equivalent of their radiation. A simple addition then gives the time which a star would take, on the same hypothesis, to pass from any one rung of the ladder to any other. It is found, for instance, that the time from Sirius to our sun is about six million four hundred thousand years; from the brightest of known stars to the faintest is of the order of two hundred million million years, while from the brightest to our sun is rather over seven million million years. It is significant that these hypothetical ages for different types of stars fit in well with estimates that can be made from certain purely astronomical evidence which is wholly independent of any hypotheses as to the source of stellar radiation. Unfortunately the evidence is all too technical for discussion here, but it leaves little room for doubt that the long-standing problem of the origin of stellar radiation has been solved, and that the solution is the

amazingly simple one that the origin of a star's heat is the star's mass. He lives by transforming his mass into radiation ; we can estimate his present age by noticing how much of him is left, and another calculation, based on the same datum, tells us how much longer a life he may expect. The interval from top to bottom of the evolutionary ladder, about two hundred million million years, is the total life of a star, and stars differ one from another mainly in being merely higher or lower on the ladder, younger or older.

The ages of the stars are not the same thing as the age of the universe, nor even are they necessarily comparable with that age. The stars may be likened to icebergs coming down from the north and melting as they drift into tropical waters. We can estimate the ages of the icebergs within our vision, but we cannot say for how long the stream of icebergs has been drifting down from pole to equator nor for how long new icebergs will continue to form and come down to replace those that pass southward to their doom. Over the polar regions where the icebergs are born a veil of fog is drawn, and we do not know how to look behind that veil. But the problem of the ages of those stars which are now in being is a comparatively simple one, and for all practical purposes these constitute the universe for the astronomer and cosmogonist alike. To each star can be assigned a total span of life of the order of a hundred million million years followed by darkness and possibly ultimate extinction , to our sun we can assign a past life of about seven million million years, so that as regards time, although not as regards magnificence, the greater part of his life is yet to come.

The ages which we must now attribute to our sun and the other stars are many hundreds of times longer than was, until quite recently, thought probable or even possible. This extension of the time scale will call for a rearrangement of ideas in many departments of cosmogony and astronomy. Many of the questions involved are of a highly technical nature, but one is comparatively simple as well as of great interest. Of the various theories which have been put forward to explain the origin of our earth and the other planets, the so-called tidal theory seems (to the present writer at least) to offer enormously more advantages and to be open to far fewer objections than any of the others. According to this theory, our sun, some time in the past in his voyage through space, must have encountered a star more massive than himself travelling on a course which came so near to his own that enormous tides were raised on his surface, tides of such colossal height that the tops of the tidal waves lost all contact with the underlying parts and started on independent careers of their own as planets. When submitted to mathematical treatment this theory shows itself able to account for the main features of the arrangement of the solar system in a very gratifying way.

It was, however, until quite recently, open to one very serious objection. The distances of the stars from one another are enormously great in comparison with their dimensions. If we take six cricket balls and place one each in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, North America and South America, we have a model showing the arrangement of the six stars nearest to our sun and their distances apart relative to their dimensions. Since the stars are generally very many of their diameters apart, it must be a very rare event for their tracks to come to within a few diameters of one another, and yet the tidal theory requires an approach to within less than two diameters before planets can be born Under the old views as to the ages of the stars it was exceedingly unlikely that a specified star such as our sun should have experienced so close an approach throughout the whole of his life, and this constituted a serious objection to the tidal theory. But the recent extension of the ages of the stars has removed this reproach; stars which have wandered about amongst other stars for millions of millions of years must be expected to have had several fairly close approaches to their neighbours. Even now, however, approaches of the extreme closeness necessary to give birth to planets must be counted as somewhat rare; a small proportion only of the stars in the sky are likely to be surrounded by families of planets and so to form possible abodes of life.

At one time it seemed possible that Cosmogony might come down from her lofty pedestal and make good for her former deficiency in the matter of utilitarian gifts by bringing the most utilitarian gift of all—the secret of obtaining free energy. For if the stars are incessantly turning matter into energy, there would seem to be no reason why mankind should not learn their secret, and obtain mechanical power by annihilating small quantities of matter instead of laboriously winning, transporting, and burning millions of tons of coal; the total consumption of coal in the British Isles produces less heat, light and energy than could be obtained by the annihilation of an ounce of matter per day. But, so far as can at present be seen, this dream is not destined to be fulfilled. An analysis of the facts of astronomy suggests that there must be all sorts and types of matter mixed together in the stars; some only, not all, of these types are changing into energy at an appreciable rate, and these particular types, for good or for bad, are absent from our earth. They probably consist of elements heavier than uranium, the heaviest element known on earth; it is even possible that the capacity for spontaneous disintegration shown by the atoms of uranium and the other radioactive elements, the heaviest of terrestrial substances, may represent the surviving vestiges of an earlier power of these same atoms to lessen their mass by throwing off radiation.

J. H. JEANS.

THE PARLIAMENT ACT AND SECOND CHAMBER REFORM—II[1]

THE appointment of the Committee which is now sitting to consider the question of the Second Chamber may be either a proof that the Government does intend to make a definite move, or it may equally mean that its creation is for the same purpose as that of the Irish Convention, namely, to shelve the question while soothing those who are agitating for reform. One is reminded of the Irish Convention, at least in the fact that as in that matter those on whom the decision really rested, namely, the Sinn Fein population, took no part in the deliberations, so, too, in the question of the reform of the House of Lords, those who are really most interested, the English people, who surely should be permitted to have a voice in deciding how they are to be governed, are apparently not to be consulted in any way. As far as an onlooker is able to judge, the real object of the supporters of the scheme of reform throughout the country is to procure such alteration in the powers of the Upper Chamber as would create an infrangible barrier against any legislation which might injure the capitalist system. Further, to build up a reformed House of Lords with what would be in practice power of veto over all bills, including those dealing with finance, which might be sent to it from the House of Commons, and which might laugh at any Socialistic measures introduced by a Government Such a state of affairs, however ideal to some schools of political thought, would prove to be an impossible dream, but many people do not seem to realise how much water has flowed under the bridges since the passing of the Parliament Act, and how far the independence of public opinion has progressed, and is progressing. For were a Labour Government to come into power as well as into office—a contingency which could only arise through the choice of the British people—and were such a Government to introduce measures interfering with the rights of property, what might be the action of that Labour Government should a Second Chamber, armed with what would

[1] The first article under this title appeared in the November number, by Brig.-General F G. Stone, C.M.G.

practically amount to powers of complete veto restored to it by one party without the will of the electorate being consulted, make use of its new powers by in effect destroying an important Government measure? Such a veto would carry no weight, since the opinion of the electorate as to the restoration of these powers had not been obtained, and the reply of an advanced Government might well be to sweep away, by force if necessary, that barrier to its progressive policy. That such an action would not be constitutional is undeniable, but the result would be the same as if it were. After all, the head of Charles I. was cut off, which was as unconstitutional an act as anything could be, but in spite of its illegality King Charles remained beheaded.

There is a certain type of mind which finds finality in the word 'unconstitutional.' These men say that 'such and such a thing cannot be done because it would be unconstitutional,' and, assuming from that remark that it will not be done, refuse to discuss the matter further; and this would be the state of mind of many of the supporters of a Second Chamber Reform Bill throughout the country. Their ideas appear to be that if once powers of veto were restored by the present Government all owners of property might safely go to sleep, leaving Socialism, even although Socialism were the declared opinion of the country, beating uselessly against an indestructible barrier—indestructible because it would be 'unconstitutional' to destroy it. It must be clearly remembered that no mention of any intention to deal with the House of Lords was made in the election address of the Prime Minister, and that this address was accepted as the official programme of the Conservative Party, should it be returned to power. The only mention discoverable by the writer which was made by Mr. Baldwin in connection with the subject during the General Election was in a speech at Perth on October 25, when he said that 'if a Unionist Government would have time and power it would receive our attention' (*Glasgow Herald*, October 27, 1924). Diligent search has failed to find any other. Not even the most enthusiastic supporter of Second Chamber reform can surely claim that these words, buried in the middle of a speech made in Scotland four days before polling day on so important a matter as that of the powers of a Second Chamber, which was not even mentioned in the Conservative election manifesto, were sufficient warning to the electors that the Unionist Government intended dealing with the question in the coming Parliament. The only other allusion to such reform which can be discovered is in a statement of Unionist principles called 'Looking Ahead,' which was dated June 14, 1924, when nobody was thinking of an election; and this merely expressed a pious opinion. The suggestion that a Government of advanced views might sweep

away a Second Chamber by force may seem rather alarmist, yet, after all, every Government considers that it has force behind it for its final vindication of the people's will. For instance, there are certain laws approved by the majority of the British people, and if these laws are broken the Government of the day—Conservative, Liberal or Labour—employs force, whether in the shape of the truncheon of the village constable, or in extreme cases the rifles of infantry battalions, to enforce them. Should a reformed Second Chamber, armed only with new powers not approved by the electorate, oppose the people's will as represented by the proposals of a Socialist Government, and should that Government find it impossible to carry out its object owing to the use made by the Second Chamber of its new powers, would it be surprising if such a Government should as a last resort use physical force to enforce its will? The Parliament Act allows the Second Chamber to delay any measure except a financial one for two years; and is not such a delay, as far as ordinary Bills are concerned, sufficient to discover what is the will of the people?

Complaint is made that financial measures of a drastic kind may be passed without even the delay of two years; but this fact appears to be unavoidable and irremediable, serious although it is. The whole financial system of this country can be altered by one Budget; and how can a Budget be delayed or vetoed? If a Budget were delayed, the country would be plunged into chaos; so, if only for this reason, the rapid passing of financial measures cannot be altered. The Second Chamber did once possess the power of absolute veto over finance, and it made use of that power by throwing out the Budget, upon which the people, even in those peaceful days, dealt with the Second Chamber in no sparing fashion. Were the Second Chamber with restored powers of practically complete veto—powers restored by the Conservatives, and apparently without consulting the country on the matter—to throw out the Budget of a Socialist Government in these days of advanced thought, the result would be more disturbing than that which followed the rejection of the Budget of 1909. Reference has been made on various occasions to the employment of a referendum in the case of disagreement between the two Houses; but, although this scheme appears to be an admirable solution of disagreements regarding ordinary bills, how can an electorate be asked to decide on the intricate and difficult points of a Budget? Very few people understand the whole of a Budget; and how can such a measure be explained in detail to the electors, or how can single points be referred to their judgment, since the points of a Budget are dependent on each other for the completion of the whole? To throw out a Budget could be done *once*, as it was done; but the result of this

action on the part of the Second Chamber has made it plain that it cannot be done a second time, unless, of course, an *ad hoc* General Election restores the powers of veto to the Second Chamber with full recognition of the possibility of dealing with all financial matters. In allusion to the fact that no delay can be enforced regarding the passage of a financial measure, a further complaint is made that the decision as to whether a measure comes under that head is left to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and that a Socialist House of Commons might choose as its Speaker a man likely to allow his judgment to be prejudiced by his political views. The danger to the Capitalist system arising from a possibly prejudiced Speaker would not be removed by any alteration which would refer that decision to another tribunal. Individuals who will hold prominent places in any advanced Government are likely to be men of great ability, and, with the aid of practised draughtsmen, they will always be able to make any bill so truly a financial measure that no honest tribunal could certify it as otherwise. The desire of the supporters all over the country of a bill dealing with the powers and composition of the House of Lords seems to be promoted by a panic, not unlike that which inspired the nobles and prelates during the earlier days of the French Revolution, when all vied with each other in voting away their privileges in the hope of saving the situation. Of course the back bench Peers would always be willing to sacrifice themselves, their seats, and any other privileges they may possess if it is for the country's advantage, but it is not unnatural that they should first seek to convince themselves that such action is really for the advantage of the community. Most of the Peers believe that the Capitalist system, as opposed to the Socialist system, is the best for the general welfare, and, in searching for a course which in their belief will be for the national advantage, they will ask themselves whether such sacrifices will really stem the tide of Socialistic legislation. Surely the only constitutional method of stemming the growth of Socialism is to bring the electorate to share their views, and the idea of stemming it by some easy patent nostrum such as the reform of the House of Lords can only prove to be a disappointment. The idea of this reform is also dangerous because many other people who would otherwise be doing spade work in the constituencies will be lulled into the more pleasant occupation of growing carnations in their greenhouses. That the chances of a Socialistic Government are real few people who have the opportunity of learning first-hand the views of the working classes would deny. Whether the legislation of such a Government would be dangerous to the welfare of the community is a matter of personal opinion; but in any case, no reform of the House of Lords, unless it has the

previous mandate of the nation, is going to call a halt. The supporters of the scheme deny that they have any intention of thwarting the will of the people, but say that they merely wish to ensure a chance of further careful consideration by the electorate. This being so, surely, as has been said before, the delays procurable under the clauses of the Parliament Act for ordinary bills are sufficient. The fact that one Budget alone can destroy the Capitalist system makes it appear to be obvious that the real object of bringing in a bill for the reform of the House of Lords without previously consulting the electorate can in practice be only to secure the ultimate power of dealing with an extreme Socialistic Budget, or similar financial measure. Would not the effect of such an Act be deliberately to produce a clash between Capitalist and Labour parties likely to bring about that revolution which all parties wish to avoid ? Of course, there are those who hold the opinion that if a Socialistic Budget were thrown out the consequent disorganisation of trade and business would be comparatively immaterial, since they consider that nothing would be so disastrous as any alteration in the Capitalist system, and that should such an alteration come a revolution might just as well come also. I do not hold Socialistic opinions ; but there are two sides to every question, and even a trial of the working of advanced doctrines, serious although it would undoubtedly be to individuals, might from a national point of view be preferable to plunging the country into strife before even testing their practicability.

To return, however, to the reform of the House of Lords, many arguments seem to show that, as far as the protection against Socialistic legislation is concerned, the more the question is examined the less efficacious a reformed House of Lords would be, unless such a reform had previously received the approval of the English people Much of the decision as to the fate of such a measure must rest with the back bench Peers, and they will doubtless consider whether the fact of their self-immolation, actuated as it would be by motives of the most altruistic kind, might be not only useless in effect, but produce a state of conflict of which the outcome is impossible to foresee. The point which has been already discussed, and will not be lost sight of by the back bench Peers in guiding the direction of what may be their last entry into the lobby, is to consider what authority is possessed by the present Government to take so important a step as the alteration of the powers of the Second Chamber. The Conservatives certainly hold that the Second Chamber is an important item in the Constitution, and surely with these views they must think that the electorate should be consulted on the matter ; for to pass an Act altering the Constitution without even asking the country for its authority appears to be a high-handed action.

This Government was not returned to power with a mandate to reform the Second Chamber: such a bill demands an election all to itself; and if the Conservatives contend, as they do undoubtedly contend, that to ignore the decisions of the Second Chamber, or to sweep it away, would be unconstitutional, then it is logical to insist that it would be equally unconstitutional to make alterations in the powers and composition of the Second Chamber without consulting the electorate on its proposals before they are passed into law. Back bench Peers will also doubtless ask themselves whether, in face of some of the most dangerous happenings in our history, they will be justified in divesting themselves of the responsibilities to which they were born before it has definitely been shown that the English people no longer need them.

Should, however, the Government decide to proceed with the measure, it may not be uninteresting to consider various points as to the composition of the reformed Second Chamber, less important as these may be in comparison to any restoration of its powers. In theory the weakness of the Second Chamber has always been the hereditary principle, and in theory again it is impossible to bring forward arguments to support this principle, although in practice it has made as perfect a Second Chamber as well could be The excellence of the Second Chamber's work is one of the boasts of the Conservative Party, who, although wishing to alter its composition for their own ends, nevertheless hope to preserve the hereditary system in spite of the stones which can be thrown at it. I do not wish to go through the list of the objections to the hereditary system—they are too apparent and too well known to need repetition; but its retention lays a reformed Second Chamber open to the reproach levelled against the present one—the reproach of privilege. As is understood from the majority of schemes promulgated on this subject, the idea generally favoured is that, in addition to a number of eminent men selected from outside, from 150 to 200 hereditary Peers should be chosen by their fellows to represent them in the new Assembly, which is to be much smaller than at present. Under this proposal, were a bill to be rejected by the reformed Second Chamber its rejection could and would still be attributed to the selfish prejudice of a privileged class, and this taunt against their action would be as powerful as the same taunt against the present House of Lords.

In addition, such a preservation of the hereditary system would in fact be the confirmation by Parliament of the preroga- firs of a privileged class, for the Peerage would still have a the le entation in Parliament such as no other class would possess. welfare ch a scheme 700 Peers would be parliamentarily repre- in any cas

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nted by 150 or 200 members of Parliament, whereas in all other ders of the community 40,000 individuals are represented by ne member only. The argument is brought forward that it is sential that the hereditary system should be preserved in some rm for the purpose of the protection of the hereditary Monarchy, it, since no explanation of this argument is forthcoming, it may dismissed as a piece of special pleading.

However, the retention of the hereditary system will certainly pressed, and with it the method of choosing those Peers who e to represent their order. The most favoured idea is that ese Peers should be chosen by their fellow Peers, as is the istom in the Scotch and Irish Representative Peerage. This ethod, however, lays itself open to the following objection. 'hen the Act of Union between England and Ireland was passed, e first batch of Representative Peers, although nominally elected r their fellows, were in effect nominated by the head of the overnment, the Peers obediently registering their votes as dered, and the seat of a Representative Peer thus becoming, r the time, a gift in the hands of the Government. This may seen by study of the Irish Viceroy's correspondence at the mmencement of the nineteenth century.

In such a much larger representation as would be that of ie Peers in the new House the difficulty of discussing the merits candidates and the lessening of interest among the Peers rough the loss of their seats might and probably would lead to e choice of the Peers falling on whatever representatives the ader of a party might select. The danger arising from such a tuation would be that some Peers of great political influence rough their vast landed possessions might cease to take an active terest in political events should they lose their seats, and this ould be a difficult matter for the party organisers to face. Of urse, any reflection as to personal unfitness could be obviated r seats being distributed by the drawing of lots, and such a ethod would probably ensure as fair a representation as any her. Many Peers would have no desire to sit in the new Chamber. me of the most busy members are so engaged in public works their own counties that they have neither the opportunity nor ie time to attend sittings of the House of Lords, and would prefer nscientiously to be excused were no taint of their own unfitness be attached to the loss of their seats. Under a system of election such a taint would perhaps adhere, even if it were only by mparison with those who were chosen. For those who were not iosen would probably be considered in their counties to be the ss worthy men, and their value for other public work would be minished through their loss of reputation.

Further argument in favour of the hereditary system in the

reformed House of Lords is that, unless this is in some way retained, the services of the most distinguished Peers would be lost to the community. There is, however, little danger of this, as under any suggested scheme place has always been made for men (not necessarily Peers) of notable intellect and ability, and thus the most distinguished Peers would always find seats in the new Chamber owing to their personal qualifications, and not to their peerages The points which arise in considering the constitution of a reformed Second Chamber are so numerous that no one paper could well discuss them all for reasons of space, but perhaps the position of the Scotch and Irish Representative Peers may receive brief notice. Since the Act of Union with Scotland has in no way been altered, and Scotland is still represented in the English Parliament, it would appear obvious that Scotland would be entitled to the same consideration for representation in the reformed Second Chamber as any other part of Great Britain.

In regard to the Irish Peers the question is more difficult. As an Irish Peer I may perhaps be permitted shortly to review the position of the Irish Representative Peers, and, in spite of natural prejudice in their favour, it is difficult to see how they could claim to have any part in a reformed House, since Ireland under the Treaty of 1922 has ceased to have representation in the British Parliament. By the Act of Union under which they obtain their seats they were appointed originally to represent *Ireland*, and not the *Irish Peerage;* and therefore, even in the present House, it is difficult to see how they logically continue to sit, since Ireland by her own choice has decided to be no longer represented in the Parliament in London The bishops of the Church of Ireland who gained their seats in the British Parliament, as did the lay Irish Peers under the Act of Union, lost them when the Church of Ireland was disestablished, and the precedent appears to be unanswerable. Would not the continuation of such an anomaly in a reformed Second Chamber mean the flouting by Act of Parliament of the Free State Treaty of 1922 in deliberately continuing the representation of Ireland in the new English Assembly? The Irish Peers, however, were elected for life, which is a point in their favour

To return to the main subject of these remarks, namely, the reform of the House of Lords, four points appear to emerge for consideration. First: Is a Government acting constitutionally in bringing about any alteration in the powers and composition of the House of Lords without having officially declared their intention to do so previous to the General Election? Secondly, and consequently: Would any restoration of powers by an Act of this Parliament be of any real force to defeat Socialistic legisla-

tion, and might it not, on the other hand, be the cause of an even greater danger? Thirdly: Would not the retention of the hereditary system in any form always weaken the effect of decisions made by a reformed House?

And, finally: Is it not too late to try and raise up a barrier against advanced legislation by such means as a reform of the House of Lords—a reform hastily conceived in the face of danger? Is not the more proper and effective course to fight Socialism on its merits at the elections, loyally accepting the mandate of the people, as is the duty of all good constitutionalists?

ARRAN.

THE PARLIAMENT ACT AND SECOND CHAMBER REFORM—III

Nobody cares. So nothing is done. For five-and-thirty years we have been talking—at intervals; talking about a question that could be settled in a week by any competent conveyancing lawyer holding adequate instructions.

The question is, Who is interested? To a certain extent the Lords themselves, but only to a very small extent. To be called 'my Lord' when you have been called 'my Lord' all your life is very little. To belong to a Chamber stripped of all authority is even less. 'You want to get at our estates,' said 'Lord Valentine' to the Chartist delegates eighty years ago, 'but I warn you we shall fight for them.' The rejoinder to-day is 'Not so long as we can rob by Act of Parliament.' Threatened, plundered and insulted, the Peers of to-day can take an interest in their House only to be expressed by an unstatable minimum.

Far other is it with the electors. They are already feeling the danger, and even some of the terrors, of Single Chamber Government. Incidentally we might perhaps profitably inquire, What were the first fruits of Single Chamber Government? First, the present condition of Ireland. This was a failure Home Rule without Ulster is not worth having; and Ulster refused to have anything to do with Home Rule. Secondly, the attack on the Church in Wales. This horrified all decent Free Churchmen, and grievously wounded the people of the Principality. The plunder was insignificant; but, contrasted with the failure in Ireland, it may be described as a partial success. Thirdly—there was no thirdly. Grand doings, truly! But one poor halfpennyworth of bread to this 'intolerable deal of sack'! It is for this that we shattered into fragments the famous British Constitution. Must we rest in the conclusion that it is the latest case of Humpty-Dumpty?

As we have seen, the Peers themselves have no interest in taking action except to secure what is left of their fortunes. How can the electorate make themselves articulate? They can return a Conservative majority; but that seems to be of very little use. Twenty years ago, when universities were springing up

all over England, many of us cherished the hope that these young enthusiastic institutions might prove to be the salvation of English Thought. We were mistaken. The institutions were new; but the Idea was an illusion—a survival from the past century.

We have, therefore, to fall back on the politicians, and especially on the Radicals. One writes 'Radical' because that is, so to speak, the middle term. 'Whig,' 'Liberal,' 'Radical,' 'Socialist,' 'Anarchist,' are all shades of the same colour. These are the only people who can be trusted. They destroyed the Constitution; it is they, and they only, who can restore the Constitution.

The moment is propitious. For some reason the Conservatives have elected to transform themselves into an annexe of the Radical Party. The latter can therefore quite reasonably take the lead. They can even do so without abandoning their principles. As the Conservatives have already thrown over their own principles, there is no reason why they should not follow. 'Principles' is the word to note. No body of men ever talked so loudly and so often of their 'principles' as the Radicals. The present is an excellent occasion for demonstrating their sincerity. They are entitled to say, and may say with a good grace: 'We have now enjoyed fifteen years of Single Chamber Government; we are free to admit that we have had fair play, and that the results have not been what we anticipated. We need the Second Chamber: to us falls the burden of restoring it We confidently rely on the Conservatives to join us in the good work.'

One controversialist gravely remarked to the present writer that he had no 'objection' to the House of Lords provided that the hereditary principle was abandoned. This was handsome of him; only, why should he have selected the one principle out of five as his enemy? Another—a sound Churchman—furiously denounced the principle of rotation as applied to the Bench of Bishops. This, he maintained, was an 'enslavement of the Church.'

A third controversialist will maintain—has maintained to my face—that nothing can be done without a written constitution. It may be so; but there have been many written constitutions drafted and put in action in the course of the last century and a half. Their success has not been remarkable. There is one exception, that of the United States. In the true sense of the often-misquoted phrase, this is 'the exception which proves the rule': for it is the Constitution of our own country under King George III. adapted to local conditions. Suppose, then, that we see first what can be built up out of the wreckage of our own Constitution—which was, after all, the model of all the others.

Let us take the very small voting power exercised by the

bishops; twenty-six out of however many hundred 'senators' there may be. One says 'senators' in order to recall the chaos to which Julius reduced the most famous Senate in history and the means by which Augustus made it once more a manageable and a useful body. We lack the Augustan authority; but by the means to be shortly sketched we may attain the Augustan success.

The first question to ask ourselves is 'Are they capable?' Surely, eminently so—far more so than most other members of the House. There is the further qualification that their upbringing —school and university—is the same as that of most other Peers, while from the nature of their avocation their point of view must needs be different. It is folly to throw all this away.

Next we should inquire, 'Does the retention of the spiritual Peers annoy those of us who do not happen to hold their religious views? Do they feel aggrieved at not being themselves directly represented?' Let every man find out for himself. If my observations are of any value, here they are. Take the religious people who are not Christians and do not pretend to be Christians. Take the Jews. Do they crave to see the Chief Rabbi in the House of Lords? Those who have consented to consider the question with me have pointed out that he is a man of vast learning and sanctified life, but has no call to be turned into a legislator. For the rest, the Jews are very well able to take care of themselves. and are adequately represented by their lay Peers

The Roman Catholics might be presumed to cherish views on the subject as the consequence of their not recognising officially that the bishops are legitimately consecrated. So many as the present writer has had the honour of meeting all say the same thing in varying phrases—viz., 'It has nothing to do with us.'

This indifferent attitude was observed by the Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly, who put the question by with a friendly courteous smile and a punning allusion to my name. No doubt he had often been asked the question.

The President of the Wesleyan Associations went into some detail. He said: 'My flock would wonder what I was doing in the House of Lords: it would only be wasting my time. For the rest, I have known many bishops, and have always been on excellent terms with them. No bishop ever tried to do me any harm; he could not, even if he wanted to. So I suffer under no grievance and hold no views.' Mental detachment could go no further; and the Wesleyan organisation is reputed to rival even that of the Jesuits for the excellence of its detail and its far-reaching discipline.

The Quakers, a small but highly influential body, were represented until lately by two lay Peers—Lord Lister, who would

have dignified any assembly under the sun, and Lord Peckover. No Quaker ever grumbled to me about the bishops, or in my presence gave the subject two thoughts.

The conclusion forced upon us is that the agitation against the presence of the bishops is factitious. Their presence is desirable, and has the further advantage that it establishes a principle of construction—viz., Rotation.

We now approach the most contested principle of all—Heredity. It must be clearly understood that these few notes are to the address of Radicals, who cherish principles. Conservatives dislike principles and are unable to understand them. The hereditary principle, then, works very well under some restraint, as in Scotland and Ireland, not so well in England, where there is no restraint.

Peers of Scotland do not sit by hereditary right, they sit by right of election by their brother Peers. There is, further, imposed upon them the additional disqualification that, if not elected, they are ineligible for seats in the Commons.

The Peers of Ireland enjoy—or used to enjoy—the favourable position of being eligible for either Chamber. All the Peers ought to enjoy this privilege, coupled with the liability to lose their position if, *e.g.*, insane or insolvent. It is hardly sensible that a man demonstratedly incompetent to conduct his own affairs with success should be entitled to conduct the affairs of other people.

The case is even stronger when an unhappy man becomes *non compos mentis*. There are two or three other points of similar nature, but the subject is distressing, and these few hints may suffice. Since nobody intends to take action, the question remains academical and need not be laboured. The other two principles of construction are Selection and Life Membership. The first was grievously abused by the Radicals during their long tenure of power. All the more reason for their making due amends. 'Life membership' is a convenient resource. It has not been sufficiently considered. It need not be forced; but here and there men may be discoverable whose experience fits them for the part of legislator. As the title *ex hypothesi* dies with them, it is not necessary that they should be wealthy.

So far as numbers are concerned, it may be postulated that the existing figure should be lowered. One authoritative pronouncement has placed it as low as 300. So long as it remains a debating society and nothing more, the competition for a seat would not be severe. The repeal of the Parliament Act and the reconstruction of the Second Chamber might alter that. Some restriction of numbers for England analogous to the restrictions imposed in Scotland and Ireland would settle the point easily enough. The question of the Parliament Act brings us to the

consideration often brought forward—that our 'Brethren overseas ought to be called into council' and allotted seats in the Upper House.

The gentlemen who speak thus ought to seek for knowledge on the spot. To do this they must be fairly young and possessed of adequate means. It is well to be able to take with a good grace a 'lick with the rough side of the tongue,' to make use of a vigorous old vulgarism. They will receive many such—unless they travel, so to speak, with a brass band in front of them, in which case they will learn nothing.

It has been said that the American likes the individual Englishman, but dislikes our form of government (which is remarkable, seeing that it is his own, barring externals). The Canadian, on the other hand, is devoted to our form of government, externals and all, but dislikes the individual Englishman. 'Dislikes' is perhaps hardly the right word; 'despises' would be better. Unless the Englishman goes out of his way to be gratuitously offensive he will be kindly received; but the Canadian looks on him as an undersized creature—decidedly the Canadian's inferior. To give one example: it so happened that—if one remembers rightly—Lord Strathcona was lord lieutenant of one of our home counties at the time that Sir George Parkin was secretary to the Rhodes Trustees; Sir William Osler was Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford and William Ludovic Grant was Lecturer in Colonial History in the same University—all first-rate men. As an agreeable subject of conversation one alluded to the pleasure these appointments gave in England. It was a failure. After a few seconds of sour glaring my friend replied: 'We Canadians don't believe that you give your fat billets to Canadians for any other reason than that you can't find men in England to do the work. You're worn out—that is what's the matter with you.' Why did the poet sigh for the power to 'see ourselves as others see us'? It is a revolting spectacle—though salutary, provided that you have the nerve to face it. The moral of which is that to invite such exclusive people to join a debating society in London is hardly complimentary. Supposing that the Parliament Act were repealed, and the Upper Chamber became once more a serious body, what then? It is surely clear that people with such tremendous (and, be it added, well-founded) self-confidence would only look on the invitation to join and help us as a confession of weakness. We may go further. What do they know of the internal affairs of England? Absolutely nothing, just, in fact, as much as we know of the internal affairs of Canada, say.

It is nevertheless valuable that the question should have been raised. Supposing that it is desired, and desirable, that South

Africans, Australians, and Canadians should share power with us in Imperial affairs, how is this to be brought about ? Least of all through the Houses of Parliament. What is their record ? They have governed, with fair success, the English counties throughout the centuries. On the other hand, in so far as our Chambers have intervened in Imperial things their efforts have not been happy. This is natural enough, because in the one case they were dealing with familiar conditions, and in the other case they were dealing with strange conditions. Where are we to turn, then, in order to discover a body competent to deal with overseas things ? Authority, forty years ago, indicated the Privy Council as the appropriate body. 'Authority' disliked the words 'jurisconsult' and 'publicist' as applied to himself ; he would also probably dislike being cited by name. We should respect these wishes, gratefully accepting his guidance. After all, forty years is a long time to devote to reflection. We can hardly be accused of hasty action if we urge that—no other design having been submitted for public consideration—we might now begin to think about taking action.

The 'objections' and 'difficulties' to any given course are always worth consideration. In most cases they are fanciful, and only put forward with the object of delaying or obstructing salutary action. The 'difficulty' in this case is that the Privy Council is 'too large.' The solution of this is obvious—'Make it smaller.' It is not to be supposed that the Sovereign, who is President, would invite the attendance of gentlemen in numbers large enough to constitute a respectable Legislative Chamber, besides which many Privy Councillorships have been conferred for any but Imperial reasons. The latter is a practice which might with advantage be gradually allowed to fall into abeyance. In this way the voice of the Council would become more and more the last word in things Imperial, as well as (here and there) in things legal. Thus, for example, every retiring Viceroy and Governor would be summoned—say for five years—until the retirement of his successor, who would take his place. In this way we re-establish tradition—that valuable asset in all Governments. We also abolish the wasteful practice of 'shelving' experienced and zealous officers, and throwing away the profit of their long services.

The 'objection' is that 'there is nothing for the Privy Council to do.' Here is where the Radicals 'come in.' They like 'doing things.' They are particularly fond of abolishing things. Here is a job eminently suited to their tastes. Let it be added—it is only justice—to their activity and intelligence. It is more than sixty years since the Court of Directors of the East India Company was supplanted by the India Office. This was greatly to the

disadvantage—almost to the ruin—of the Administration. It is high time for the system to be overhauled once more.

The late Lord Milner in his book *Questions of the Hour* dealt with the Colonial Office. He wrote as one having authority, and set forth, temperately but firmly, the many grievances of the Colonial Service. He omitted to mention one such, inarticulate but none the less vexatious—viz., the sense of remoteness from the Sovereign. This would be removed by transferring the work to the Privy Council, and this measure would possess the additional recommendation of providing something more to abolish; and usefully, as in the case of the India Office.

To return once more to the House of Lords. Its reason for existing throughout history is to form part of the machinery of government of these islands Let it 'stand in the ancient ways.' It would not be strengthened by electing members for India or South Africa. Supposing that we ever discover eminent men willing to occupy such equivocal positions, their voting power would be insignificant Nothing can transform the House into an Imperial Chamber: it was not designed to fulfil any such function.

W. F. Lord.

THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY

The crusade which the Western Powers undertook to make the world safe for democracy has in many respects shared the fate of previous crusades Inspired prophets came forward, preaching the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre But when the battle cries died away, Jerusalem was found to be still in the hands of the unbelievers The Crusaders had contented themselves with pocketing land and power This last crusade also has failed to bring the millennium in which its sincere preachers believed. It has not even brought the modest measure of internal contentment, which might have been counted upon soberly as a result of the war. Political discontent reigns over the whole world

Dr. Moritz Bonn, *Die Krisis der Europaeschen Demokratie.*

Dr Moritz Bonn is one of the acutest and most lucid of contemporary political thinkers , and for the fascinating task which he has here undertaken of surveying and analysing the post-war political movements he possesses two capital advantages. It so happens that nowhere has the trend of these movements been so clearly and interestingly illustrated as in Germany. And in German politics Dr. Bonn himself occupies a conspicuously detached position Detachment, indeed, is a kind of creed with him. He holds definitely that the objective of the Democratic Party, to which he belongs, should be to inspire government rather than to seek to govern itself It is open to argument whether a party which is nothing but an inspiration will long continue in a sordid world to be even that. But wisdom is justified of all her children ; and if the philosopher cannot be king, it is at least much that he should remain a philosopher.

The broad truth of Dr Bonn's main position very few will be found to dispute. It is hardly questionable that the position of democracy after the war fought for its establishment is much weaker than it was before Before the war the authority of the democratic ideal in civilised Europe and America was all but unchallenged. Even in countries where its enemies were apparently all-powerful, it was visibly gaining ground. The Tsardom toyed with Parliamentarianism. The earlier Turkish revolution paid at least ardent lip-service to the democratic ideal. The masterful German bureaucracy knew in its heart that its position, all-powerful as it seemed, was full of danger. It might, and did,

defeat Socialism again and again; the Social Democrat Party continued to grow. The bureaucracy won the battles; to the eye of the impartial onlooker, even the intelligent German onlooker, it was quite evident that democracy was winning the campaign. Meanwhile in France the opposition which at one time seemed so formidable became feebler and feebler; in this country, steadily if unsensationally (except in the one instance of the struggle with the Lords over the Parliament Act), the power of the democracy over the Constitution was more and more vigorously asserted; and America continued to boast herself the pattern democracy of all time.

It is quite startling to turn from this to the after-war scene. Practically everywhere democracy has suffered a heavy setback, if not positive defeat. In Italy and Spain democratic forms have been swept away in favour of dictatorships. In Russia and Turkey the baby has turned into a pig. The revolutionary movements which seemed to herald the advent of democracy have turned into forms of government which, whatever else they may be, are certainly not democratic. In Germany democracy is nominally in the saddle; but it is very questionable whether its position now as a feeble and rather discredited form of government is really as strong as it was in the days when it was only a confident and steadily growing opposition. Even in this country the criticism of democracy has become in these last years immensely stronger; and in America events, which the war has merely hastened, have combined to undermine the pillars on which American democracy rested.

The most interesting evidence of the change is the difference visible in the criticism of democracy in this country. There was criticism before the war from the rumblings of Carlyle to the more strident of Mr. Kipling's verses; but it had very little practical effect, and much of it was unsound in theory and has been disproved by the event It was rather academic, and rested too often upon the very dubious assumption that what may have been true of the small so-called 'democracies' of classical antiquity—all of them in fact narrow oligarchies—would prove true of vast modern democracies living under totally different conditions. It has not proved so. One favourite argument, for instance, was that democracy could not wage war and would break down under the strain of any serious conflict. Democracy has in fact waged, and with startlingly complete success, by far the greatest war known in the world's history. It might be urged that it did this only by abandoning all its principles and utterly changing its essential constitution; and there would be force in this contention could it be shown that the change which was undoubtedly effected was permanent and that the vast

powers surrendered for war purposes had not been returned. But they were returned loyally, if in some cases slowly. Democracies have been overthrown since the war, but in no case as a direct result of their own war measures.

Upon the mass of the English people before the war the anti-democratic arguments, whatever their value, had very little effect. Even Society, which is naturally anti-democratic, repeated them only half-heartedly and without much conviction. The middle classes were loyal to the democracy, not, perhaps, because they believed in it, but because they were comfortable and prosperous and feared change in any form. Business interests supported it, for the same reason : their bugbear at this time was not Socialism, but State interference. The national Church was becoming visibly more and more democratic from sympathy with the poor and in shamefaced reaction against the Erastianism which had almost converted it into a branch of the Civil Service. The trade unions and all working men were democrats to a man ; the idea that they could be anything else, or that their hopes could lie in any other direction than in the steady growth and development of democracy, had not yet occurred to them. All this the war completely changed. The poverty and unemployment which it brought in its train helped really to create the Red Spectre which began from henceforth to play a dominant part in politics. It frightened the overtaxed and half-ruined middle classes out of their old comfortable allegiance. It terrified the capitalists into open or covert opposition to the rising tide of Socialism. Democracy was no longer identified with order ; in the mind of almost the entire possessing class it became a synonym for revolution. At the same time, powerful critics arose in the working class—their influence was felt at both ends, so to speak, of the Labour movement. The middle class intellectuals who had constituted themselves its guides ceased to be able to conceal their contempt and impatience of the vulgarity and selfishness and the ignorance of the mob ; it became evident to the onlooker that the Socialism which they preached would have in the end to be imposed on reluctant followers, however fervently the prophet might still continue at intervals to pay lip-service to democracy. On the left wing, meanwhile, the Communist zealot had altogether broken the bonds and burst the yoke ; his spiritual home was avowedly Moscow, and, whatever else the creed of Moscow might be, it was the very antithesis of democracy.

The causes which led to the sudden and complete change of the political front after the war, not only in this country but almost all over the world, were not entirely the product of the war. In America, for instance, the war merely intensified certain processes which had for years been undermining American

democracy. They were three in the main. The filling up of the West, definitely marked by the drastic new immigration laws, ended the doctrine that America was the land of unlimited and unqualified opportunity. There might be, and there are, opportunities in America still for the adventurous; but they are not unlimited, and they are no longer open to all. The negro immigration into the North first blurred and now threatens to obliterate the old distinction between North and South; it is impossible to imagine to-day the North taking arms for the equal rights of the negro, yet it is the influence and the memory of that great crusade which has been the keynote of the democratic doctrine of equality in America. Finally, the development of the struggle between the Anglo-American oligarchy which has hitherto guided the fortunes of America and the 'inferior' races of Slav and Italian stock is revealing almost daily more clearly the unreality behind the proud claims of American democracy. In hardly any field is prophecy more futile. Dr. Bonn, in *Amerika*, the companion volume to *Der Krisis*, confines himself to two.

It is clear now that the miracle of the melting-pot, always based on a supra-rational faith, will not be performed in America. No one homogeneous nation will emerge from the strangely varied contents thrown pell-mell into the cauldron. It is certain also that no array of more or less sharply defined national States will emerge; the nationalities are too much scattered geographically—the forces that make for centralisation are too strong. But in the struggle between the 'Nordic' oligarchy and its subjects there is little to which an intelligent democrat can look forward with hope. This struggle threatens to dominate the future of America; and whichever side wins, it can hardly be democracy. If the 'Nordic' man wins, it can only be by a much more definite assertion of his hitherto discreetly veiled supremacy; his rival's triumph will be the victory of the form of Socialism most opposed to the traditions and the principles of democracy.

In Europe, on the other hand, the revolt against democracy proceeds mainly, if not quite entirely, from the war and its results. There were pre-war causes, notably the reaction caused by European control of Asian and African dependencies. The mere nature of this control was a denial of the fundamental thesis of democracy, the essential equality of man, and anti-democratic writers in all countries were not slow to point the moral of the tacit admission. The attempt to counter it by extending some modified form of democratic government to the dependent races was not very successful; its sincerity was generally open to question, and the result where it was energetically applied was as often as not sufficiently fantastic to give further occasion to the enemy. But on the whole it has been the war which has under-

mined the proud position of democracy in Europe, and for various reasons.

The first and most potent is the mere fact of the misery and depression which in nearly all countries has been the outstanding characteristic of the period immediately following the war. Men looked for a better and happier world after the earthquake and the fire; for various reasons the world that did result was not only not better, but demonstrably far worse. In Germany and Austria, of course, this was especially true.

> Men thought sadly [writes Dr. Bonn] on the bygone days when life was relatively prosperous and cheap Then wages could be earned, work could be obtained, taxes were endurable. A strong social impulse could everywhere be felt Peace and order ruled at home, abroad, if we were not loved, we were at least respected All this we had enjoyed under the monarchy And even though thinking people might realise well enough that for this golden age of promise William II could at the utmost be held responsible only for the outward form, the thought still continued to live in the memory of wide circles that under the monarchy they had been happy.

In a lesser degree the same reaction took place everywhere; and everywhere it was disastrous to democracy, not from any intrinsic fault of its own, but because it happened to be the form of government under which these things occurred The disillusioned people blamed the Government of the day for the misery of their disillusion; and it happened to be in nearly all cases democratic. Any other form of government would have suffered the same fate; indeed, if the aim of the Allies had been to smooth the path for democracy in Germany, their wisest course, as Dr. Bonn rather impishly remarks, would not have been to pursue the ex-Kaiser for 'war crimes,' but to put him back on his throne with the obligation of collecting the reparations debt. The angry revolt produced by this disillusion took two forms—one inspired by a kind of bastard idealism, one frankly materialistic. The former found its natural supporters in the youth of all countries, who had known nothing, or next to nothing, of the hopes and dreams of the older democratic tradition, who saw only with impatient indignation the ruin and misery and discontent which the war had left behind it, and who were ready and eager to snatch at any prescription which guaranteed a prompt cure. The attack in this case was directed rather against Parliamentarianism than against democracy as such. In their beginnings Mussolini in Italy and Primo de Rivera in Spain and Lenin and Trotsky in Russia all professed to be acting in the interests of the people and, with their support, against the corrupt incompetence of the existing Governments. What Mussolini said of Giolitti, Lenin said of Kerensky; and there was a measure of truth in what they said. There was no popular support behind the decrepit Parlia-

mentarianism of these countries, and there probably was, in the beginning at any rate, strong popular support behind the revolt against it. Both Mussolini and Primo de Rivera could certainly claim at first that they were acting by the will of the people. Parliamentarianism is not necessarily democracy. Dr. Bonn is clearly right in pointing out that in its palmiest days before the Reform Bill the British Parliament was certainly not an instrument of democracy. But it is now clear that, whatever its origin may have been, the ultimate form of this pseudo-idealist revolt is a pure dictatorship, a government of the people, but not at all necessarily for the people, and in no sense by the people. This is admirably stated in the brilliant study of Mussolini:

> Mussolini is no professional soldier who knows no other means but blind force to bend men's wills. But his creed is none the less a passionate belief in the right of force. Sorel and Vilfredo Pareto have been his teachers. His violence does not spring merely from a violent temperament: it rests on the belief that government without the consent of the governed is a convenient and legitimate method of ruling men. His theory and his practice are Lenin's. But while Lenin had a definite conception of an ideal social order, and strove towards it with relentless determination, Mussolini knows no such sharply defined goal. He is content with the will to act and the will to build up the form of community which mankind may need, and which may wear a totally different appearance from the social order conceived on fixed prearranged plans. What need is there of a plan when at the decisive moment the ready-made world will arise to order in the head of its creator?

Somewhat different, both in its spirit and its results, was the frankly materialist revolt against democracy. There have been evidences of it in this country, such as the protest of the miners against the Dawes scheme, solely on the ground that it was prejudicial to the mining industry. But post-war Germany has provided far the clearest and most dramatic example of this revolt, and Dr. Bonn's singularly acute analysis of it is a contribution of great value to political philosophy. The course of events in German politics since the war has been very little regarded, and still less understood, in this country. Yet the whole story, from the crushing of Bolshevism with the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, through the struggle between the capitalists and the Socialist Government and onward to the election of Hindenburg and the probably firm establishment of the Republic, is not only of fascinating interest, but of very great importance far beyond the borders of Germany. It is well worth reading at length in Dr. Bonn's narrative. Here it is only possible to quote his summary of the new spirit with which democracy found itself at grips.

'*There arose a new Manchester school, which aimed at excluding the power of the State from wide fields of life. The State, it was*

argued, is at best a costly luxury, a burden which a poor country can hardly support. At worst it is a tyranny, controlled by the enemies of honest business, the Socialist masses. Industry can very well live without a Government, since the Government needs business men much more than business men need the Government. Temporarily a theory of the non-intervention of the State in industry was preached which was in singular opposition to the actual facts. While the new Manchester theory was being proclaimed officials of high rank and of low were working confidently with secretaries of employers' federations and agents of trade unions in committees created for the control of exports, where they issued licences and regulated prices behind the back of the public. This was called " the self-government of industry." The new Manchester school would have preferred to settle all industrial quarrels by agreement between the employers and employed. The State should not interfere. For there was always the danger that the influence of the not immediately interested public would in some way prevail with the Government and disturb the heartfelt harmony with which employers and employees were prepared to cut their straps out of other people's " leather." '

The industrial State which was the apparent goal of this philosophy has never yet come to anything. Even supposing the employees can be bribed or intimidated into supporting the idea, it is difficult to see how it can ever permanently succeed. For, apart from the despised consumer, there is not, in fact, any bond of interest uniting the various industries as such. Their interests are opposed; the interests even of various sections in the same trade—like the weavers and spinners in the cotton trade—are opposed. Public policy, if these are to be guiding lights, resolves itself into a perpetual conflict of rival greeds broken only by ignoble agreements and unprincipled compromises. It is not a true view even of industry itself, for the consumer is as much an element in any true vision of industry as the producer. To ignore the selling end is to ignore the very object of industry. As a matter of fact the theory of the industrial State in Germany was a makeshift—it was an afterthought, due to the necessity which the capitalists felt for some intellectual basis for their resistance to the Socialist State. While the State was their friend and protector nothing had been heard of the industrial State; it was only when the State became, or was thought to have become, the enemy of the business interests that the new doctrine was evolved, and it shows all the weaknesses of its origin.

Democracy has little to fear, in the long run, from any of the rival theories which have arisen to challenge its authority. Neither the dictatorship, whether of the individual or the proletariat, nor the idea of an industrial commonwealth based purely on material

production, is likely permanently to displace it. Many of its difficulties are temporary and will disappear with the exceptional circumstances which have occasioned them. But one at least of these difficulties is not temporary. The minorities problem is formidable, because it threatens as nothing else does the real principle of democracy. The opposition of Ulster to Home Rule before the war showed the nature and gravity of the minority problem. Supposing a compact minority, strong in its conviction that its cause is right, to be prepared definitely to challenge the principle of majority government and to resist it if necessary by force, what is to be done? How, even in less extreme circumstances, is the democratic principle to be applied to the case of such minorities? If they are given parliamentary rights corresponding to their own large claims, they may be in a position to reverse the whole conception of democratic government by enforcing their will upon the majority, or at best by so restricting and paralysing the working of the constitutional machinery that the majority cannot effectively express its will. Yet anything short of this still leaves it open to a minority convinced of the absolute justice of its cause to claim that it is being trampled upon, and to declare its determination to resist tyranny by force. The war has done nothing to resolve this dilemma; it has even intensified it. Signor Nitti may exaggerate when he says that it has created seventeen Alsace-Lorraines where there was but one before. But the vigour with which the doctrine of self-determination has been proclaimed has certainly made more evident the fundamental difficulty of democracy without really providing an effective solution. It is an international as well as a domestic problem, and its real gravity could scarcely be better stated than in the concluding words of Dr. Bonn's brilliant book:

> If mankind becomes convinced that the revolt against the inequality within the State and the revolt against the inequality which exists between different States cannot be side-tracked by any agreement, if no way can be discovered to alter peacefully the existing order, force will continually be born again out of despair. . . . If the spirit of the industrial autocracy wins the lordship of mankind, the crisis of democracy will become the crisis of mankind.

STUART HODGSON.

THE PATRIOTIC UNION OF SPAIN: ITS PROGRAMME AND ITS IDEALS

MUCH has been said about the new organisation created out of the old political chaos in Spain, and many erroneous conceptions of its aims and intentions have been accepted abroad among that vast public which, not knowing the Spanish language, has never yet been able to form a just idea of the Spanish character, the Spanish mentality, or what is meant by Spanish patriotism. Thus a sketch of the true signification of the Union, drawn from its fountain-head, should have the interest of actuality for English people honestly desirous of learning the truth amid the welter of falsehood and misrepresentation sedulously spread by elements employed in preaching ruin and revolution throughout the civilised world

I have drawn my sketch from speeches delivered at a great banquet given to General Primo de Rivera, President of the Military Directorate and also President of the Patriotic Union, on his return from Morocco after the victory of Ajdir, on the 16th of October. The whole country desired to render their tribute to the great soldier. the town councils throughout the country were subscribing to present him with the insignias of the Grand Crosses of San Fernando and of Naval Merit, the two highest honours attainable by a Spanish soldier or sailor; petitions to the King were being organised asking that the titles of Duke of Ajdir and Prince of Alhucemas should be bestowed upon him, and a public welcome comparable only to that of Wellington after Waterloo was in preparation for his arrival.

Fully to appreciate the national gratitude to Primo de Rivera—give him what titles you may, that is the name by which he will always be known to and worshipped by the millions of Spain—it would be necessary to have lived, as I have, in intimate contact with the life of those millions for the last twenty years or so, to have seen the homes desolated by the endless campaigns in Morocco, to have watched through those frightful days and nights in July 1921 with the families of officers and men assassinated at Igueriben, Anual, and Monte Arruit. Never as long as I live shall I forget one such night spent with the brother and sister of a

second lieutenant just after a private telegram brought the news that the boy had had his head cut off by his captors, and that the mother was dying in Madrid after having been daily at the War Office for a fortnight trying in vain to obtain information from the Government of the fate of her boy. One must have seen, as I have done, mothers of another class year in and year out, when lots were drawn for conscription, weeping and wailing aloud in the conviction that the lads who drew 'high' numbers would be sent to Africa and never come home again; and one must have listened, as I have listened, to the stories of prisoners ransomed at long last from the power of Abdel Krim, of the awful scenes that preceded their captivity, of the unnameable tortures inflicted on officers and men alike in their eighteen months' confinement in hovels which would have been unhealthy even as pigsties, of their being kept for days at a time without food or water sufficient to sustain life, while condemned to work, officers and men alike, as navvies on the road from Abdel Krim's 'staff headquarters' at Ajdir to his 'second commandancy' at Ait Kamara on the way to what is now his final place of refuge at Targuist, of how once for ten days at a stretch their general (Navarro) was chained up with an iron collar round his neck.

All this Ajdir has meant to Spain, and this is why Spain went mad with rejoicing when the news came that Ajdir was conquered, and this is why Primo de Rivera is to Spain to-day what Wellington was to England when he freed the English people from the eternal nightmare of Napoleon, as the Spanish hero has freed Spain from the nightmare of Morocco. And this is why the nation wanted to pour out its gratitude on him, when he returned after Ajdir, with every conceivable tribute, public and private, of its almost delirious affection and respect.

But Primo de Rivera, with the modesty characteristic of truly great men all the world over, refused the national homage. He said that he was very grateful, but the thanks of Spain were due not to him but to the splendid army he had had the singular good fortune and the great honour to command. The presentation of the insignia of his new honours was taken out of the hands of the town councils, for the King himself presented them, all wrought in diamonds, and pinned them on his breast in his first private interview with the General on his return to Madrid. Little has transpired of what passed at that interview; we only know that it was 'most cordial' on the part of His Majesty. It would be. Is it not common knowledge that King Alfonso's one regret in the brilliant victory is that he was not present throughout the whole campaign? As for the titles, the General has somehow contrived that these suggestions, like all others tending to exalt him personally, shall be, let us say, 'Press-censored' out of the public

eye. He has said that, grateful as he is for all these evidences of the undeserved gratitude of the nation to himself, he begs that no 'homage' to him personally may materialise until he finally returns from Morocco, after handing over the high command to his successor, General Sanjurjo, leaving the problem solved in the political as well as military sense. And he so contrived matters that the first great outburst of national enthusiasm was actually dedicated, not to him, but to the army, for he sent representatives of the Battalion of the Infante, who had covered themselves with glory in the ten days' siege of Kudia Tahar—twenty-two men of that battalion having resisted the siege of 2000 rebels provided with all the most modern material of war for ten long days, when Abdel Krim, or rather his German, Turkish, and Russian advisers, made a tremendous attack in that sector, hoping thereby to compel troops to be drawn from the operations at Alhucemas. They did not succeed, for Spain has troops enough to deal with the rebels wherever they may present themselves; but the relief operations gave rise to some hard fighting, in which acts of gallantry almost as noteworthy as the defence of Kudia Tahar itself were witnessed. Thus, when the ten survivors of those heroic twenty-two defenders of Spain's honour in the little hill fort were sent home with the rest of their battalion, the General seized on the occasion to divert the eyes of the nation from himself to his African army, and on October 10 a triumphal procession, which began at Ceuta with their embarkation for home, culminated in Madrid with such rejoicings as I have hardly seen equalled throughout my long residence in Spain. Every arm was represented; but, after the group of Kudia Tahar heroes who held the place of honour, those who attracted most attention and called forth the most vociferous welcome were the officers and men of the Foreign Legion—about 80 per cent. of whom are Spaniards—and the martial contingents from the native police and the native Harcas, great, tall fellows splendid in their Moorish dress, who bore living witness to the cordial relations between Spain and the loyal African allies of her protectorate.

All this and more, far more, is enshrined in the victory of Ajdir for the Spanish people, and in the name of their hero, Primo de Rivera. And while Spain did homage with all her heart and soul to the victorious army, their General had broken his journey to the capital at Ronda to hand their colours to the Ronda Somaten; and when eventually he reached Madrid, he slipped into the capital unobserved, having left the train at Aranjuez and motored quietly to his own house, whence he went to the palace and received his medals from the King before the public at large knew he was among them.

One act of homage, however, he could not refuse to accept,

and this was the banquet of the Patriotic Union, which 1300 members from all over Spain attended; while thousands of telegrams of adherence to the homage were received from the smaller committees which could not be present. The first toast was given by Señor Gavilan, head of the Madrid branch, from whose speech, as reported throughout the whole of the Spanish Press, I take the following:

> The Patriotic Unions of Spain owe General Primo de Rivera an enormous debt, more than they can ever repay save by their sincerity in carrying out the form of conduct of which he is the highest example. As a Spaniard, [said Señor Gavilan] I remember the sad time when all Spain suffered the consequences of weak government I have no wish to compare the past and the present, but every honest man is conscious of what Spain was in September 1923 and what she is in October 1925 Our way now lies open to the horizon on every side, our highest hopes are on the way to become realities.
>
> All this we owe to the inspiration of a just man, who, by availing himself of all means by which he could move the springs of action, raised the banner of Spain aloft, asking only the confidence of his fellow-citizens while he offered his life to his country. I admit that there have been eminent and very talented republicans, but eminence and talent are useless in great national crises unless accompanied by sufficient force of character to exercise even-handed justice and well-doing. We of the Patriotic Union have been with the army in its triumph and have felt profound joy at its victory, which has surprised foreigners even more than it has filled Spaniards with pride. For the successes of our troops have on many previous occasions been received in silence, with indifference, even with hostility, in foreign countries. But however much envy and malice may have misrepresented the facts, I believe that in the end truth will be made manifest, and our African army, with the commander who knew how to prepare and direct it, will be given the laurels they deserve by our foreign critics.

The speaker went on to call attention to the modesty of the General, who denied his own merits in order to exalt those of others, imitating the Spanish Hidalgos of old 'who were free in noble acts but shy of divulging them,' and he besought of the President of the Directorate that he would call upon men of his own kidney, who preferred to live out of the glare of publicity devoting their lives to duty, and to take them to the steps of the throne to be given posts of command on the road to the prosperity and engrandisement of Spain.

> For [he said] Spain does not ask for peace in Morocco only, but also at home, the spiritual peace only to be won by obedience to law and justice, inspired by a policy of idealism. For this we need religious, monarchical, and democratic institutions—generously democratic, but austere in their respect for the law.

Such was the enthusiasm with which this address, followed by the rising of General Primo de Rivera, was received that it was some time before silence could be restored, and then the General,

after gratefully acknowledging the manifestation, went with his usual directness of phrase straight to the matter in hand.

Only two years have passed—for the Union was born in November of 1923—since the germ of this organisation was implanted alongside of the Somatenes and closely linked, though not identified, with them. Our doctrine of respect for the law and even-handed justice for all alike is so deeply rooted in the hearts and the minds of the members that the hostility which surrounded the Union at first has disappeared, vanquished by your strength and fortitude Thus the Patriotic Union no longer needs the support of the State You represent the great, indeed the only, Spanish party, because only those whose eyes are blinded by passion and hatred can help being with you The Directorate is confident that this party, consisting entirely of men devoted to their country, will have a power of its own which will render it independent of any outside influence. The officials [this may be rendered in English broadly as the bureaucracy] will be officials only : you will represent the people You will give form to the national respect for the law, and the officials, whether legal or administrative, will be on a plane which they can never outstep—that of the law.

When the time comes I can do no other than advise the Monarch to call the Patriotic Union to govern for the welfare of Spain He should do this because of your patriotic teaching and your disinterestedness, because you have been able to inculcate in the people a lofty conception of citizenship, and above all, because you have no desire to govern , and when a party is not ambitious of power, that is precisely the moment when it is most fit to govern a country

When, then, will you be called to govern ? (A voice 'The later the better ! ') I am sorry to disagree with that speaker [proceeded the General] The worst danger we have been in during these two years of government has been that of becoming worn out, for if that had happened we had nothing in reserve, not even an army such as we have to-day No Government can continue indefinitely in power, for it would inevitably become worn out Therefore we shall advise the King to call upon the Patriotic Union before these phenomena present themselves. The moment will come when the problem of Morocco is solved and no longer demands men specialised in the use of arms in the Government. (A voice. 'The President must never go out while he lives ! ')

The President begged not to be interrupted, and continued unmoved :

How is the Patriotic Union to act when in power ? With a complete and absolute Radicalism, not of Rights or Lefts, but a Radicalism which carries out the law with all the vigour which was formerly lacking, in clearing the law of all the *farrago* of proceedings which impede its practice, in making the march of administration, justice, and national economy rapid, vigorous and continuous—something which will not consume, exhaust, and render desperate the energy of youth, of youthful aims and enthusiasms.

Speaking of the Somaten—which consists of volunteers locally recruited from the civilian population, serves as a sort of 'special constabulary,' and, to quote its rules, 'has for its object the maintenance of social order, the defence of homes and lives, pursuing and capturing whoever endeavours to perturb public

peace and ill-doers and persons sought under the law'—the President said:

The Somaten has so far taken no action, and that is a satisfactory symptom. It is like a medicine to be given in times of crisis: it is the intervention only required if disorder occurs. Meanwhile, it has been crystallising its conception of its duties, and has become so firmly fixed in popular esteem that, even in places where formerly it would have had most to do, it is now regarded with respect and admiration, and no one any longer ridicules the institution.

To those in whose minds are still fresh the appalling violence and crimes that darkened the fair fame of Cataluña under what Señor Gavilan, with studied reticence, described as the 'weak Governments' preceding the Military Directorate, General Primo de Rivera's remark that the lack of need for any Somaten action may be regarded as a satisfactory symptom seems inadequate. For it is the simple fact, as anybody caring to inquire can prove for themselves, that no country in Europe is quieter, more free from crime, or more content, than Spain is at present. The Somaten enrols in its ranks all men of good-will, whose neighbours vouch for their honesty and sincerity. It looks as if such men are in an enormous majority in this nation now that they are given a chance to demonstrate their proclivities on the side of law and order.

After his tribute to the Somaten the General turned to the question of Morocco, the most pressing of all the national problems.

We have gained, in the opinion of the world, [he said] the last stage of the Morocco problem. France has given us the measure of what we are now valued at by the world, with her frank aid, her approach, and her good comradeship; nor ought we to omit mention of the satisfaction we have felt at seeing here in Madrid the representatives of the French Government, and such personalities as Marshals Lyautey and Pétain and Admiral Hallier. I would like to explain the evolution of my own view of the great problem of Morocco, and to begin with I respect myself more because I have been able to realise that others were right in thinking differently to myself. Nothing proves such mental stagnation as refusing to listen to the opinion of others. When we came into power the Directorate made a plan, and we intended to carry it out with the greatest rapidity; but what occurred at Tifaruin and Tizzi Azza prevented our putting into practice the retreat of the army of occupation on the lines we had proposed. Abdel Krim went to Yebala with numerous men, well drilled and prepared, and elected to besiege our isolated positions, which contained 20,000 men, scattered about at the mandate of a policy on which I do not wish to express my judgment, whether in the technical or political sense—a policy which had placed them on the highest peaks of the mountains, without communication between one position and another, far removed from their bases, and only maintained there at all by constant military effort. In Yebala, at least, we could retreat without dishonour for the army. Perhaps it would have been more impressive and would have made more effect on public opinion if we had relieved the isolated positions and at the same time driven back the enemy. No one will deny that we might have done this.

considering that we went to all those positions and to the city of Sheshuan, from which we evacuated the garrison, the civil population, all the war material that we had there, the sick and wounded, and everything else that it was worth our while to remove. But to remain at Sheshuan and keep up the isolated positions was not to the advantage of Spain, and we did our duty to the country, although we well knew that to retreat in Morocco is far more difficult than to advance. We completed the retreat and were able to release 23,000 men who had completed three years' service, and soon after we sent home twenty-five battalions.

But there supervened a situation of real gravity. The prestige of Abdel Krim increased in the world of intrigue, of the displaced, of the profiteers, for the foreign Press, a certain section of which lives on sensation, made Abdel Krim into a sentimental symbol, and there was a moment when we had reason to fear that in a situation facing our southern coast, on the Mediterranean and but a few miles from Malaga and Almeria, great submarine and flying bases might be established under the protection of people of undoubted influence—bases of the dangerous kind invented by modern science, which even in the hands of a small nucleus would constitute a grave menace if they are secretly encouraged by elements powerful for evil. Further, all the festering sores of Europe attached themselves to the rebel chief, together with the money of the Bolsheviks, and the discarded stocks of material from the European War Could we consent to allow such a menace as this to hang over Spain? We were compelled to attack the enemy in the centre of his activity, in the heart of the territory where he planned all this, and we had absolute faith in Spain's power to win through And besides this (why should I not say it, when to keep silence would be hypocrisy, since I feel it?), we—or I should rather say 'I,' because in such a confession one must be an individualist—had complete faith in the divine Providence which rules over us

These words of the General's provoked long and loud applause from the whole assembly. In England so intimate a confession would probably not have met with such a sympathetic response. People in England do not talk of their deepest religious convictions at a banquet attended by 1300 people. But here is the wide difference between the Englishman and the Spaniard. The Spaniard, who is sincerely religious, brings his faith into his daily life to an extent unimaginable to the northerner, trained from infancy to hide such sentiments under a mask of reserve so close-fitting that sometimes there appears to be nothing at all beneath it. The Spaniard holds that religion and the throne are the essential foundations of peace in public life, and because he believes this he no more hesitates to speak of his religion in that connection than he does of his king. An Englishman cannot understand this frankness any more than he can understand or sympathise with the national habit of adding to every plan for the future the rider 'If God pleases.' A century ago English people used to say 'We will spend to-morrow with you, D.V.' The Spaniard says it still: 'Good night. We shall meet to-morrow if God pleases'; and to him it is no empty form. He sincerely believes that there is an all-powerful God, a divine

Providence, watching over the affairs of men. Primo de Rivera's confession of faith appealed to the Patriotic Union, and to Spaniards of the nobler sort all over Spain and in the Spanish-American republics—because about 90 per cent. of the Spanish-speaking peoples share it with him.

These are the foundations of our policy in Morocco [he continued when the applause died down] I believe it to be possible that in a very short space of time our difficulties there will be concluded, but I warn you that no one can definitely retire before the Moor. If his passions are let loose, and his covetousness is uncontrolled, a retirement would lead to a catastrophe Moreover, it is Spain's duty to sacrifice herself to preserve her frontier in Morocco and her place in the concert of the nations. And every man of honour knows that engagements must be kept, at no matter what sacrifice.

Turning to the danger created by the Communist propaganda, General Primo de Rivera said that everybody who reads the newspapers knows how England, Italy, and France are taking measures against the Communist invasion.

It is true that out national temperament is not favourable to the excesses of those demagogues. But look at Japan. A few years ago nobody imagined she would be drawn into such contact, and yet to-day she is exposed to all the horrors of it in the house of her next neighbour I say in all sincerity that we shall use the utmost severity to prevent Spain becoming the victim of this teaching.

Reports have been spread by the enemies of the Directorate that Spain's Treasury deficit has largely increased during the past year. Precisely the opposite is the case. If other evidence were wanting we should have it in the state of the exchange, which has improved since September 1923, and, what is more important, it is stabilised, so greatly facilitating business that, in the General's opinion, it might even be disadvantageous if it suddenly rose to any marked extent. But apart from this the deficit is not 1200 million pesetas, as has been falsely stated for obvious purposes. Even with the heavy cost of the war, the deficit last year was only 650 millions, or less than half those of 1921 to 1923.

That does not, however, mean that Spain has no economic problem, for the question of national economy is grave enough. But she is not alone in her difficulties, since she shares them with all the rest of Europe, for every country that protects its products endangers those of the rest. Thus we have in Spain the serious question of coal. The only solution lies in the collaboration of all concerned, including the wage-earners. When rich capitalists ostentatiously display their wealth—which perhaps is not taxed in due proportion—they forget that work is the greatest source of progress and well-being in every country. And this being so, can a Government neglect its duty of appealing to

the workmen to accept its guidance, and above all to the Spanish workmen, who are so generous and so straightforward? But for the weakness of Governments certain associations would never have come into existence to limit Spanish production and make life impossible for the wage-earners of Spain. The difficulty of this question lies in the agitation of the Great War, which enabled the foundation of mining companies, luxurious banks, and so on, without any solid basis. The Government has taken steps to control these excesses in the interests of the national economy.

This is a courteous way of expressing the determination of the Directorate to render default in payment of legal taxation impossible. Formerly, as is only too well known, unscrupulous persons, from the millionaire to the humble village grocer, were able to evade 99 per cent of their just debts to the State by a simple system of bribery and corruption of ill-paid public officials. Everyone now has to pay and take a receipt for every kind of legal demand. Landowners, for example, were in numerous cases years in arrears with the land tax, some rich farmers who had appropriated large expanses of common land never having paid any taxes at all on their illegally acquired acres. All now have to pay regularly as quarter day comes round, although in the case of poor peasants who had taken up small portions of such land, unaware even that the State could claim any rights upon it, every facility for payment is given, from three to ten years being allowed for the liquidation of arrears. These innocent victims of a purposely encouraged ignorance of the agricultural law, although at first they were staggered at the unexpected claims made on them, soon became reconciled when they discovered that the wealthy So-and-So or Such-and-Such, 'whose father drove pigs when my father reclaimed my land,' are called upon for more thousands of pesetas for arrears than they are for tens. Under the present Administration the town councils hold open sessions once a week to which every poor man with a grievance can come to expound his woes, and this gives the opportunity for members of the Patriotic Union, who enjoy the confidence and respect of their neighbours, to explain to those who cannot read or write the true inwardness of the new system employed to prevent the evasion of taxes by either rich or poor. Not the least of the benefits bestowed on the country places is the universal cleaning up and reparation of the town-halls, providing the public with bright, clean, and attractive places of meeting—invariably adorned with portraits of King Alfonso and of General Primo de Rivera—instead of the gloomy and often filthy dens in which former town councils spent their brief working hours, mostly in filling their own pockets. The amount of fraud that went on is shown by the fact that, with extremely few exceptions, every little town and

village now has money to spend on much-needed public works within its boundaries, even after setting aside the percentage required to pay off its annual instalment of arrears due to the State.

Spain has long been supposed by foreigners to be a poor country. Far from it. When the new Administration has finally cleared up the mountains of debt left by what are so euphemistically described as 'weak' Governments, and is free to exploit her mineral and agricultural wealth, she will soon become one of the richest and most prosperous countries in Europe. General Primo de Rivera did not flatter his nationals when he said that the Spanish workman is generous and straightforward. The fact recognised by all English people who have dealt with large bodies of them is that the Spanish workman, take him on the average, is willing to work longer hours for less wages than any other in Western Europe. Such were the effects of maladministration on the national economy that formerly the man who could count on a fixed living wage day in and day out throughout the year thought himself in Paradise. It is hardly likely that such men, now that work steadily increases and the cost of living, if slowly, steadily decreases, will offer good ground for Communist teaching. On the other hand, a country which, comparatively speaking, has no labour question, and where strikes are becoming almost unknown, should offer exceptional attraction to the foreign investor who, refusing to be misled by Communist Press intrigues, takes the trouble to inform himself personally of the actual situation of Spain.

For, once the drain of the war in Morocco is stopped, as it will now be very shortly, Spain will at the present rate soon stand pre-eminent as a country without a deficit, since this is already on the way to being levelled by income, partly due to the reform and increase of taxation, but, above all, to the development of her own potential sources of wealth in the direction of national production. 'By this means,' said the General, 'we shall have the honour of an estimate without a deficit, for that is what is demanded first of all for the regeneration of our national economy.' Finally he said in the speech from which I have already quoted:

> We must bring up a new, honest, educated, just, and patriotic generation: we must teach in the schools all the vigour of true citizenship, making it our obligation to train up the child in the highest conception of morality. . . The time has come to put an end for ever to Governments which sought to obtain power by diversions and futilities, while they paid no attention to the great needs of the country.

The Spaniard is above all an idealist—in his innermost soul he is, and always will be, in whole or in part, a Quixote. What he lacks is the stern practicality of the Anglo-Saxon. General

Primo de Rivera, though Spanish to his backbone, unites with his lofty idealism and religious faith a master mind which can grasp and execute and organise as infallibly and as practically as any Briton or American who has made himself a multi-millionaire because he has known how to take affairs at their tide. The average Spaniard admires British practicality as something far off and unattainable for himself. Now he has got a master mind to rule him, quixotic as Cervantes himself could have desired, yet as austerely practical as—shall we say?—John Bright or Richard Cobden. Small wonder that the people worship him and that the national cry is, 'As long as he lives we will be governed by Primo de Rivera!'

ELENA M. WHISHAW.

ITALY'S VITAL INSURGENCE

ITALY can hardly complain in these days of not having her due share of the limelight. Yet in spite of the universal attention she commands, it is doubtful if the magnitude and meaning of the portent New Italy offers, especially its economic aspect, is at all widely realised Fascism, of which we hear so much, is, after all, only a manifestation of the intense vital insurgence since the war of the Italian people, whose numbers now surpass those of France, and whose industrial prosperity, so long delayed by natural disadvantages as well as political vicissitudes, seems to-day nearer at hand than the friends of Italy would have deemed possible a brief decade ago

A traveller to-day, at least in the northern half of the peninsula, can hardly fail to be impressed, not merely by the hopefulness and confidence of the professional, commercial and working classes, so great a contrast to the spirit which prevailed in 1920, but by the almost magical phenomena of technical progress and commercial enterprise which he sees on all sides. In truth, Italy is now grappling in earnest for the first time with the three factors which are declared to have restricted her prosperity—namely, the lack of coal, the lack of capital, and the lack of colonies. As regards the first of these she is finding compensation in a bold, comprehensive, and well-planned system of electro-hydraulic power, drawn from her unnavigable rivers, the practical effects of which system are already visible in industry, transportation, and urban life. To-day 2,000,000 horse-power is in operation; in the not far to-morrow coal will become superfluous in Italy.

But internal development is dependent upon capital; the financial resources of the kingdom have long been precarious, and the lending nations, still preoccupied with their own industrial expansion, are yet to be convinced that the exploitation of Italy offers high and certain profits. Italy is meanwhile creating capital for herself. It is the want of colonies, both as a source of raw materials and a resort for the surplus population such as other nations of lesser magnitude enjoy, which is at the moment felt by Young Italy to be an unjust and intolerable deprivation. For the tide of human emigration continues

in Italy, although its character and its destination are revealing a change.

For half a century Italy has found in the emigration—carefully checked and controlled—of her labouring classes to foreign countries not only a sociological safety-valve, but a definite source of wealth. Alone amongst European peoples her chief export has been, and continues to be, man-power. She is the muscular nation, *par excellence*, of the world. It is Italian labour, *plus* British capital, which has built up the prosperity of the Argentine Republic. It is Italian labour which has physically made possible the great American, Canadian, and Brazilian railways and other vast engineering works. As other nations despatch armies to win victories over alien peoples and establish their authority over alien lands, so the Italian labour legions have gone forth to conquer Nature itself When they return it is as peaceful mercenaries to the motherland, with only the wages and not the glory of their service. Surely it is one of the ironies of history that the heirs of the Cæsars and the compatriots of Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci should not have created a great Italian empire overseas. The distracted internal condition of pre-unified Italy and the lateness with which she entered the colonial field only partially explain this. To-day some seven millions of her sons are abroad, and the problem of this continuous dispersion of the race has become more complicated and urgent. How does the present *régime* propose to deal with it? For how long can the vital energy in Italy remain either pent up at home without capital to employ it or a system to adjust it to local needs or be dispersed abroad, under present conditions, without weakening the State? Hitherto emigration has been tolerable, and indeed beneficent, because of the national wealth accruing from the remittances of the emigrants, calculated at fifteen to twenty millions sterling a year. This represents a large financial asset for Italy. But the influx of this wealth has suddenly been checked. The restrictive clauses of the new American Immigration Law forbid any longer the free entry of Italians into the United States. From an average of 400,000 a year they have dropped to a tenth of that number Other transmarine countries are also enacting or contemplating measures of similar exclusion.

Thus cut off from their principal and most lucrative labour market, Italians are now turning again to Europe, and especially to their neighbour France. In this latter country since the war there has not only been an urgent demand for labour to replace the losses of man-power in industry and to repair the damage wrought in the devastated districts, but to occupy farms abandoned by their former tenants. Last year 201,715 Italians

crossed the frontier, or nearly double the number of emigrants to the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and Uruguay. In the first half of 1925 more than 100,000 labourers joined their compatriots in France. They have literally taken possession of certain districts, especially in the department of Lot-et-Garonne, working the farms on the *métayer* system, bringing with them their families, their priests, their schoolmasters, and even their newspapers, and thus establishing definite Italian communities in the heart of France. Is it any wonder that the French are troubled? There have been heated discussions amongst the patriots as to whether the presence of a million Italians does not constitute a danger to France. The demand has been formulated that if these foreigners intend to remain in the country their children must be taught French and eventually absorbed into the general population.

Italy also is troubled. The Government never favoured the emigration of its workers. It has always urged upon its emigrants that wherever they go they must remain good Italians and never renounce their Italian citizenship. But the milliards of lire in remittances were a very material solatium. Now, however, the emigrant to France is no longer despatching all his savings to Italy, but shows a disposition to utilise them in the purchase of tools and fertilisers, and in the general development of the farm he has leased and in some instances has bought. Moreover, the emigrant who has already made his home in America is altering his former habits. Even when not contemplating American citizenship he is putting his money into American savings banks and into American co-operative enterprises instead of sending it home to Italy. Along with this disposition there is the appeal on the part of the overseas communities: 'If you object to our emigrating to foreign lands, why have you no colonies under the flag to send us to? Why must we be ever moving to and fro over the face of the earth, because of our desire to keep Italian, when it would be so much easier to abjure our nationality?'

For this coming to and fro, this periodic return to Italy, has been a marked peculiarity of the Italian emigrant. When an English, Scotch, or Irish labourer goes overseas he generally goes for good. He and his family and descendants may come back on a visit, but nineteen-twentieths of the emigrants to the United States become Americans. It is largely otherwise with the Italian; he goes to sell his labour only, and his sojourns abroad are always intermittent. The emigrants to Argentina and Brazil long since earned the sobriquet of 'swallows,' as each autumn they took their flight southward to return in the spring. An Italian poet has spoken of the Italian labourer as ever keeping one foot firmly planted on the soil of his beloved peninsula while

with his torso and sinewy arms he leans over the international fence to do the work of his neighbour. In one of the great quadrennial periods (1910-14) the statistics show that no fewer than 1,423,534 persons emigrated from Italy, and that during the same period no fewer than 966,868 returned. The absence abroad may be protracted or brief, but rarely does it exceed three years.

This attachment to Italy and interest in the national fortunes is fostered by the Italian Press overseas. It will surprise most people to learn that there are no fewer than 280 Italian newspapers published outside Italy, including 23 dailies, 167 weeklies and 17 fortnightlies. Of this total 157 are in America. In New York the *Progresso Italo-Americano* prints an edition of 90,000 copies daily, while the *Bulletino della Sera* and the *Corriere d'America* have circulations and influence nearly as large.

Throughout this great Press the cardinal idea that is preached is that of Italian unity—'*a tener alto il nome dell Italia e a mantener viva la sacra tradizione della Patria*,' as one newspaper daily proclaims as its motto. Italians, we are told, are rarely really happy abroad; their nostalgia is greater than other peoples', and they constantly look forward to a return. Yet they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that at home the population is increasing at the rate of half a million a year.

We have been [says the *Voce d'Italia*] hewers of wood and drawers of water for foreign nations long enough. While we could come and go freely the situation was tolerable, but now we are hemmed in, cut off from Italy, and our birthright as Italians is threatened. When is Italy going to be great enough and strong enough to give us a home and lands under her flag?

This being the situation, it is not surprising that certain Italian patriots should exhibit impatience. Italy's present colonies offer few inducements for emigrants, Tripoli being a barren, riverless land needing enormous capital to make it profitable, while not much more may be said for Somaliland. Eritrea, on the Red Sea, is desolation itself. From the island of Rhodes a little Italian garrison can look across at the fertile expanses of Anatolia 'It is enough to make our mouth water,' writes a young Italian officer (whose letter is published in the *Corriere della Sera*). 'What could not Italy make of a country like that?'

Recently a writer in the Fascist organ the *Idea Nazionale*, after surveying the whole situation, announced that Italy's continued exclusion from the undeveloped territories of the earth, even though formally annexed by others, could no longer be endured.

In a few years we shall be menaced by a formidable crisis of unemployment and misery which may have the greatest possible consequences socially and politically, not merely for Italy, but for the whole of Europe. This is the greatest, the inescapable problem of Italian life to-day If

we do not mean to perish the time is at hand when we shall be forced to take what we need. . . . The existing map of the Mediterranean must be altered. ***And this change can be brought about only by an act of force.***

Another publicist, Dr. Barzini, indicates at length certain undeveloped localities on the earth's surface which in Italy's hands might forthwith become prosperous. Several of these localities happen to be within the British Empire.

Why [the writer asks] should a country like Australia, which is manifestly unequal to the task of developing its vast vacant spaces, bar out the immigrants of a European country who possess strong arms, resolute wills and intelligence? Who gave them this right? Not Great Britain. Have they the power in themselves to enforce it? Is there any justice in such exclusion?

Think of what a million industrious Italians would have made of the vast, fertile but empty spaces of Queensland, five times the size of Italy, and yet which in the course of a whole century the British emigrants have only scratched. Britain has spent a hundred millions sterling on their account, but capital without actual labour is of small use, and the debt of the Queenslanders to Great Britain is still one hundred millions.

The only reason the Australians can urge for their dog-in-the-manger policy is the geographical unity of their country. Austra[illegible] is an island. If there had been four islands instead of one! The arg[illegible]t is childish. . . . And in any case, what of Papua and New G[illegible]? [illegible]hy have we not been granted the mandate for those islands?

Elsewhere (in the *Progresso Italia*) the Dominion of Canada is glanced at in the course of a discussion on emigration:

If one can condone the attitude of the United States, with their interplay of race jealousies, State rivalries and emulations, their population of a hundred and twenty millions and their illimitable fund of gold, it is far otherwise with the country to the north, almost equally vast, but with an existing population only a fifth of that of Italy. Why should they seek to close the barriers to our industrious and sober people? What rights does this small population possess to half a continent which would survive an appeal to the conscience of the world? What are they doing with Nova Scotia, so rich in coal and grazing lands, but so poor in workers that after a century and a half it has only the population of the Italian city of Turin?

Several writers express their regret that mandates for German South-West Africa and the Cameroons were not entrusted to Italy, for there might have been produced the raw materials which Italy's rapidly developing factories badly need. Signor Luigi Villari goes even further afield in suggesting that besides South and Central America, Asia and Africa, there are parts of the old Russian Empire 'incapable of progress through lack of capital, expert ability and administrative talent.'

Why [he asks] cannot some of these territories be placed under the protectorate of civilised European countries capable of dealing with them and possessing an available reserve of population?

As to the mandated territories in Asia and Africa

there appears to be no valid reason why, when the present mandates expire, these territories should be assigned exclusively to countries already possessing immense colonies, one of which has not even the necessary surplus population and can only develop her colonies by means of foreign labour.

That great and highly civilised countries, with large and growing populations, which cannot all find employment at home, should be for ever deprived of colonial possessions where their children can settle under their own institutions, when there are abundant territories thirsting for population, and that these countries should be forced to send many hundreds of thousands of their sons every year to work under foreign taskmasters abroad, where the best of them end by being completely lost to their fatherland, and that even the openings affording them this inadequate relief should be gradually closed to them, cannot but lead, sooner or later, to international conflicts

Nevertheless, it is by no means certain to the student of present-day conditions and tendencies that diffusion of population and resources abroad is the best way of creating or conserving national power and national wealth. It is not necessary to recall the lamentable condition of Italy herself when her human resources were scattered over the ancient world and the Roman name stood highest. The phenomenon is observable, alas, in more recent pages in the history of other countries. The movement most favoured to-day by the most far-seeing political economists is the intensive cultivation of a nation's own domestic resources. Not even the possession of a vast empire will in the long run make amends for the neglect of the head and centre. Colonies were all very well in their day, but the day of the old colonial system is overpast. What these young Italians of the intensely patriotic school should ask themselves is not, ' Is our beloved Italy, with all its advantages of climate and soil, overcrowded with a population of forty millions ? ' but rather, ' May Italy not be made available for eighty millions, boasting at least treble their present wealth ? ' For large tracts of the peninsula, despite their advantages, are utterly neglected. Agriculture, especially in the south, is in a terribly backward state, and the single factor which enables the bulk of the Italian rural population to exist at all is the extremely low standard of living. Least of all is there any real need for the Italian agricultural labourer to proceed to France, for with intelligent direction and the same effort he could make an equal success in his native land.

For these reasons it is understood that Signor Mussolini's Government is at present contemplating a large scheme of agrarian reform and development, in order to bring about a redistribution of the population at home and so counteract the tendency to continuous migrations abroad. It is sincerely to be hoped that

this wise step will be persisted in. If the youth of Italy will but bring a zeal and energy to scientific agriculture and food production equal to that it is now bestowing upon commerce and industry (and, one may add, politics), the result, helped by the infusion of capital which is bound to follow upon a satisfactory American debt agreement, will afford Italy ample compensation in our day for the doubtful glories, and the perpetual embarrassments, of a great Italian Empire.

BECKLES WILLSON.

THE CONDOMINIUM IN THE NEW HEBRIDES

THE British Empire is a strange constitutional medley. It comprises autonomous dominions, colonies with various forms of government, dependencies, protectorates, spheres of influence, territories held under mandate from the League of Nations, and, in the New Hebrides, a Condominium shared with France. This Condominium was established as a friendly compromise between British and French claims, but so far from achieving its purpose it has been a perpetual source of dissatisfaction. The New Hebrides are a chain of islands in Melanesia lying north of the 20th parallel S. and distant some five or six days' journey from Sydney. The total area of the group is about 5500 square miles. Although accurate figures are impossible to obtain, the native population is estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000. The majority of these are quite 'civilised,' but some of the inland tribes are in a wilder state, and in 1916 a punitive expedition had to be sent into the interior of one of the islands. Of the Europeans 300 are British and 1200 French subjects. The soil is remarkably fertile. Copra, cotton, coffee, and maize are the chief products, while stock raising is carried on successfully. Australian and French companies maintain regular steamship services to the group.

The history of the New Hebrides has a bearing on the present problem, because it allows neither country to advance an incontestible title to the group. They were discovered in 1606 by de Quiros, who supposed Espiritu Santo, the largest island, to be a portion of the great southern continent of popular legend. Bougainville visited them in 1768, and six years later Cook explored and charted their waters. Then for a time little is heard of them, although occasionally navigators put in there. In the earlier part of last century the group passed through an experience which, unfortunately, has been that of most of the islands in the Pacific. It became the haunt of whalers, deserters, labour recruiters, beachcombers, broken men, adventurers of every description, who wrote a bloodstained chapter in the annals of the South Seas. In the 'thirties British missionaries came to the New Hebrides and steadily extended their influence. In 1841 the group was included in the Commission issued to the Governor

of New Zealand, but, although it was now nominally part of a British Colony, no further action was taken. In the 'seventies, when French claims began to be seriously advanced, French interests were still scanty, whereas a number of British missionaries and traders were established there. But in 1882 the organisation which later became the Société Française des Nouvelles Hébrides was founded to promote settlement, and before long the French population exceeded the British.

Hitherto an occasional warship had been the intermittent instrument of justice, but as the community increased in size the need of some regular authority to enforce the law became apparent. This led to the creation in 1887 of a Mixed Naval Commission composed of British and French officers, whose duties were to maintain order and protect the persons and property of the subjects of the two nations in the islands. It had, however, no civil jurisdiction. Finally, after various expedients had been tried and found wanting, the improved relations of Britain and France during the early years of the nineteenth century paved the way for the Condominium, which came into operation in 1907. This was a practical expression of the *Entente Cordiale*, and deserved a greater measure of success than has actually befallen it. Australia was not represented at the preliminary conference, nor was she fully consulted in the negotiations—an omission which called forth an emphatic protest from the late Alfred Deakin, the then Prime Minister.

The principle of dual control was explicitly asserted by the Convention which was signed in London in 1906. Article I. runs:

> The group of the New Hebrides . . . shall form a region of joint influence in which the subjects and citizens of the two Signatory Powers shall enjoy equal rights of residence, personal protection and trade, each of the two Powers retaining jurisdiction over its subjects or citizens and neither exercising a separate control over the group.

The Convention also provided for the establishment of a Joint Court, an international tribunal consisting of a British judge, a French judge, and a president who must be neither a British nor a French subject, and who is appointed by the King of Spain. It has jurisdiction, *inter alia*, in all cases relating to land, offences by natives against non-natives, civil disputes between natives and non-natives, and offences against the Convention. National courts hear cases in which British or French subjects respectively are exclusively concerned.

History supplies abundant evidence that divided control is seldom or never satisfactory. From its nature it tends to produce friction and inefficiency in government. If Britain and France had forgotten their own experience in Egypt, there was a more recent object-lesson no further away than Samoa, where a some-

what similar arrangement had been tried and discarded. Of course in the New Hebrides the conditions were radically different, and the omens seemed more propitious for a repetition of the experiment. The *Entente* was a comparatively new thing. In the first flush of this happy development of a mutual understanding and friendship British and French did not perhaps sufficiently realise that goodwill has its limitations. The hope was cherished that the general atmosphere of cordiality would be conducive to the most harmonious co-operation in the New Hebrides. That hope was been but imperfectly fulfilled. The Condominium represented an honest endeavour to settle conflicting interests by mutual concessions and by conciliation. However, excellent intentions and a genuine desire to work the system have not been enough to cure its inherent defects. By common consent the Condominium has proved a failure. It has hampered the progress of the islands ; it has been responsible for a great deal of unnecessary irritation. No doubt there have been faults on both sides. But the root of the failure is to be found in the system itself, which, with its elaborate and cumbersome machinery and its duplication of institutions, pleases no one. On many points the Europeans in the group do not see eye to eye On one there is almost complete unanimity : the Condominium, they insist, should be abolished forthwith.

The causes of its unpopularity are many and varied. It seems rather ludicrous that such a small community should possess two legal systems with all the appurtenances thereof, two currencies, and two sets of postage stamps This, however, though inconvenient and wasteful, is not a matter of great consequence. More serious are the difficulties which arise from the presence of a mixed population. Here in the New Hebrides are members of races which differ widely in traditions and outlook, in their methods of colonisation, and of dealing with the natives. The question of relative superiority or inferiority is one on which it is unnecessary to enter, but the fact of difference must be recognised. French ways are not British ways. The views, for instance, of some French planters and traders on the traffic in liquor and firearms or the recruitment and treatment of native labour are not those held by the British in general. It is said that the regulations in regard to these are frequently evaded by the French community, and that the breaches are to some extent condoned by the French authorities. Missionary societies have made categorical charges to this effect : almost every synod or conference reports fresh instances of laxity. They assert, moreover, that the French court does not inflict adequate punishment upon French subjects who are found guilty of offences against the Convention. Sentences are imposed, but only a small proportion of them are actually

carried out, whereas British delinquents receive no such consideration from the British court. We need not suppose that the British planter is more scrupulous than the French, but he is aware that if he breaks the law he will pay the penalty. His virtue may be a virtue enforced, but he is none the less prejudiced thereby. The Frenchman, with his recruiting methods that savour of the press-gang and ' plantation wives ' as an attraction, has an advantage in the labour market while the Englishman goes begging. This, at any rate, is an allegation which is frequently heard from quite responsible quarters. Possibly the abuses are exaggerated, but there seems to be little doubt that they exist, and the belief that the French may do with virtual impunity what is denied to the British does not make for concord.

The labour supply, indeed, already constitutes a serious problem. The native population is steadily disappearing. According to one estimate it has decreased by about a third in the last decade. The phenomenon, of course, is by no means confined to the New Hebrides. It is to be observed in most islands in the Pacific, and is attributable to a variety of causes. The vices and the diseases introduced by the white man have taken their toll, and many complaints, such as measles or influenza, which the European does not consider to be particularly serious, have a very high death-rate among the ' unsalted ' natives. The depredations of the ' blackbirders,' as the recruiters were called, have long since been suppressed, but they have left their mark. It is said, too, that the indenture system has contributed to the decline by removing able-bodied young men from their villages at a time when they should be establishing homes of their own and beginning to rear families. This, however, has been denied by competent authorities, who point out that ' boys ' under indenture have rarely reached the age ordained by custom for marriage. But not the smallest factor in the disappearance of the native has been psychological. A theory which has obtained general recognition among scientists is that he is going under for want of a definite interest in life. He was never of an industrious habit, but before the advent of the white man his days were fully occupied. He had his tribal fighting and his head hunting. He built his canoes, a lengthy business which was interspersed with festivals and celebrations. He cultivated his garden with primitive implements. The white man has forbidden some of these pursuits ; others have been revolutionised by the introduction of the tools of civilisation. With these the native can in a few hours perform tasks for which once as many days were needed. Even if he is not a *rentier* living on the proceeds of the sale of land, he can satisfy his simple requirements with a minimum of toil. In consequence, time hangs heavily on his hands. He loses zest in existence and ' the will

to live.' He succumbs readily to disease and literally pines away. Recent investigation among the causes of the depopulation of the Pacific Islands shows that this picture is not overdrawn. So what with the native's inherent disinclination for work on the one hand, and, on the other, the continual shrinkage of the source of supply, indigenous labour is becoming ever more difficult to obtain in sufficient quantities. Already in many of the islands recruits are brought from far afield. Indian and Tamil coolies have been introduced into Fiji, Chinese into Nauru and Samoa, Chinese and Japanese into Hawaii. In the New Hebrides the missions believe that the decline in population can be arrested by the creation of new interests which will replace the old, and of new wants which, if they do not engender a taste for work, will at least furnish an inducement to work. The only solution the French can propound is the importation of coolies from Indo-China. It is very doubtful whether their presence in the group would be in the interests of the native.

A grievance common to both British and French in the New Hebrides arises from what the Report of the Inter-State Commission on British and Australian Trade in the South Pacific (1918) described as 'the uncertainty of the law, the inertness of the administration and the tardy dispensation of justice, more especially in the determination of disputed titles.' Hamlet would have spoken even more feelingly of 'the law's delay' had he dwelt in the New Hebrides. Much of the land held by Europeans in the group was acquired from the natives on the basis of maps which were subsequently found to be inaccurate. Areas were included in the transfer which their original owners declare never to have been alienated at all. It was essential that these rival claims should be settled as soon as possible, for planters who are liable to be dispossessed will not put money into the development of their estates. Yet the sessions of the Joint Court have been most irregular. In 1920, 1921, and 1922 it did not meet at all, while in 1923 it only sat for a few months. In 1916 the hearing of land cases was suspended on account of the absence of claimants and witnesses on active service. It has not, at the time of writing, been resumed. The president of the court, a Spanish lawyer, has been on leave and has not visited the group for several years. An enthusiastic member of the court, on his arrival in the islands, asked a colleague what business there was to be done. The answer was, 'Oh, I expect you will do the same as I do—sit on your westerly verandah in the morning and your easterly verandah in the afternoon!'

The dissatisfaction, however, is by no means of recent growth. Before the war it had become so acute that in 1914 conversations were held between the British and French Governments with a

view to making the system more efficient. The agreement then reached was embodied in a Protocol. The discussion assumed the continuance of the Condominium. The principle of joint control was reaffirmed. The object was to mend, not to remould, to amplify the provisions of the Convention and to remove defects in the light of the experience gained since 1907. The British delegation argued that the best course would be to increase the scope and powers of the joint authority and correspondingly to limit those of the national administrations. The French, on the other hand, attached great importance to the retention by each Power unimpaired of the sovereignty over its own nationals expressly recognised by Article I. of the Convention of 1906. The Protocol rectified several anomalies and tightened up the laws relating to the liquor traffic and recruiting, but it was not ratified until 1922. Since ratification the provisions under British control have been enforced, but there has been considerable delay on the French side. Indeed, it is not clear that they are in operation yet.

When the Peace Conference was sitting at Versailles the question was asked in the House of Commons whether, 'in view of the unsatisfactory working of the Anglo-French Condominium in the New Hebrides and of the fact that the commercial and agricultural future of the group chiefly depended on the Commonwealth of Australia, steps would be taken to terminate the Condominium and bring the group entirely under the British flag either by direct agreement with France or by submission to the decision of the Peace Conference.' The Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs replied that 'the matter had been referred to the British Government's representatives at the Conference.' The announcement aroused great anticipations in the group. But the Conference, or His Majesty's representatives thereat, had other things to engage their attention. At any rate, no more was heard on the subject. Again the Condominium was among the secondary questions with which the Empire Premiers Conference of 1921 was expected to deal. But it appears to have been shelved.

In 1921 the Société Française des Nouvelles Hébrides offered to sell its property and rights in the group to the Commonwealth Government for the sum of 500,000*l.* Nothing came of the proposal. Subsequently it was renewed, the purchase price being reduced to 200,000*l.*: again it was declined. Various reasons prompted the refusal. The Society, admittedly, could only show a clear title to about two-thirds of the land under offer, and it was by no means certain that this estimate did not err on the side of optimism. The great discrepancy between the two prices named was not reassuring. Again, while the transfer would have

enlarged Australian interests in the group, and would in so far have strengthened the Australian case for a modification of the *régime* in force, it would not in any way have affected the Condominium itself. Dual control, with its attendant evils, would have continued. The position of the Commonwealth Government would have been simply that of any trading corporation. Finally, the Commonwealth still had its hands full with the plantations expropriated from their German owners in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, and had no wish to embark upon further ventures of that sort.

There for the present the matter rests. The Condominium, for which no one has a good word, remains. English and French observers alike testify to its many shortcomings. In his *L'Océanie Française*, published a few years ago, M. Jacques Feillet described it as 'un système arbitraire, condamné par l'expérience qui en a été faite depuis 1907, qui ne peut qu'amener d'inutiles frictions entre nous et nos voisins, amis et alliés.'

As for the future of the group, we must assume that claims founded on discovery and the like were waived or compromised by the Convention of 1906. Any readjustment must proceed from the starting-point that either nation has rights which should be recognised. It is undeniable that the French interests in the New Hebrides are the more extensive. Seventy-five per cent. of the white population, of the trade, and of the land acquired from the natives are French France, moreover, argues that the group is an annexe to New Caledonia. British interests, however, cannot be overlooked. British capital and enterprise have done much to develop the islands. British missions, with their Australian offshoots, have a fine record of service there, and naturally enough desire to continue their labours under the British flag. Indeed, they fear that if Britain left the group they might expect rather unsympathetic treatment from the French authorities. Australia's interests also are by no means negligible. Australian trade with the New Hebrides is of a substantial value. The Commonwealth Government subsidises a shipping service to the islands, and there is a colony of Australian settlers, for whose benefit a legal officer is maintained at Vila by the Commonwealth. Moreover, Australia has especial reasons for wishing that the New Hebrides be not permitted to pass out of the Empire. The argument of her commercial and financial connections in the group is reinforced by considerations of defence. The New Hebrides are, geographically speaking, at her very doors. They are less distant from Sydney than is Rabaul. They have for Australia a strategical importance which they do not possess for France, an importance greatly increased by the events of the last few years, in consequence of which, as we are often told, the strategical centre of gravity has

shifted to the Pacific. They are, in fact, a frontier, and on that account Australia is the more anxious that they should remain in British hands.

Thus, while all agree that joint control has been a failure and should be jettisoned, either nation has claims which cannot be dismissed. What is the solution ? Three alternatives have been suggested : the cession of the group to France in return for a *quid pro quo*, cession to Britain in return for a *quid pro quo*, and partition. The first course would obviously commend itself to France. Quite conceivably many of the British in the group would not object to it. The French, indeed, assert that a majority of the British would welcome annexation to France. If the contention is correct, it is presumably because they would enjoy greater latitude under French rule. But this solution would be worse than none at all from the Australian point of view, and there is no evidence that France is prepared to provide the consideration for such a transaction, whether in cash or kind.

The second alternative would, in the opinion of many Australians, be the ideal one. It should be clearly understood that they cherish no ambition whatever to be invested with control of the New Hebrides. As it is, the Commonwealth has in the development of Papua and in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, to say nothing of the Northern Territory and tropical Australia, a task which will absorb the whole of her energies for years to come. Her 'colonial' responsibilities are already great ; she has no desire to add to them. But many Australians hope, rather vainly perhaps, that some day Britain will acquire France's rights in the group either by purchase or in exchange for equivalent territory elsewhere. But, even were France to agree to withdraw upon terms, the assumption that Britain should foot the bill is a little *naïf*. After all, the New Hebrides are a long way from Britain. Any advantage that would accrue from the transference would fall to Australia rather than to Britain. Yet Australia has given no indication that she is willing to bear any part of the burden entailed in an arrangement from which she would derive the exclusive benefit.

On the face of it, partition would seem to be the most natural and satisfactory expedient of the three, and has many advocates among the British element. However, there are certain practical difficulties in the way. British and French interests are interspersed throughout the group. Any division would leave subjects of one country under the flag of the other. Moreover, the close proximity of the islands might cause trouble. Should one of the Governments, for example, permit or close its eyes to the liquor traffic within its jurisdiction, it would not be easy to prevent liquor from being smuggled into the territory of the other. And the French

appear to be resolutely opposed to partition. When the late Mr. W. F. Massey, formerly Prime Minister of New Zealand, attended the Imperial Conference of 1923 he made it his business while in France to sound French opinion on the subject. Everyone he questioned, officials, politicians, journalists, all and sundry, made the same reply. France, he was told, will not give up a single inch of the islands, whether by way of sale, exchange, or partition. Mr. Massey also said that he had reason to believe that the British authorities were thoroughly tired of the Condominium, and that if they had consulted their own inclinations they would long since have said to France, 'Take the group and have done with it.'

So the prospect of any modification of the existing arrangement seems rather remote. Yet the various Australian interests which consider a change to be imperative have not abandoned hope. The Condominium has not worked, they maintain, and is from its nature incapable of working. What cannot be mended ought to be ended. As one who speaks with peculiar authority has written, 'One thing is certain, and that is that matters cannot remain in the unsatisfactory condition in which they are. Dual control is a poor makeshift of government, especially when each party is straining to keep its own flag uppermost. There is no possible cohesion in the particles, and the sooner a way out of the chaos is found the better for all concerned, both Europeans and natives.' And should the New Hebrides ever again become the subject of discussion between the Governments of Britain and France, Australians confidently believe that they will be allowed to have a voice in the proceedings.

M. L. MACCALLUM.

THE GOLD STANDARD: A REJOINDER

THE recent announcement by the Government of its intention of displacing the Treasury notes by those of the Bank of England brings us to the final stage in the retrograde movement which was started in 1920 under the Coalition Government with the advice of the Treasury officials and of the Cunliffe Currency Committee. These five years constitute the most disastrous period in the history of British industry, during which the country has suffered the heaviest losses ever recorded.

The absence of all opposition, and even of criticism, to this latest act of the Government in deliberately placing the country under the heel of the Bank of England is an illustration of the appalling ignorance and general apathy of the public, and especially of our industrial classes, who are the greatest sufferers. From the day the Armistice was declared until now those who have had control of the financial affairs of this country as its official representatives, have never ceased their efforts on behalf of the interests of the money-lending classes against those of the British public.

Few people appear to have given the Treasury note system the consideration that it deserves, otherwise the proposal to abandon it for a far inferior token would have aroused the most strenuous opposition.

For the benefit of those who are really interested in this vital problem of the currency, which affects our very existence as an industrial Power, it will be well to outline what this proposed change over from the credit of the nation to that of a private trading company really involves.

One of the most important effects which will be felt throughout the country by reason of this change of the note issue will be a further depression in our home trade. Those who imagine that we have reached bottom and are at the end of the deflation process will be seriously disappointed. The mere passage of the Gold Standard Bill, for which Mr. Winston Churchill is responsible, has not yet placed this country on the gold basis.

So long as we have a large volume of notes in circulation which are unrepresented by gold, we are using, and to this extent, what

the bankers would term—an 'inflated' currency. For if the gold basis means anything it means that every legal tender note must be covered by gold deposited in the Bank of England. The restoration of our pre-war system—which is the object our Treasury officials have been aiming at—means that the Treasury notes will gradually be called in and destroyed whilst Bank of England notes, backed by gold, will take their place. Unless the Bank is prepared to provide a very much larger gold reserve than it already controls, it is evident, therefore, that there must be a further deflation of the currency accompanied by further industrial depression and a further increase in the burdens which the taxpayers are already carrying.

In a recent speech delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer he is reported to have said that there were distinct signs of improvement in our trade conditions, and he proceeded to give twelve reasons for his optimism, one of which was the re-establishment of the Gold Standard. It would be very interesting if Mr. Churchill could be induced to give his reasons for such an assertion. In the history of the world, currency deflation has always been associated with industrial depression, unemployment, trade disaster, and wholesale bankruptcy. Mr. Churchill will surely not deny that the deflation policy was the only method by which the Gold Standard could be reached. Mr. Churchill is a great admirer of the United States, and I should like to quote the opinion of the greatest economist America has ever produced. General Francis Walker once stated as follows:

> A diminution of the money supply is one of the gravest evils which can menace mankind The mischiefs of a contracting circulation have twice at least, in the course of events, befallen Europe as the result of the exhaustion of the mines of the precious metals, or the interruption of mining industry by barbarian invasion or civil convulsion. It has remained for this generation and this decade to see these mischiefs brought upon Europe by the deliberate acts of Government under the advice of political economists. Suffocation, strangulation, are words hardly too strong to express the agony of the industrial body when embraced in the fatal coils of a contracting money supply! Against so great a wrong to civilisation and to the hopes of mankind the representatives of the United States here present raise their earnest protest and warning.

One could quote scores of similar opinions from various authorities if space permitted. If our versatile Chancellor has found some means by which trade can be revived during a deflation period, we shall all hail him as a great discoverer, and he will have done much to redeem his past errors!

II

'What motive,' it may be asked, 'has the Government in seeking to get rid of the Treasury notes?' What evil have they

done? Have they injured our trade and commerce? Have they failed on any occasion to perform satisfactorily the functions for which they were created? Has anyone ever refused to accept them in payment for goods or in settlement of debts? Has the Government itself ever discriminated against them by refusing to accept them in payment of taxes? A faithful servant is not usually discarded for a new one, certainly not for a servant who has proved unfaithful on more than one occasion. We know well enough by bitter experience that the Bank of England has failed to meet its obligations according to the Bank Charter Act on more than one occasion, and the Government has had to go to its rescue and relieve it of its obligations to pay gold. No such failure has yet been recorded under the Treasury note system. Why, therefore, should it be destroyed? There is only one answer, and that is that the Government has been advised by the bankers to adopt this plan because they consider the Bank of England system is more profitable to them and their institutions.

Apparently the national interests are the last ever to be considered in our monetary laws. The Treasury note is the safest and soundest monetary token ever issued, for the following reasons: (1) It is based on the total wealth and wealth productive facilities of Great Britain, and represents the credit of the whole people and its Government. If the wealth of this country is equal to 15,000,000,000*l.*, this vast sum is a part of the basis upon which these notes rest. But this is not all. It represents the *future* productions of this country, which may be regarded as a mine of untold and inexhaustible wealth. (2) It is easily controlled by the Government, and admits of expansion and contraction as deemed advisable for the purpose of regulating price levels. (3) It is inexpensive (as money should be), and is therefore especially adapted for registering the values of commodities. (4) It furnishes us with money that is free from the manipulation of foreign financiers, who are able to juggle with gold and seriously affect the trade and the fortunes of the inhabitants of all countries enslaved by the Gold Standard. (5) It provides a currency system under which we might enjoy a constantly low bank rate, which need never exceed 3 per cent.

Now contrast this with the system which the Government has decreed shall supplant it—namely, the Bank of England note system, the disadvantages of which may be enumerated as follows: (1) The Bank notes will be based upon the gold and securities which the Bank happens to hold (and which are a very small fraction of the wealth behind the Treasury note). (2) Since the Bank reserves are constantly varying, we shall be afflicted with a variable currency supply. Moreover, since credit varies with the supplies of legal tender, these variations are extended to

Bank credit in the proportion of about 1 to 10. Consequently ur trade and industries will be kept in a perpetual state of uncer- ainty, as in pre-war days. (3) Under the Gold Standard system ur bankers are to a large extent influenced by foreign events, nd with a free gold market our currency supplies are very largely t the mercy of foreign bankers and foreign speculators. Indeed, he mere currency requirements of other countries which are willing o pay a higher rate of interest than we can afford are sufficient to ause a contraction of our currency and credit supplies. (It as frequently happened that our industries have been kept idle ecause the Bank of England has sent its gold reserves to some of ur industrial competitors to enable them to build up their trade t our expense.) (4) Gold is a very expensive metal and is limited n quantity far below the currency needs of Europe alone, to say othing of the currency needs of America and other countries. Further, since it has its own commodity value, it is incapable of unctioning honestly as a monetary standard, as I have shown lsewhere. (5) The Bank of England has had the most variable ate of discount in the whole world. No nation on earth has ver been so afflicted in this respect as the British nation. This vil is to be re-established!

Anyone who advocates the change which the Government as decreed, on the ground of our being provided with a more table currency than the Treasury note system, is either grossly gnorant or is deliberately seeking to deceive the public. Mr. McKenna, our ablest banker, has himself testified regarding the tability of our Treasury notes, which have indeed proved far more table than the American gold standard currency during the past ew years. With the return to the Bank of England's control, our rade and industries will be subjected once more to all those dverse influences arising from the foreign transactions of that private trading company. Our Bank rate will once more be made he instrument by our foreign trade rivals for penalising British nerchants and manufacturers.

The raising of the Bank rate is the only defence provided by he Bank for maintaining its gold reserves; but it does not seem o be generally known that this weapon of defence is a two-edged sword which destroys both enemies and friends. It has been estimated that the raising of the Bank rate 1 per cent. increases he burdens of discount and interest charges to British borrowers o the extent of 1,000,000*l*. per week. So that when the Bank directors deem it advisable to send a few million pounds in gold o Germany, for example, if there are further calls which necessi- ate increasing the rate, British merchants and producers are com- pelled to pay this extra premium.

Some years ago a certain Wall Street syndicate determined

to take advantage of the opportunity provided by the Bank of England's Free Gold policy, and they withdrew 10,000,000*l.* in gold from the Bank in instalments, spread over some eleven weeks Before doing this they bought heavily of American securities and at the same time sold British securities in London. The gold shipments were well advertised by the Press of both countries The result of this operation was a fall in values of 350 of our best gilt-edged securities during those few weeks equivalent to 116,000,000*l.* On the other hand, the addition of this gold to the American banks created an advance equivalent to many million of dollars in American securities. The operations were described by a financial writer in the following words:

> They [the members of the syndicate] had made a corner in gold, and indeed a counter-corner also, both quite successfully carried out by the syndicate. They played on two tables (one in London and the other in New York) and were winning at both It was altogether a very simple but effective proceeding, for they held all the trumps in their own hands.

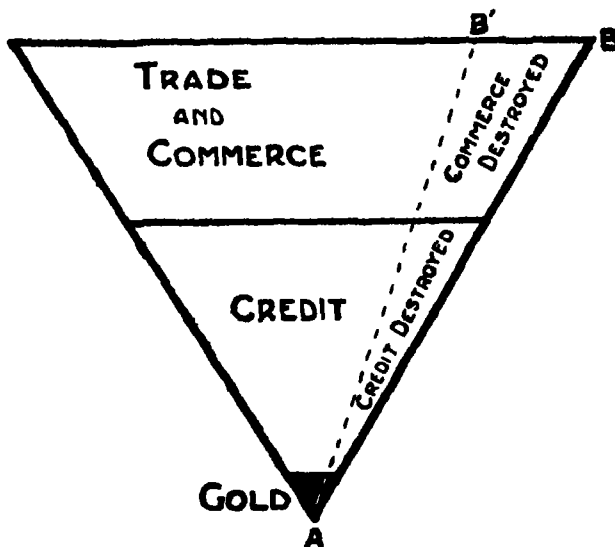
And it is on such a basis as this—a basis that can be contracted and expanded, juggled with, and speculated in by any foreign or domestic financiers who have the means and wish to enrich themselves at the expense of this country—that the British Government and Treasury officials think it safe and advantageous to conduct British trade and commerce instead of the far more stable and more solid foundation which our national credit provides.

No such international gambling operations could possibly take place with the Treasury note system—first, because such notes cannot function as currency abroad; and secondly, because any such withdrawals of notes could be replaced in a few hours since the security upon which they rest cannot be exported, but must remain in this country so long as it remains an industrial Power.

III

The following diagram serves to illustrate the relation of legal tender to credit as well as to trade and commerce. It explains graphically the cause of the instability of trade and of unemployment. The figure represents an inverted pyramid resting on its apex. This apex represents legal tender which the Government proposes finally to restrict to gold. On this insignificant foundation rests the whole of bank and other forms of credit, which in turn has to support our trade, industry and commerce.

To an impartial observer such a design for an economic structure would appear as a product of Bedlam. But, theoretically bad and unsafe as this at first appears, it is even worse in practice. Gold is an international commodity, and under the

Gold Standard, international trade is to a large extent a scramble for gold. When gold is exported by the Bank of England our banks are often compelled to call in loans and contract their credit facilities in order to maintain the normal ratio of credit to the gold supplies. This destruction of credit results in the destruction of so much trade and commerce. Conversely, when the gold reserves increase by reason of gold imports, credit is

expanded and a further opportunity is given for expanding our trade.

This golden apex is therefore continually changing in volume. The great ambition of our statesmen and bankers is to keep London the world's money centre, and therefore the demand for gold from foreign countries must be met at all times. Our rulers are under the delusion that it is better that London should remain the world's *money* market than that Great Britain should be the world's *commodity* market. If we are to judge them by the policies they have favoured, it would appear that they regard the profession of money-lending as of greater national importance than our iron, steel, coal, ship-building, cotton, woollen, or in fact any and *all* of our industries. Unfortunately for this country, our trade rivals have no such foolish notions. Neither Germany nor the United States would be willing to sacrifice or even jeopardise one of its great industries merely for the sake of making Berlin or New York a world money market. It will be remembered that Holland had this fatal ambition about three centuries ago, and by the time her bankers had attained their ambition of becoming the great banking centre of Europe she collapsed as a great industrial Power. And with her industrial failure she soon

lost her financial power. *Our Government is heading this country in the same direction!*

The diagram also shows why our bankers are in favour of the Gold Standard. Gold is a comparatively scarce metal and lends itself to manipulation. It is easily controlled, and it will be readily seen that by controlling gold they can control the entire economic edifice. But what a crazy system for a nation's industrial existence.

The illustration also explains the cause of our present industrial plight. When Mr. Austen Chamberlain announced in March 1920 that the Coalition Government had 'set its heart on deflating the currency' he ought to have stated what this really involved, namely, the deflation of credit and the consequent inflation of all debts. It meant also the destruction of enterprise and of one half of our trade and commerce. It is estimated that the ratio of credit issued by the banks to their clients is about ten times the amount of legal tender they control. So that contracting the currency to the extent of 100,000,000*l.* meant destroying at least 1,000,000,000*l.* of credit and a very much larger amount of trade and commerce.

IV

It will be seen from the foregoing that many of the points raised by Mr. Frank Morris in his article entitled 'The Meaning of the Gold Standard' in the October number of this Review have been answered.

His statement that 'Mr. Kitson is destructive but not constructive' could only be made by one who has been but a *partial* reader of my writings. Whilst I do not claim originality as the discoverer of any new currency scheme, I have described various systems on various occasions which in my humble judgment would be infinitely more advantageous to this country than the very costly and dangerous scheme which Mr. Morris favours, and which I have done my best to expose for the past thirty years. As I have shown in this article, the Treasury note system upon which—as Dr. W. A. Shaw has stated—we fortunately stumbled at the commencement of the war, is a far saner and more civilised contrivance than that with which this country has been afflicted during the life of Peel's Bank Charter Act.

There are various other systems from which to choose, each of which far surpasses the gold basis system. In my first book on the Money Question, published in the United States in 1894, I described a system of 'Mutual Banking' which originated in France nearly a century ago, and which was forcibly suppressed (like the Guernsey municipal note system) by the Government, at the instigation of the banking interests.

Mutual banking is as practical and as sound a system as mutual insurance. In fact, it is based upon similar principles. Considering that our professional bankers owe their business existence to the members of the industrial and trading classes, it has always been a surprise to me that our merchants and manufacturers have never started their own banks for the purpose of supplying themselves with bank credit at cheap rates instead of allowing the professional banker to dictate to them what credit they may have and at what rates of interest. A mutual bank run for the convenience of its members, and not for enriching shareholders, would be able to furnish credit at 2 per cent. per annum, which would suffice to pay all running costs as well as establish an insurance fund against losses—provided, of course, it was patronised by the majority of the members of the industrial and trading classes of this country.

Mr. Morris has done me the honour to mention my work entitled *A Fraudulent Standard*, although I judge from his remarks that he has not taken the trouble to read it carefully. If he had, I do not think he would have indulged in the criticisms he has offered. He will find that as early as 1917 I foretold exactly what would happen as soon as peace was declared—namely, that the bankers would agitate for a revival of the Gold Standard and the gradual withdrawal of the Treasury notes, and that the result of this would be wholesale bankruptcy, industrial depression, and unemployment, which might end in civil war. *The Civil War has already commenced*, although it has been so far confined to a war of words, which may easily develop into a war of deeds. Undoubtedly, if the Government pursues its policy of restricting trade and increasing our industrial difficulties and social misery, it does not require an inspired prophet to foretell the results. This country will never submit quietly to another 'Hungry 'Forties' experience.

Mr. Morris is in error when he states that the Government's views on the deflation policy were reinforced by the unanimous reports of the Brussels Conference and the International Economic Conference at Geneva. Neither of these Conferences had been held at the time the Coalition Government accepted these suggestions of the Cunliffe Currency Committee. Further, he has omitted to say that Professor Gustav Cassel strongly opposed the deflation policy in his memorandum to the Financial Committee of the League of Nations in 1921 in the following terms:

> By the enhancement of the value of money which has taken place during the past year, the real burden of public debt has in many countries been increased to a most serious extent; in some cases so much as to make it very questionable whether the country will be able to bear the burden. In consequence, a corresponding aggravation of the burden of taxation will

have to be faced whereby enterprise and production will inevitably be gravely handicapped during a practically unlimited series of years. The uncertainty whether countries which used to be regarded as first-class debtors will be able in the future to meet their obligations is, of course, a new and very serious influence, which operates against that restoration of confidence which we so sorely need. If deflation be carried still further in such countries, there can be no doubt but that their State finances will break down and public bankruptcy will have to be declared ! Such being the content and effects of the programme of deflation, we may reasonably ask ourselves for what purpose such a process can be regarded as particularly desirable ? [1]

It should also be remembered that the members chosen for these international monetary conferences were connected directly or indirectly with international banking interests. The Hon. R. Brand was one of the vice-presidents of the Brussels Conference, and in his opening address he was honest enough to say that in approaching this question of the Gold Standard he approached it, not as the citizen of any particular country, but from the standpoint of international banking. Lord Chalmers, who was supposed to represent British interests, said he agreed with Mr. Brand in his attitude on this question. At none of these conferences were industry, trade, manufacture, agriculture or labour definitely represented. In short, all these monetary conferences may be regarded as one regards certain of our newspapers. We have a morning and evening and a Sunday journal all owned by the same person and expressing similar views. The same influences that produced the Report of the Cunliffe Committee were responsible for the reports of these international conferences.

In regard to 'managed' currencies, there is this difference between the policy which Mr. Morris champions and that which he criticises and which Professor Keynes is advocating : The former lends itself to manipulation by private speculators and is 'managed' on behalf of *their* interests. Professor Keynes advocates a system which is to be managed by an independent committee for the benefit of our *National* interests.

I am taken to task also for having designated the Gold Standard as 'fraudulent,' and yet Mr. Morris has made no attempt to question the illustration I have given as to the dishonesty of this system on pages 356 and 357 of the September number of this Review. Now I maintain that this illustration is a thoroughly scientific exposure of the fraudulence of the gold and of all other commodity standards. Any system that involves the fixing of one side of the balance in which commodities are to be valued without fixing the general level of prices must be dishonest. You cannot have an honest standard which gives various results

[1] *World's Monetary Problems*, Second Memo., pp. 112–117.

merely because of various rearrangements in the grouping of goods which the standard is supposed to measure. If you have 1000 bushels of wheat and 2000 yards of cloth collectively worth say 600*l.*, the mere variation in their exchange relations to each other cannot make any difference in their total value—where no other commodities are concerned—so long as you employ an honest standard.

But this is precisely where the Gold Standard fails. It gives variable results with every alteration in the exchange relations of commodities, which financiers are able to take advantage of, and in fact to create for the purpose of their own enrichment.

Writers like Mr. Morris seem to regard Economics as belonging to the science of Statics. Economics is a *progressive* science. It has no 'fixed theories' in the sense of their being applicable to every stage of a nation's development. Mr. Arthur (now Earl) Balfour once said:

> I would as soon entrust my health to a doctor whose knowledge of the pharmacopœia was that of 1840, as I would entrust the fiscal and trade policies of this country to men who have learned nothing since the days of Sir Robert Peel and Richard Cobden.

Both our present trade and financial policies go back to that very period.

Practically all our present national troubles may be traced to the attempt to apply pre-war policies to post-war conditions. It is the attempt to force the feet of a fifteen-year-old child into the same sized shoes it wore at the age of ten.

> New times demand new measures and new men.
> The world advances, and in time outgrows
> The laws that in our fathers' days were best.
> And, doubtless after us, some purer scheme
> Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,
> Made wiser by the steady growth of truth.

ARTHUR KITSON.

DOGMA IN THE CHURCHES

It is unquestionable that the present moment is one of widespread confusion in religious beliefs. In a former generation you had a fairly solid body of affirmations in the different religious communities, and an equally clearly marked antagonism to religion in a minority, to whom a certain social stigma was attached as 'infidels.' To-day, both within and without the Churches, you find a bewildering variety of combinations and *nuances*. Apparently, if the daily Press is taken as an index, a considerable part of the public has an interest in religious discussion. Difficulties such as those which have arisen in the diocese of Birmingham perhaps indicate greater troubles to come. Amongst the babel of voices there is one thing which you may hear continually repeated: the great fault of the Churches is that they have weighted religion with something called 'dogma.' Dogmas, you are told, so far from giving strength to religion, are a tiresome encumbrance, and when you have got rid of them the vital spirit of religion can act freely and effectively. I do not think that you would find people who really stand high to-day as thinkers talk like this; but no language is commoner in the mouths of people of general education, in the Press, and in popular magazines.

First we must ask: What precisely is meant by 'dogma'? The term may be used with a variety of meanings. The philosopher whom we have lately lost, Dr. J. E. McTaggart, in his book *Some Dogmas of Religion* defined his own use of the word as meaning 'any proposition which has metaphysical significance.' Amongst the people who want an 'undogmatic religion' some would go so far as to say that they wanted to get rid of dogma in this sense. All affirmations about any Reality beyond the sphere of the senses—all affirmations about the character of God, or about the destinies of the soul, or about the meaning of the universe, or about the meaning of Jesus Christ—they think so much rubbish. You can get rid of all that, and you can still have religion as a sentiment and a spirit.

> For forms of faith let foolish zealots fight;
> He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

But a being who is really reasonable cannot separate in this

way conduct and feeling from the question of what really exists. Even in the things of common life you cannot have a right programme of action, unless you know the facts of the situation with which you have to deal. You cannot act safely in the dark. And you cannot reasonably have an ideal of conduct altogether unrelated to that which exists round us men in the universe. No doubt the interest in knowing what is true differs very much, relatively to other interests, in different temperaments. There are people, of the temperament called sentimentalist, in whom the interest in truth is relatively weak. They like to have certain feelings, but have no keen exigence to know whether their feelings correspond with Reality I once heard a well-known politician—a very pure example, I should say, of the sentimental temperament—describe his experience in a cathedral. He wandered about before the service began, and the beauty of the ancient building filled him with those vague, yearning emotions which for him constituted religion Then he described the horrible fall into bathos, the jar to his feelings, when he heard a voice enunciating, 'To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against Him.'

Consider the tremendous import of the proposition which at that moment fell upon his ears. It makes an assertion about the character of the Reality behind the universe. It says that when a man having suffered wrong, instead of returning evil for evil, forgives, when he shows mercy to his fellow-man, that is what the supreme Reality is like The Reality behind phenomena may seem sometimes to be indifferent force, without any care for the sufferings, the interests, the values, the hopes, which make up our little lives. It may seem indifferent, but, so this voice says, it is not. Mercies and forgivenesses are the real key to its character. A tremendous proposition. We can imagine people thrusting it away angrily, because it deludes humanity with something which, if it were assuredly true, would be supremely good, but which there is no ground for believing to be true. Our sentimentalist does not thrust away the proposition as untrue; he simply does not care whether it is true or not: it does not make him angry; it just bores him · he likes to have the vague, yearning feelings excited by an ancient cathedral, but as to what the truth about the universe is, he feels no interest in the question at all.

A sentimentalist such as I have described, in whose composition the interest in truth seems to have been quite left out, is no doubt something of a prodigy—as a body of flabby flesh would be without any framework of bone. We cannot have a right view of what it is good to do if we have no notion what kind of universe it is in which action is to take place. In every line right action is

action according to the facts of the world. What would one think of a builder of bridges, for instance, who set out on the principle—to parody Pope's couplet—

> For static laws vain theorists may fight;
> Build *safely*, and the bridge is built aright?

But if this is so, how comes it that there is so widespread an opinion that it does not matter what you believe about the universe, provided that you conform to a certain standard of conduct and feeling? One reason, perhaps, is that in no department of human life does the action of men in practice differ so widely from what their action ought to be, if they really believed the things they assert about the supreme Reality. When the bridge-builder has mastered the laws of statics he frames his actual building according to those laws as a simple matter of course. The difficulty is to master the theory: when you have got your plans on paper you do not have to overcome immense inner obstacles in carrying them out. But in religion you are obviously only at the beginning of the battle when you have fixed your belief that such and such a statement about God and the universe is true.

Now the general public has a perfectly true understanding that no belief has value in religion apart from acts of will and feeling. What it does not always understand so well is that you cannot, in reasonable beings, have acts of will and feeling apart from beliefs. Because a man's religion ought to be estimated not by the amount of truth he professes, but by the amount of truth he embodies in practice, a popular idea is that you can have the practice without any belief at all. If I may use a figure we may imagine a row of tall glasses of different sizes, filled to different heights with wine, some to the brim, some only to a fraction of an inch. Supposing the thing that mattered were the amount of wine in the glass, then a small glass filled to the brim might count for more than a large glass for the most part empty. Yet it would hardly be reasonable to say: Because the only thing that matters is the wine in the glass, and the glass except so far as it is filled with wine, is worthless, let us smash the glasses and have the wine by itself!

It is perfectly true that the kind of temper and behaviour which Christians might be expected to exhibit if they really believed Christian dogmas is continually exhibited much more perfectly by people who have abandoned the distinctive belief of Christians. But two things have to be considered in regard to this. Firstly, it may in some cases be due to ideals and habits continuing to exert influence after the beliefs which had originally formed the basis of those ideals and habits have gone. This i

quite in accordance with ordinary psychology. A belief may generate a habit of mind, and the habit of mind may last for a time after the belief is there no more. The ideals and habits which influence a man may be based upon the beliefs of those who influenced his childhood. Possibly Christian ideals of conduct and feeling might survive for one or two generations if Christian beliefs perished. Yet the connexion between the two may be organic for all that. Although the connexion between a flower and its root is organic, the flower does not perish the moment the connexion is severed. To point to this or that individual who, without Christian belief, conforms to the Christian type in conduct and feeling and say, 'You see, the beliefs don't matter,' is like pointing to a quantity of cut roses in a vase and saying, 'You see, the root is quite unessential to the life of the plant.'

Secondly, in many cases it would be found that, although the man had rejected distinctive Christian beliefs, he still held convictions, had definite beliefs, as to the nature of Reality, which afforded a reasonable basis for his ideals of conduct. He believed *some* of the things about the universe which Christians believe—the eternal worth, it might be, of the individual personality. And supposing this to be a bit of the truth, he may give this bit such signal effect in his conduct, he may utilise it so splendidly, that he puts to shame those who believe a great deal more of the truth but act feebly upon their beliefs.

There are indeed cases in which a great volume of feeling exists apart from any belief at all in a real object which would justify it. But these are not examples of the normal working of human nature; they are phenomena of insanity. Professor James in his *Varieties* tells us of mad people possessed by a perfect surge of terror, without any definite object of fear in their minds. In the same way pure undogmatic religion, religion which involved a great volume of emotion and no idea at all of any real existence to which it corresponded, might flourish in Colney Hatch.

I can imagine someone saying, 'Of course it is true that, in the broad sense which Professor McTaggart gives to dogma, you cannot have a religion without dogma; of course, every reasonable man who has ideals of conduct and feelings has also some beliefs as to the nature of the universe; but when objection is taken to "dogma" it is not dogma in that sense which we mean. What is meant is ecclesiastical dogma, statements which a man is compelled to believe, without any adequate ground, simply because they are given on the authority of a Church.' As a matter of fact, Professor McTaggart's use of the word 'dogma' is probably wider than its proper meaning. A dogma, in the common acceptation of the term, is not simply a statement about the universe; a dogma has a *communal* character—it is the statement

of a belief maintained by a community or society or school. The Christian Church has had dogmas in this sense. It has required of those adhering to it the profession of belief that certain things about God, and about the action of God in the world, are true. There is in many people's minds the feeling that a sort of tyranny is involved in dogma, so understood; it seems like an attempt to make people say they believe things which they do not really believe because the society to which they belong requires it.

We cannot be just to the feeling against dogma to-day, unless we recognise that in the past tyranny of this kind has been exercised in the name of the Christian Church. The Church did not only require a profession of belief from its voluntary adherents; it used its influence with the secular powers, in order to get penalties imposed upon anyone who publicly asserted that he did not believe what the Church taught. I am afraid that Christians must admit that the past practices of a society which professed to be Christian have created in the minds of men an odious association between the Christian dogmas and compulsion. This association still subsists when the state of things which gave rise to it has long since passed away; and I think it is behind a good deal of the language used in denouncing dogma. Yet it is well to realise that the compulsion is a thing of the past—at any rate, in the chief countries of Christendom. I have sometimes thought I saw in militant 'Rationalist' publications the assumption of a heroic air because they challenged the beliefs of Christians; but this is as ridiculous as it would be for anyone to think himself a hero if he went to-day and took up his station in one of the deserted trenches in Flanders. There was a time when it did require heroism to remain even for a short sequence of days in that place.

To-day the only kind of penalty which any of the Christian Churches imposes upon those who deny its dogmas is exclusion from the community, or, in the case of an accredited teacher, deprivation of his office. But it would be unreasonable to see in this any ground for grievance. So long as adherence to the society is a purely voluntary affair, every society has a perfect right to determine the conditions of membership. If you do not like the conditions, you need not join the society.

Of course it may often be that expulsion from some society does carry with it, in this or that individual case, considerable hardships. Certainly, when an accredited teacher derives his living from his office, to deprive him of it may be to confront him with the most painful penury. This applies to many clergymen. But it is hard to see how the evil can possibly be avoided, so long as you have an order of teachers who live by their teaching. Supposing some Rationalist Society gave a man a salary as

ecturer with the task of proving that the dogmas of Christianity were false, one could not expect it to go on paying him his salary f he began declaring in his lectures that he had become convinced that the Christian dogmas were true. The Rationalist Society could scarcely do anything else but deprive him of his job. And yet it might be a hard case; the man might have no other neans of earning a living, and have a wife and children to support. t is impossible to see how, with the best will in the world, you can ivoid hard cases of this kind, wherever men live by teaching a ertain view of the universe.

A little common-sense will, I think, obviate the confusion of hought often involved in the talk about liberty of research vithin the Church. It is one thing to say that a man ought to pursue research with complete freedom, and another thing to say hat he may remain an accredited teacher of a particular community, whatever conclusions he comes to. It is incumbent upon very ordained teacher, of any community, to study the problems of the universe with the simple desire to find out what is true. No Church has a right to hinder freedom of research in any way or any of its members; but it has a perfect right to tell them, if hey arrive at certain conclusions, that they cannot continue to be members of the society, or to be its accredited teachers.

The real difficulty, in the case of all societies which exist to naintain a certain view of the world, arises from two factors which nust be plainly recognised. One factor is that wherever you have . large number of people banded together in virtue of certain ommon beliefs, you will hardly find any two of them whose views bsolutely, and in every point, coincide. You will find a general ommunity of belief as to certain things of outstanding importance, but on other minor matters a greater or less variety and divergence. t may therefore become a very difficult practical problem for a ociety to determine what the essential things are upon which it s bound to require agreement from all its members, and what are hings upon which men can hold diverse views without forfeiting heir right of membership. That is one factor, and the other factor s that any society existing through a series of generations is bound o be affected by the changes which take place in the thoughts nd opinions of the world; modifications of the original dogmas re certain to be suggested by this or that member of the society, which may or may not be ultimately adopted by the society enerally, become either part of the common beliefs of the society, r at any rate one of the permissible variations. This raises the roblem how far a society can change its dogmas and continue to epresent itself as the same society. Where the society possesses ands or holds property, this problem may even come into the ivil courts, as was seen in the case of the Free Church of Scotland.

I do not know whether any Christian body goes farther in the direction of variety than the Church of England. It includes within its communion an extraordinary diversity of types of belief, and many of its accredited teachers contradict each other's views every Sunday from its pulpits without authority intervening to suppress either one or the other. The Church of England is in this way the least dogmatic of communions, and people who dislike dogma ought to regard this state of things as more satisfactory than that found in any other communion, unless it were the Congregationalist. And certainly this state of things has its advantages. But it also has its disadvantages. It is exceedingly hard to say what the essential dogmas of the Church of England are. It is not much use looking at its formularies, for its formularies are understood in so different a sense by different sections of the Church that they are little guide as to its real beliefs. I mean by its real beliefs those beliefs as to which, in spite of all diversity, all members of the Church, or all its accredited teachers, are bound to agree.

When we speak of anyone being compelled to profess belief in certain dogmas on the pain of forfeiting his membership in the society, it must be recognised that this compulsion, so far as its lay adherents go, takes, in the Church of England, as mild a form as it is possible to conceive. This Church leaves it, without any scrutiny, to the conscience of each member to say whether he is qualified to be a member or not. It prescribes that he shall, before partaking of the communal sacrament, repeat with the other communicants the creed commonly described as the 'Nicene,' but it is left to the conscience of each individual to say whether the construction he puts upon that formulary comes within the variations permissible in the society or not. One might, in order to discover the real dogmas of the community, look rather at the beliefs which it requires from its accredited teachers. And as to this, only experiment in practice, I think, shows the outlines of its central body of beliefs. If any teacher puts forward beliefs for which the communal authorities deprive him of his office, there you have a demonstration of what the Church as such teaches. When an Anglo-Catholic uses the phrase 'what the Church teaches' he means what the Church of England ought to teach, what it would always teach if it were faithful to its vocation. When, however, we speak of the Church of England as an organised society, existing here and now, what it actually does teach can, so far as I can see, be only the things which no accredited teacher may deny without forfeiting his office. And, with the immense range of permissible variation in the community and the gradual changes in thought, I see no way of determining what the essential teaching of the Church at any moment is, except by observing

what beliefs, as a matter of fact, it does not suffer its accredited teachers to deny. It is like feeling the shape of something in the dark: you only discover its outlines by encountering resistance.

As a general proposition it is quite easy to see that a society such as a Church has to find a line somewhere between the two evils—of indefiniteness on the one hand and dogmatic narrowness on the other. But controversies immediately arise when you try to draw the line. The real problem before the Churches to-day relates not to dogma in the abstract, but to the particular dogmas which they are going to take as essential It is perfectly idle to advance general propositions to the effect that the Church must be broad-minded in allowing liberty of research and variety within its communion, or that it must contend uncompromisingly for the essentials of the faith once delivered to the saints The real problems relate to the particular dogmas—it may be the Virgin Birth, or the material resurrection, or the two natures of Christ; and each problem must be considered on its own merits and cannot be disposed of by any general statements as to the importance of free thought, or the importance of dogmatic clearness. Is this or that particular dogma true or not? And if it is true, is it one of the central truths as to which the Church must require agreement from all its members or from all its accredited teachers? Those are the really crucial problems.

A body of belief is something, as has been said, which undergoes change, as the thoughts of men generally change. It is vain to think you can stereotype it absolutely by any formularies. For every formulary means in practice just what the general opinion of the society wants it to mean, and where the general opinion of the society undergoes change the words of the formulary may remain unaltered, but their value has become different. Even in the Roman Church, which lays such stress on the immutability of the original faith once delivered to the saints, it is quite certain that a large number of educated Roman Catholics to-day attach conceptions to the old forms of words which would have been strange or shocking to Dante or to Gregory the Great. Of course they would say that these changes of belief do not affect the essential nucleus of the faith; that remains unaltered and unalterable. But something of the same kind is said by every Modernist in every community. No Modernist would belong to a community at all unless he believed that its essential beliefs were true, and any Modernist contends, when he wishes to do away with some traditional belief, that the beliefs which he leaves undisturbed include everything which is essential.

It is perfectly true that if there is any progress of knowledge, this means permanence as well as change. Progress is not pure change. That would lead nowhere. Progress is a combination of

change and permanence; it implies an identity—if of nothing else, at any rate of direction. In all changes of religious thought, therefore, if they really are an advance in knowledge, something remains the same through all the change. If we can imagine St. Paul, raised again with precisely the beliefs and mental outlook which he had when he went to martyrdom, discussing religion with some representative of modern Christianity, let us say the Dean of the great Cathedral in London which bears St. Paul's own name, St. Paul would discover that many things which he believed to be literal facts past or future—the story, for instance, of the fall of Adam, or the return of the Lord upon the clouds—the modern Christian regarded as mythical. But the modern Christian would assure St. Paul that, for all that, he held firmly to the essential core in St. Paul's message. Whether he would be able to convince St. Paul that the beliefs he discarded did not matter, one cannot say; but, at any rate, the modern Christian himself would be quite convinced he was able to discern in St. Paul's message the element of enduring value, and that he had every right in consequence to profess himself a participator in the same faith as St. Paul's.

A new idea is not suddenly accepted by the whole community in a block. It is in the first instance the idea of one man, or of a small group, and only gradually the community is leavened. The emergence of a new idea in a community brings a problem both to all the individual members who come in contact with it and to the authorities of the community. It does not follow that it is true because it is new. It may quite well be false. The salvation of communities has sometimes depended on their rejecting the ideas started by individuals, or by groups. It was vital to the Church, for instance, in the early days to throw out the virus of Gnosticism. It may be that some of the ideas put forth to-day as new light, or more up-to-date knowledge, are false, and would paralyse the witness of the Church if they came to prevail. Nothing can determine whether they are true or false except an examination of each new idea upon its own merits. All individual members who come in contact with a new idea which would modify the existing tradition of the community must judge, according to their best lights, whether it is true or false. But there are, of course, special problems for those in the community who have authority to control the teaching given by its accredited organs. If they believe that the new idea in question is true their course is fairly simple. A problem of administration may indeed arise if large numbers of the more conservative members of the community believe it to be false. The authorities are bound to secure a place for the new idea, which they believe to be true, but not essential, in that zone of things, as to which contradictory views

are permitted within the community, and there may be intractable protests from conservative quarters against according the new idea such a place. There may even be the possibility of a large secession. But a much more difficult and delicate problem arises for the authorities if they believe the idea to be false. For they have then to determine if the error involved in it is so grave that any accredited teacher maintaining it must be deprived of his office, or whether the idea, though false, is to be regarded as a permissible variation. Problems of this kind are bound to arise for *any* community based on a particular view of the universe. Such problems are before the Church of England and all other Christian Churches at the present day. And they can be solved only by an examination of each idea or belief on its own merits, not by any vague attack on ' dogma ' in the abstract. A society for religious inquiry may exist without dogmas, but a Church cannot exist without some common beliefs

EDWYN BEVAN.

VICARAGE HOUSES IN RELATION TO CLERICAL POVERTY

WITH the rise in the cost of living during the last years of the war the problem of clerical poverty, always with us—always, that is to say, with those of us who trouble about such things—reached an acute stage. There was no rise in the incomes of the beneficed clergy to meet high prices, as in the case of men in business and in some professions; on the contrary, when matters were at their worst the passing of the Tithe Act of 1918 kept clerical incomes down. The next few years saw a number of attempted palliatives. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners gave a war grant to benefices of which the income was under 340*l.*; diocesan schemes were set on foot for raising stipends to a minimum, usually of 250*l.* for unbeneficed and 400*l.* for beneficed clergy; but the figure of 400*l.* has not yet been reached for all incomes in any diocese.

Another feature of the problem which must tend to add to the difficulty in the future is the change which is taking place in the personnel of the ministry. The laity of the last generation were accustomed to clergy who possessed private means. This condition of things has been changing gradually, and the change has hardly been realised, but there is now an immediate prospect of its becoming very rapid. The large majority of candidates for holy orders who began their training since the war are men without any means of their own. The clergy of the future will have to live on their professional incomes. The new ordinands also differ in another way—they have not been accustomed to the same style of living as the old. The present time is opportune for taking into consideration the scale of expenditure required of the clergy, and it will be found that this, rather than the smallness of the income, is at the root of the problem of their poverty. The vicarage house has so far escaped notice, or been deliberately disregarded. The real trouble is not that the clergy have insufficient to live upon, but that a certain scale of expenditure is demanded from them and that their income bears no proportion to the demand. Bishops have done their best to make this clear in their own case. Whenever anybody thoughtlessly resuscitates

the old complaint about the 'fatal opulence of bishops,' one of them immediately replies that three, four, or five thousand a year does not mean opulence when one is obliged to live in a large house and has very heavy expenses. That is perfectly true, and it is equally true that the clergy are poor men, not so much because their incomes are small, as they undoubtedly are, but because they have to live in houses which are too expensive in proportion to the income.

Present-day vicarages belong to an epoch when it was assumed that the ministry would be recruited from one class, and when the house in which a man lived was some indication of his social rank. In the country the parson was a smaller edition of the squire—they were naturally thought of together, 'parson and squire': sometimes they were combined in a single individual, the 'squarson'; much the same sort of things were expected of both—their manner of living, their occupations, their charities. Nowadays they are both under the same cloud. The manor house is sold or let, and the squire is living in the dower house or is gone altogether; the size of a man's house is no longer even remotely related to his rank or position. The whole question of vicarages needs reconsideration from a strictly utilitarian point of view.

To begin with, it is essential to have a clear idea of what is being aimed at. What are we to regard as satisfactory conditions of life for the clergy?

In the first place, no one would desire the priesthood to be so remunerative as to tempt men without vocation to adopt it as a profession—not that, as things are at present, there is much fear of that. Honest poverty is no disgrace, and in these post-war days carries with it no social disability. On the other hand, a priest should be free from financial care not of his own making, and be able to give himself wholly to the duties of his calling. His wife, if he has one, should not be so much burdened with household duties that she has no choice as to the disposal of her time. She should not be obliged as a matter of course to undertake parochial duties. She will almost always do so of her own accord; but in no other profession is a man's wife expected to act as her husband's assistant without wages. Further, a clergyman should be able to bring up his children in his own station of life. If a man is called to the priesthood, it is too much to expect that he should not be able to accept the call unless on the understanding that his children must sink to the next lower step in the social scale.

These conditions are scarcely ever to be found except in cases where the man is not dependent on his professional income. How far they fail of realisation will be seen if a typical case is taken and considered.

An average vicarage consists of three living-rooms and six

bedrooms, with, in the country, from a half to three-quarters of an acre of garden. A clear 400*l.* a year is accounted a good income. An establishment of this kind would not be looked at by a layman, unless he were prepared to spend at least double the 400*l.* of the clergyman, and probably more. To keep up such a house two good indoor servants will be required, and at the lowest estimate their wages will amount to 50*l.* a year for the two. The garden will require three days' work a week at least to keep it presentable, and the cost of this will amount to another 60*l.* a year. Out of the 400*l.* a year there is more than a quarter gone in wages alone. And this scale assumes that if there are young children their mother will take entire charge of them herself. As expenditure on this scale cannot possibly be faced, what happens is that the man looks after the garden himself, after a fashion, and does odd jobs in the house, at the expense either of his parish work or his reading, and his wife employs only one maid, and herself does the work of a domestic servant. And if the income is much under 400*l.*, as it frequently is, it will mean that there is no domestic help at all, and the whole of the work of the house falls on the wife. If there are children of an age to be educated, the difficulty is increased again; if, on the other hand, there is a grown-up daughter at home, things may be a little easier. It must be remembered, too, that a much smaller income is often combined with a much larger house, that the family consists of four or more children, that the garden is larger, and so on.

All this involves a wholesale departure from the standard with which we started. The priest is not free to give his whole time to his work, and his work suffers. His wife becomes a domestic drudge. Yet these are the conditions with which the majority of the clergy are wrestling. They are attempting an impossible task. No woman, however willing and energetic, can do single-handed the work of the house described above and keep it as it ought to be kept. The most she can do is to manage it for a limited period at a certain sacrifice of health. The unkept gardens, the grubby and comfortless houses that one constantly comes across, tell their own tale. The state of things is bad for all concerned. It is the main cause of those cases of degeneration amongst the country clergy which are so deplorable. It is due to this that clergy and their wives who started life as educated and cultured people sometimes exhibit in their own persons the results of their hopeless struggle against odds. They are not to blame, but the system ought not to be tolerated for a day.

It is no easy matter to get a thorough-going reform carried out in an institution like the Church of England. Official bodies look askance at any suggestion which invites them to depart from their

accustomed line of action. Experts are ready to trip you up with carefully manipulated statistics. Plausible objections are urged to any comprehensive dealing with the problem, and in favour of questionable and partial alleviations. Here are some of them. A great deal of money is being spent in augmenting stipends, and this is gradually effecting all that is necessary. It is often quite impossible to dispose of very large houses. Where it is possible, a good deal is already being done locally to improve matters. The majority of applications received by Queen Anne's Bounty are for permission to increase, and not to diminish, the size of vicarages. The new Dilapidations Measure provides all the machinery which is necessary for bringing about a better state of things.

It is true that in some districts it is not possible to dispose of large houses. But it would often be to the advantage of the benefice in the long run to treat it as not possessing a vicarage—to pull down the existing house and start fresh; this is the kind of suggestion which the official mind views with horror. Nevertheless, it is worth serious consideration. It is also true that a certain amount is being done locally. This is notably the case in the diocese of Worcester, where a committee with the Dean of Worcester at its head is going far towards a successful solution of the clerical housing problem, and whose methods might well be adopted by other dioceses. What the Dilapidations Measure will achieve remains to be seen; all that it appears to be able to do is the useful operation just referred to—that is, to rebuild a house instead of repairing it.

Applications to Queen Anne's Bounty for grants towards enlargement of houses only show that there are some clergy who are possessed of ample means, and who think of adapting their present benefices to their own tastes. It is an easy matter for a clergyman to exchange his benefice for one with a larger house, and to facilitate such exchanges, and so provide for wealthy men, should be part of any comprehensive scheme. It would be iniquitous for Queen Anne's Bounty to permit enlargements. This has been done in the past on a large scale, and has contributed to the present position.

There remains the statement that matters can be improved by the augmentation of stipends. This sounds plausible enough, but is really entirely misleading. Take the case of a benefice of 400*l.* and a house which requires 600*l.* for its proper upkeep—by no means an unusual state of things. To adjust this by means of augmentation will require a capital sum of about 5000*l.* Augmentation on such a scale is out of the question. Augmentations of stipend are made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners either on the basis of population or in proportion to what can be raised

locally. The population basis takes no account of the maintenance expenses of the vicarage, except to assume that those expenses are greater in town than in the country, which is the very reverse of the truth. In towns there is water and light laid on; in the country the provision of these necessaries involves more work and increased expense. In towns, shops, railway and motor omnibuses are handy; in the country some means of transport must be provided. Taking as our aim the approximation of stipends to the necessary scale of expenditure, or *vice versâ*, it obviously cannot be reached by a system of augmentation alone, and certainly not by the present method of the Commissioners.

The first and most necessary step in the process of reform must be the establishment of a new type of vicarage for the smaller livings. It may not be generally known that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners do not permit the building of houses under a certain size, *no matter how small the income of a benefice may be.* What is needed is a house far smaller than the smallest house sanctioned by the Commissioners in exceptional cases. If it could be safely assumed that the minimum income of 400*l.* would shortly be reached for all benefices the problem would be simplified; but the 300*l.* or even 250*l.* a year living is still with us. A benefice held by me some years ago is a case in point. The income is a little over 200*l.*; a cottage rented at 12*l.* a year did duty for a vicarage, and before the war a married incumbent without children could live comfortably on the income. It is now proposed to build a vicarage to the Commissioners' requirements with three reception and six bed rooms at a cost of about 2400*l.* The effect will be to make it impossible for an incumbent without private means to live there in comfort or even decency.

What is needed is a house that can be worked without servants, or at the most with occasional daily help, and the working of which will not put any great burden on the incumbent and his wife. There would be one large living-room, combined with the entrance-hall, and containing the staircase. There would have to be a small study. The kitchen would also be the dining-room. The main difficulty of doing without servants is connected with the serving of meals, and this work is immensely lightened by serving the meal in the same place where it is cooked. Having meals in the kitchen is a departure from the conventional standard of gentility, but some departure from convention must be made, and few of the clergy are at present drawn from the class which would be most concerned about a detail of this kind. If some of the future wives of the new candidates for the ministry are inclined to look upon marriage with a clergyman as a step up in the social scale, and to have hankerings after 'gentility,' the

sooner they are cured of it the better for all concerned. The house would have three bedrooms, which would be sufficient for a married man with two children, and leave a spare room for occasional use. There would be an electric plant for light and pumping. Queen Anne's Bounty do not favour private electric lighting plants for vicarages, mainly on account of the risk of deterioration during a long vacancy; but no other lighting system gets over the difficulty of pumping water. There would be hot water laid on in the bedrooms—not a great expense if it is done at the time the house is built. There would be a small garden just sufficient to give the house a tidy and attractive appearance, and which could be kept in order without difficulty in spare time.

A prominent member of the Board of Queen Anne's Bounty, in criticism of this cottage vicarage, remarked that 'the best type of man would not consent to live in a workman's cottage.' To this the answer is that the house described above is very far removed from a workman's cottage, and that the wives of many of the clergy are at present doing all their own housework under nothing like such comfortable conditions. Any clergyman who elects to live in a large house which he cannot afford for the sake of appearances, and who is willing to subject his wife to the worry and discomfort and hard work which it entails, can certainly not be described as 'the best type of man.' The smaller livings with these small houses would for the most part be held by the younger men as their first benefice. In due time, as families increased in size, they would under a proper system be advanced to benefices with a larger income and a larger house.

This supposes a new classification of livings, adequate machinery for the disposal of existing houses, and some modification of tenure which would make it more easy to move clergy from one parish to another. Obviously this could not be accomplished all at once, but when it is remembered how much the Church Assembly has been able to get done in less than six years it does not seem at all impossible of achievement within a comparatively short time. What is needed to begin with is that this, or something like it, should be accepted as an ideal to which to work. Up to the present the vicarage has been left altogether out of account. Once let it be recognised that it is not always necessary for the clergy to live in the style of the lesser landed gentry before the war, and that it is most undesirable for them to live in a style which is quite beyond their income, and there are no insuperable difficulties in the way of a gradual and fairly rapid change.

There is not at present in existence any classification of vicarages according to their size, their relation to the income of the benefice, and their estimated cost of upkeep. Information under the first two heads would not be difficult to obtain. The

estimated cost of living in a particular house is a more complicated matter. The kind of details which would be required are—(*a*) the number of stairs and the amount of space apart from rooms (if any male reader doubts the importance of this in connection with the running expenses of a house, let him reverse the apostolic injunction and 'ask his wife at home'); (*b*) to what extent labour-saving appliances are available; (*c*) whether there is a public supply of electric light or gas; (*d*) whether water has to be pumped by hand; (*e*) the distance from shops and railway station; (*f*) the character of the neighbourhood, and whether there are special circumstances which increase the cost of living—whether it is necessary for the incumbent to maintain a certain class of establishment.

Now here is a revolutionary proposal. This sort of information could never be got from the clergy by correspondence. They are called upon as it is, *ad nauseam*, to make returns on all sorts of subjects, and these everlasting questionnaires are already suspected to be a means of obtaining an indirect contribution towards the cost of lighting fires in episcopal palaces. Yet another of a still more intimate character would not be well received. The most satisfactory way to collect information from the clergy is in a personal interview. In every rural deanery there are one or two clergy who have some means of getting about, motor cycle or car, and with their help and a minimum of organisation the business could be carried through in the inside of a fortnight. The main objection to it is that it is not the usual way, and this is a powerful argument to some minds. The next step would be to grade the parishes in some such manner as the following.

1. Parishes which are exceptional in character. (*a*) Mother parishes of large towns which it is essential should be held by men of some standing. (*b*) Parishes where an unmarried vicar is advisable, and where the clergy would live in a clergy house. (*c*) Parishes, for instance in the West End of London, where it is advisable for the vicar to live in much the same style as the people to whom he ministers. (*d*) A limited number of parishes with very large houses which could be kept for the present for the decreasing number of wealthy men in the priesthood.

2. Parishes in which conditions are satisfactory—that is, where the incumbent can live on the income of the benefice, in the vicarage house, with a reasonable degree of comfort.

3. Parishes which could be made satisfactory by augmentation of the stipend, or by the alteration and modernising of the vicarage.

4. Parishes which would require an augmentation of income of 50 to 100 per cent. or more before the house could be maintained on the income. These are the cases in which the house

must be got rid of somehow, even if it has to be pulled down. This is nothing like so wild or costly an expedient as it sounds. At the worst the cost of demolition and the sale of materials would balance. Taking the capital cost of a moderate augmentation of stipend if the old house had been allowed to remain, and adding to it the difference (capitalised) between the rates on the old house and the new and the difference in the annual contribution under the Dilapidations Measure, and you have gone a good way towards the cost of building the cottage vicarage.

Modification of tenure, which would facilitate movement from one benefice to another, is a far more difficult matter. Other reforms are closely connected with it—the revision of Church Law and the Ecclesiastical Courts, the method of making appointments to the Episcopate; and it is not likely that the House of Clergy of the Church Assembly will consent to any modification of the freehold until such other questions are settled and they can see a clear road ahead. A great deal can be done in the meantime, and under the existing tenure clergy will not decline to move from one parish to another if the move is obviously to their advantage. The common complaint is not that they are too often uprooted, but that they are not given the opportunity to move as much as they would like.

The glebe house, in the minds of present day Englishmen, is associated with the identification of the clergy with the gentry and with the thought of the Church of England as a class organisation. This association of idea by no means represents accurate history. If during the last century it had some foundation of fact, it has none to-day. But there is still a widespread feeling in ecclesiastical circles that the vicarage house represents a standard which ought not to be departed from, that it is bound up with the dignity of the clerical profession, with its social status and prestige, and so forth. And this although there is not the remotest chance of the clergy being able in the future to live up to it. It is far wiser to recognise facts. The need of the future for the Church of England is a priesthood wholeheartedly devoted to its sacred duty and doing its work with efficient thoroughness. There is no necessity for the ministry to be well paid, and, to do them justice, that is the last thing which the clergy desire. They knew when they were ordained that they had nothing to look forward to in that respect. They have, however, a right to expect that they will be allowed to do their work under conditions which enable them to produce work of the best quality. Some few men can work and be happy in a pigsty; most are dependent to some extent upon environment. The large, comfortless, ill-furnished rooms with inadequate fires, with an outlook on an untidy wilderness of garden, which is the common result of living in a house too

big for the income which goes with it, is not conducive to the best work. The knowledge that his wife is overworked, and is unprovided for in the future, or that he has round his neck a load of debt, still further detracts from a priest's all-round usefulness.

A small house and humble establishment involves no loss of social status or prestige. The commercial class in towns and in the neighbourhood of certain industrial centres where 'money talks' may occasionally, but not often, make mistakes, but the English peasantry and working people in general possess an unerring scent for breeding and will not be taken in, however large or small the establishment a clergyman keeps up.

It is not much use to look for a lead in this matter from the clergy in the Church Assembly. The House of Clergy consists of some 300 of the most well-to-do clerics in England. One third are dignitaries holding the better-paid posts. To hold the office of proctor, unless a man lives within easy reach of London, costs 50*l.* or 60*l.* a year or more. Only clergy who do not feel the pinch of clerical poverty can accept office. They are well aware of the facts, so well aware that they have ceased to be seriously perturbed by them. They would like to see things altered, but they have been brought up to dislike above all things taking strong and drastic action. Their disinclination to act is accentuated by their not liking to appear to be fighting for their own hand.

The laity, on the other hand, have the welfare of the clergy at heart. They are not so fully aware of the facts of the case, but they have a stronger and readier grasp of a subject from the business point of view, and when once facts are brought home to them they do not hesitate to act quickly and with decision. As is shown by the progress of the Pension Scheme, they are inclined to thrust upon the clergy what they consider is good for them, whether the clergy like it or not.

It is in the hope that the laity, inside the Church Assembly and without, will realise the need for immediate and strenuous action, and will get to work, that this article has been written.

H. Chalmer Bell.

THE ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

A Reply

In an article published in the September number of *The Nineteenth Century* Mr. L. F. Easterbrook reviews what he considers to be the failure of agricultural co-operation in England, and draws the conclusion that joint-stock companies are likely to provide farmers with the necessary business organisation which, he states, they have failed to secure through co-operative societies.

At the present time the methods of marketing agricultural produce in England are being reviewed with care both by the Government and by agriculturists, and it is important that all information given to the public on the subject should be accurate. It is, therefore, especially unfortunate that Mr. Easterbrook has not been more careful in his statements. Apart from matters concerning only English agriculture, to which it is intended in the main to confine this article, two misstatements by Mr. Easterbrook are so seriously misleading that they require correction. He states that 'in Ireland co-operation gained no ground so long as agriculturists had a landlord behind them.' The first Land Act to effect appreciably the conversion of Irish tenants into freeholders was the Irish Land Act of 1903. At that date the agricultural co-operative movement in Ireland was in its fourteenth year, and consisted of 840 agricultural co-operative societies with a combined annual turnover of one and a third million pounds.[1] The movement also had its non-trading headquarters in Dublin, and its own weekly paper, the *Irish Homestead*. During the five years immediately preceding the passing of the Irish Land Act of 1903 the number of agricultural societies increased threefold and their combined turnover was doubled.[1] During the five years immediately after the passing of the Act the corresponding increases were—in the number of societies, about 5 per cent. (from 840 to 881); and in turnover, about 70 per cent. (from one and a third to two and a quarter millions approximately).[1] Mr. Easter-

[1] *Vide* Report of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society for year ending March 1923, Table XIII., p 129.

brook's contention that agricultural co-operation cannot be expected under the landlord and tenant system therefore finds no support from the experiences of Ireland.

Later in his article, in support of his advocacy of joint-stock companies, Mr. Easterbrook writes, 'they exist in Canada, where our kinsmen have preserved the same love of individualism,' the inference being that Canadian farmers have not adopted co-operative methods.

The following extract from a speech made at a Conference of agricultural co-operators at the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, on July 29, 1924, will suffice to correct Mr. Easterbrook's interpretation of current Canadian methods. In moving the following resolution, which was subsequently carried unanimously by the conference,

> That a complete system of co-operative marketing of agricultural produce involving the group pooling and regulation of supplies is necessary if producers are to secure fair returns from their produce,

the Hon. Charles A. Dunning, Prime Minister of Saskatchewan, and formerly the first general manager of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, said:

> . . . You cannot go on year after year losing money on your farm and getting deeper into debt; there is only one end to that, your mortgagee will put you off. So half the farmers of Saskatchewan, more than half the farmers of Alberta, and nearly half the farmers of Manitoba have banded themselves together in what is called the Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited, for the purpose of marketing their wheat—they are not touching any other grain at present, just wheat. They bind themselves each one in an ironclad contract to turn over to the pool every bushel of wheat they produce for sale for the next five years. There is nothing in the contract regarding what the pool will pay them for it—that cannot be determined. The pool, composed of themselves, merely agrees in the contract to make an initial payment when the wheat is delivered, to sell all the wheat of all the farmers to the best advantage, and then to return to those producing it *pro rata* any balance remaining on hand over and above the initial payment. . . .[3]

Mr. Easterbrook has evidently not been closely associated with the agricultural co-operative movement in England, for his description of the two central federations of the movement is wholly inaccurate. First, he states that the Agricultural Organisation Society was 'created by the Government to educate the rural population in the potential benefits of agricultural co-operation.'

The facts are as follows. The Agricultural Organisation Society was established in 1901, by private enterprise, as a non-trading body for the promotion of better business methods among English farmers, especially in respect of the purchase of

[3] *Agricultural Co-operation in the British Empire*, p. 174: Survey and Report of Conference, 1924, issued by the Horace Plunkett Foundation (Routledge).

farm requirements. It was financed for seven years by private subscriptions and the affiliation fees of the agricultural co-operative societies which it caused to be established. The subscribed income of the society began in 1908 to be supplemented by State grants in respect of small holdings, and subsequently by grants made under the Development Act of 1909. Throughout its career of twenty-three years, however, the Agricultural Organisation Society was a voluntary organisation, independent of State control. By 1924 agricultural co-operative societies had become established in most parts of England, and a central propagandist body was no longer essential. Among the existing societies, those which were prosperous objected to subscribe to a central society, a chief function of which had become to advise the less efficient societies. The State also was not prepared to pay for such work, which, in a co-operative movement, ought to be self-supporting. While the foregoing circumstances were indicating to an increasing extent that the Agricultural Organisation Society had completed its work among farmers, an alternative organisation, the National Farmers' Union, had been steadily gaining ground. At the same time the Ministry of Agriculture, which for a long period had been active in the scientific and technical branches of agriculture, decided to develop its economic section by establishing a branch to deal with marketing and co-operative organisation.

Accordingly, in 1924 the Agricultural Organisation Society arranged to continue its work only in respect of allotments and small holdings.[3] Its activities in respect of farmers' co-operative societies were brought to an end, administrative and executive work being taken over by the National Farmers' Union, while the Ministry of Agriculture undertook the investigation of marketing and co-operative methods.

Mr. Easterbrook is equally incorrect in his description of the second central society of the agricultural co-operative movement, the Agricultural Wholesale Society. This he describes as 'a parent society' formed to buy in bulk for local affiliated societies, and as 'having done excellently so long as the war lasted.' The facts are that the Agricultural Wholesale Society was not established until 1918, the year in which the war terminated, and, far from being a parent society, it evolved by an exactly opposite process.

Every argument which can be used to cause farmers to pool their marketing by forming local co-operative societies applies with equal force to the societies as regards the federation of their

[3] The parent society was wound up, and a new society, consisting of the same personnel as the allotments and small holdings branch of the parent society, was registered as 'The Allotments Organisation Society.'

trading activities. It is of small advantage to eliminate from the first stage of marketing waste and inefficiency if these are allowed to continue in the further stages. Accordingly, in all co-operative movements there comes a time when it is to the advantage of local co-operative societies so to federate among themselves that their buying and selling can be pooled through one or more central wholesale institutions. It is, however, difficult to decide at exactly what moment, and in exactly what form, this second stage of a co-operative movement should be attempted.

In England the agricultural co-operative movement had developed mainly for the purchase of seeds, fertilisers, feeding-stuffs, and other farm requirements, and the chief type of local co-operative society had concentrated mainly upon this class of trading, each for an area approximating usually to that of a county It is to be expected, therefore, that the first form of central federation would be a wholesale society, which could buy in bulk the requirements of the local co-operative societies. The great agricultural activity caused by the war no doubt influenced the leaders of the agricultural co-operative movement when, in 1918, they decided to establish in London the Agricultural Wholesale Society. At that time all trading conditions were abnormal, and the new Wholesale joined in the post-war boom, only to find itself stranded in the subsequent slump among large stocks and falling markets, conditions which simultaneously were embarrassing the local societies and preventing them from giving the support in capital and trade of which their central federation was in dire need. The failure and closing of the Agricultural Wholesale Society in 1924 has been a serious blow to English agricultural co-operation, and it will take time for English farmers to appreciate that failure was due, not to the system of federated trade, but to the misjudgment of the conditions under which federation can be successfully attempted. It is desirable also to remember that the Agricultural Wholesale Society failed at a time when few established businesses were free from anxiety, and when failure overtook many of the younger joint-stock enterprises.

It will now be convenient to criticise Mr. Easterbrook's general conclusion, that joint-stock companies would provide farmers satisfactorily with the business organisation which they need. Here Mr. Easterbrook follows at least one distinguished agriculturist, who has recently confused the words 'co-operation' and 'combination.' It is true that, if English farmers are to retain their position as a prosperous part of modern society, they, like the members of all other industries, must combine in their business activities. Until they do so they cannot secure the efficient grading and regulation of supplies, and the economies in transport and management, which are essential to success in

modern markets. Mr. Easterbrook, however, attaches no importance to the manner in which combination is effected.

> After all, [he says] from the farmer's point of view, combination is the chief thing that is required to improve his conditions and remove inequalities of trading; . . . there is no reason why a system of joint-stock companies should not replace farmers' co-operative societies and secure identical benefits.

In order to judge the value of Mr. Easterbrook's opinion, it is necessary to note accurately the exact purposes for which it is proposed that agriculturists should combine, and the exact differences between joint-stock and co-operative organisation.

Agricultural prosperity depends upon good prices for good produce. For produce to be good and constantly improving it is increasingly necessary for the farmer in person to direct his farm. Under present conditions he devotes much time to buying and selling as an individual in local markets. In this he and his fellow-farmers are in competition, and so are driving prices against themselves. They know less of markets and prices, and have less experience of trading, than the traders with whom they deal, and in the majority of cases the trader inevitably gets the best of the bargain. Small-scale trading of this kind also does not permit agriculturists to buy their requirements upon favourable conditions, and it prevents the grading and regulation of their produce, which consequently is outclassed by the bulked and graded produce from overseas.

The social aspect of marketing by individual farmers has also lost much of its charm. The isolation of the farm, which formerly was only relieved by market day in the market town, has been removed. Wireless installations now connect the farmer hourly with the outside world, while motor cars enable him to spend his leisure where and with whom he pleases. The telephone, also, is steadily making its way into rural areas. In fact, the old-fashioned market-day and the old-fashioned method of marketing have both outlived their usefulness. The former is already being superseded. The latter needs urgently to be replaced by a system which will secure for the farmer three things—first, effective control over wholesale marketing; second, a full reward for his skill as a producer, through more favourable net prices; and third, relief from the regular waste of time involved hitherto in local marketing.

Which alternative system of organisation, joint-stock or co-operative, is the more likely to achieve these objects?

Joint-stock companies have proved invaluable for organising vast quantities of scattered savings for use in bulk as capital. Many important enterprises, possessing no initial capital or credit of their own, and which otherwise could not have been promoted, owe their success to joint-stock finance. Joint-stock companies,

also, have proved a convenient form of speculative investment for all classes of investors.

Joint-stock investors, however, have only one constant interest in their companies—the receipt of the highest dividends consistent with the security of capital; their one problem is how far additional risk to capital may be taken in order to increase income. Hardly ever have they any personal interest in the business of their company, and they will normally transfer their money from one company to another if thereby they can gain any pecuniary advantage.

These characteristics of the joint-stock company, which make it so suitable for speculators and for speculative enterprises, make it equally unsuitable for agricultural business. Agriculturists seldom have need for special investment facilities, for, as a body, they have no surplus money for investment outside their land. Landowners have sunk the bulk of their capital in the improvement of their land, and require as income and for estate expenses the small rate of interest which they receive in the form of rent. Farmers, similarly, require all their capital for stocking their farms, and for meeting current expenses pending the sale of their produce. Far from requiring external facilities for investment, agriculturists normally suffer from having inadequate capital for the full development of their land. It is not surprising, therefore, that they have hitherto been content to leave to others the organisation and financing of most marketing operations.

Almost as intelligible, and equally unfortunate, is the failure of the mass of English consumers to make any attempt to deal directly with producers. Being for the most part busy town-dwellers, consumers have been content, provided that they could get what they wanted where and when they pleased, to pay for their food whatever prices the shops demanded.

The two classes chiefly concerned in agricultural business, being thus too poor on the one side and too much occupied on the other to attempt direct dealings, have created a perfect atmosphere for the growth of middlemen. And it is to the credit of middlemen that they have exploited this situation to the full. They have wedged themselves firmly into every crevice between producer and consumer, and have organised themselves with increasing efficiency on the principle of paying to the producer the least that he will take while continuing to produce and charging to the consumer the most that he will pay while continuing to buy. The admirable reports issued in 1924 by the Linlithgow Committee, on the Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce, show clearly the serious evils of the middleman situation.

The Linlithgow Committee, however, puts upon middlemen some of the blame for their excessive development and for their

comparatively large profits. The middlemen, however, cannot justly be blamed. They have merely developed themselves to a high stage of efficiency for the system of bargain-making, to which our civilisation has so much devoted itself, and they necessarily and justly score heavily off producers and consumers, who, while equally anxious to make good bargains, have made no attempt to organise for the purpose.

In the early days of trade, when all communications were primitive, an enterprising class of middlemen, to connect widely separated producers and consumers, was a valuable factor of trade organisation. Modern communications, however, now permit of such quick and frequent contact between producers and consumers the world over, that the *rôle* of the middleman is changing from that of a valuable connecting link into that of an expensive obstacle. The present disadvantages of middlemen are to be overcome, however, not by criticising their efficient organisation for separating producers and consumers, but by so organising producers and consumers that they can inter-trade directly, and thus gradually divide between them the necessary work of distribution. In this process middlemen would slowly be absorbed.

Leaving aside, as outside the scope of this article, any further reference to the important matter of organising the buyers and consumers of foodstuffs, we can return to the other half of the problem, the organisation of the producers and sellers. To form joint-stock companies would make the agriculturist's position worse than ever, for he would merely exchange control by trading middlemen for control by speculating shareholders. These would snap up shares in all the more remunerative parts of marketing and leave the farmer to finance the rest. Not only so, but the directors of the suggested joint-stock companies would necessarily have to secure as big dividends as possible for their shareholders, and so would perpetuate, in a more severe and impersonal form, the old middleman evil of paying the producer the least that he would take. 'The devil you know is better than the devil you don't know,' and agriculturists would be wise to cling affectionately to the existing middlemen were the only alternative a class of financial speculators. Fortunately for agriculturists, co-operative societies provide another and a satisfactory alternative.

Whereas in a joint-stock company membership usually is open to anyone who can afford to pay for shares, in a co-operative society there normally is, and there always should be, required also some form of undertaking that the member will support the society by trading through it. Even where no such condition is made, a second characteristic of the co-operative society safeguards

it against the entry of speculating shareholders. Whereas in a joint-stock company interest on share capital increases with the prosperity of the business, and a shareholder may buy as many shares as he can get, in a co-operative society interest is normally fixed at some low percentage corresponding with the yield of trustee securities, and shareholding is restricted to a maximum of 200*l*. No speculator, therefore, could possibly desire to become a shareholder in a co-operative society. As a result, in an agricultural co-operative society membership in practice is confined to agriculturists. The first great advantage of the co-operative society over the joint-stock company as applied to agricultural business is that control, which is the possession of shareholders, remains in the hands of agriculturists.

As regards the second object of the farmer's trading organisation, to secure for him a just reward for his skill as a producer, again the suitability of the co-operative society and the unsuitability of the joint-stock company are apparent. In a joint-stock company most profit goes to the member who holds the most shares, regardless of whether or not he has done any trading with the company. In a co-operative society, on the contrary, the net savings upon purchases and the net profits upon sales are distributed among shareholders, not in proportion to their shares, but in proportion to the trade which they have individually effected through the society. That is to say, the society arranges to pay its expenses, and then hands over to its members, in their just proportions, all the financial advantages resulting from pooled business.

If, for the reasons just stated, agriculturists reject joint-stock organisation, can they, in the absence of adequate spare funds of their own, raise by other means the necessary capital? Here comes into play one of the few substantial advantages which agriculture possesses over other industries. The landowner in the actual value of his land and the farmer in the potential value of his growing crops and stock possess ample credit of the highest class for financing marketing operations. All that is needed is so to organise this credit that it can be accepted by bankers or the State as security for loans. This object could not be achieved under joint-stock organisation. For the members of a joint-stock company are constantly changing, their residences may be widely scattered, and their possessions, other than their shares, are unlikely to be known. An agricultural co-operative society, on the other hand, consists of residents in the same locality, who are known personally to each other and to the local banks. As soon as they have registered their society they can always provide some form of personal guarantees for loans which bankers will accept. Where, as in India to-day, the co-operative organisation

of credit has to be undertaken among small and uneducated peasants of little substance, unlimited liability for loans is imposed upon members—that is, each member is individually responsible for the whole loan, and the State or bank thus covers its loans by a multitude of small and weak guarantees instead of by a few strong ones. In proportion as the standard of farms and farmers rises, so can be reduced the individual responsibility of collective borrowers. Under English conditions, unlimited liability is wholly unsuitable and unnecessary. The organised pooling, through a co-operative society, of the produce of a group of English farms will of itself provide ample security for a substantial loan. Where, as in the case of a society needing costly buildings and equipment, the capital assets do not represent adequate credit, the banks will usually make supplementary loans, secured upon the collective or individual guarantees of members. Reliance upon individual guarantors is desirable only to a distinctly limited extent, and in most cases should be replaced by State loans. The extent and desirability of a co-operative credit system based upon State loans, however, cannot be determined until agriculturists have fully organised their own resources and can estimate with accuracy what further capital is needed. The principle of a State-aided credit scheme for agriculture has repeatedly been approved by Parliament, and there is little doubt that any British Government would advance the funds required to finance a scheme which agriculturists can show to be sound and necessary. There is also little doubt that in this way agriculturists would obtain supplementary capital far more cheaply than by any attempt to attract the investing public through joint-stock methods.

Theoretically, therefore, it is evident that co-operative societies can provide agriculturists with an efficient system of marketing which would automatically remain under their own control, and which would reward each farmer according to his skill as a producer. It is equally evident that neither of these essential results can be expected from combinations registered as joint-stock companies.

How far is this theoretical comparison supported by practical experience in England? Joint-stock companies for agricultural business have been tried in England on a considerable scale, but have tended to disappear.[4] The most conspicuous example has been 'The British Produce Supply Association,' which was established in 1896 by Lord Winchilsea as a limited liability company with a capital of 50,000*l.*, and which finally failed in 1900.

While Lord Winchilsea's joint-stock experiment had been working out its negative results, a combination of circumstances

[4] *Vide The Co-operative Purchase of Agricultural Requisites*, p. 1, issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1925.

had been directing agricultural attention towards co-operative methods. In 1891 the Central Chamber of Agriculture appointed a Committee to search for some relief from agricultural depression through the co-operative purchase of requirements; and in 1896 a second Committee was appointed to explore the possibilities of the co-operative sale of produce. Across the Channel the Danish farmers were already building up a co-operative organisation, which has since become so widely appreciated; while in Ireland since 1889 Sir Horace Plunkett and his supporters had been successfully developing their rural reforms on the motto of 'Better farming, better business, better living,' and starting with co-operative organisation for better business.

For sixty years, also, the co-operative movement among consumers in the English and Scotch towns had been successfully developing from the initial efforts of the twenty-eight Rochdale pioneers.

This combination of circumstances caused English agriculturists to establish in 1901, as stated previously, a central co-operative propagandist body, the Agricultural Organisation Society for England and Wales, taking as their model the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, which since 1894 had been directing the Irish movement. Similar societies were established in Scotland in 1905, and in Wales in 1922. In all four countries, although the co-operative turnover is still only a small fraction of the total agricultural turnover, substantial progress has been made. The last statistics published for England by the Agricultural Organisation Society were for 1922, when there were 255 local agricultural co-operative societies with a combined turnover of about 11,000,000*l*. Of this turnover, about one-half arose from sales of produce and one-half from the purchase of requirements. For Wales in 1922 the co-operative turnover was approximately 1,250,000*l*. in the purchase of requirements, and 250,000*l*. in sales of produce.

The figures for co-operative sales of produce in England and Wales in 1923-24, recently published by the Ministry of Agriculture [5] indicate a total turnover of slightly under 5,000,000*l*., distributed among 181 societies, and made up as follows:

	£
Live stock	1,457,000
Dairy produce	1,448,000
Bacon factories and slaughter-houses .	1,110,000
Eggs and poultry	349,000
Fruit and vegetables	302,000
Wool	200,000
Total	£4,866,000

[5] *The Co-operative Marketing of Agricultural Produce in England and Wales*, p. 176.

The corresponding figures issued by the Ministry [6] for the purchase of requirements are 193 societies, with a combined annual turnover of 8,203,000*l*.

The Agricultural Organisation Society also succeeded in organising over 100,000 small-holders and allotment-holders in over 800 societies, and these, especially in the case of allotments, are both vigorous in themselves and are steadily federating in large groups, each centred upon one of the big towns. They are also maintaining their central office and their journal. Although the combined turnover of these societies is only about 170,000*l*., and they therefore do not constitute a serious factor of co-operative trade, their value to agriculturists is very great. Being for the most part townsmen by profession, the allotment-holders have made the cultivation of the soil their chief hobby, and in this they are working upon co-operative lines. No better connecting link between country and town could be desired. English customs and English legislation must necessarily be guided mainly by the large urban majority in the population. The more that urban dwellers take to co-operative gardening, the greater will be the chance of a full understanding of the agricultural minority, and of sympathy and help in its marketing problems.

As a result of twenty-four years' work the English agricultural co-operative movement can thus point to about 100,000 [7] agriculturists organised in 374 societies, with an annual trade of 8,000,000*l*. in purchases and of 5,000,000*l* in sales of produce, and to another 100,000 small-holders and allotment-holders organised in 800 societies, which are rapidly federating in groups.

Very great indirect advantages from the co-operative movement have also been derived by farmers, both inside and outside the movement In many instances the starting of co-operative purchase by farmers has caused the lowering of traders' prices; and the fact that an agricultural co-operative society exists in a district is a constant factor in stabilising prices. These facts explain the strong and natural hostility which traders have so frequently shown towards new co-operative societies.[8]

It must be a matter of opinion, therefore, whether or not these results can accurately be called a failure, due regard being paid to the difficulties caused by the war, by the acute agricultural

[6] *The Co-operative Purchase of Agricultural Requisites*, p 103.

[7] As many farmers belong to more than one society, the total number of agricultural co-operators can only be estimated.

[8] *E.g.*, the co-operative smithies, recently established by farmers in Aberdeenshire, have to send to England for their materials, as they are boycotted by the traders of their own country. They have nevertheless been able to reduce substantially the farmers' costs in horse-shoeing and in implement repairs, and they are already contemplating the manufacture of a standard pattern of plough.

depression at both the beginning and the end of the period, and by the intense opposition raised against new co-operative societies by established businesses.

In making the foregoing case for co-operative as against joint-stock organisation in agricultural business it is not implied that past experiences in the co-operative movement have been wholly satisfactory. Many of the serious defects of the movement, which Mr. Easterbrook has pointed out, can, however, be traced to the circumstances under which the co-operative movement was started. It was then definitely a movement directed and financed by public-spirited persons to help agriculture, and especially the smaller agriculturists, through bad times. Hence it became a habit to ask persons to support the movement rather as a favour, and the same atmosphere extended to the enrolment of members in many of the societies. This was most unfortunate. Not only did it tend to keep out the more substantial farmers, who had a wholesome dislike of appearing to be helped, but it also prevented a society from imposing upon its members those conditions which it was entitled to impose and which were essential to success. The absence of definite contracts, whereby members bound themselves to give to their society the whole of their trade, or a stated minimum quantity of trade, for a reasonable and stated period, has been the main cause of nearly all the financial trouble of the movement. The pools of produce, which agriculturists overseas have recently organised, are all based upon legal contracts between producers and their central selling agency, and there is nothing to prevent the rapid introduction of similar business methods into English co-operative societies. Already, in some societies, definite contracts between the societies and their members are made. An excellent example is the recent scheme for the co-operative sale of the hop crops of 1925-29 which the Farmers' Union has just succeeded in launching. It is based upon contracts between a new agricultural co-operative society, 'The English Hop Growers, Limited,' and its members, who constitute a large majority of English growers, whereby each member guarantees to sell through the society during the next five years the whole of his hop crop. This is an admirable start in co-operative enterprise by the Farmers' Union, and it may be hoped that the Union will succeed in introducing similarly business-like methods of co-operation among the other large groups of agricultural producers.

The Ministry of Agriculture, also, is showing activity along very useful lines. Its marketing and co-operation branch has already issued several valuable surveys of co-operative undertakings, and further investigations of commodity marketing are now being made.

The new chapter of co-operation in English agriculture, which began on the closing in 1924 of the Agricultural Organisation Society, has thus opened well, and it only remains for the mass of English farmers to play their part.* No experienced agriculturist will deny that if he starves his land or his stock his farming in the long run cannot prosper. Nature pays well for services rendered, but she never gives something for nothing. Business is equally businesslike. If agriculturists want their co-operative societies to thrive, they must feed them with business as regularly and as adequately as they feed their live stock with food. If English farmers will appreciate this truth, and will realise that through an efficient co-operative movement they can both finance and control successfully the marketing of what is already the best produce in the world, there is no reason why imported produce should not in future merely supplement and not replace the full output of English land.

What the full output is to be depends upon factors beyond the control of agriculturists. The intensity of production will vary with the pressure of the demand, and it is for the nation as a whole to decide what the demand shall be. That, however, is another problem. However large or small the *rôle* assigned by the nation to English farmers, there will always remain for them the same urgent duty, both to the country and to themselves, of placing their produce on the market as efficiently as possible. And a case has not yet been made to disprove the contention, increasingly supported by agriculturists throughout the world, that agriculture can seek most hopefully for successful marketing through the adoption of co-operative methods.

RONALD HART-SYNNOT.

OXFORD,
November 1925.

* As a connecting link between the English agricultural co-operative movement and similar movements elsewhere in the Empire, it is of interest to record that, as a result of a request made by a meeting of agricultural co-operators from all parts of the Empire which was held at the British Empire Exhibition in 1924, the Horace Plunkett Foundation in 1925 established at 10, Doughty Street, W.C. 1, the nucleus of a clearing house of information concerning agricultural co-operation in English-speaking countries. The Foundation has also moved to the same address its Co-operative Reference Library from Dublin, with a view to making it more accessible to agriculturists in the Empire.

THE GROATS OF JOHN O'GROAT'S

POPULAR tradition has played havoc with the history of the remarkable family of John o'Groat, whose oldest station in Caithness is a classic place-name, a landmark and a household word. Briefly stated, the popular idea is that the name of the north-eastern point of the county, 'John o'Groat's,' is due to an old ferryman of the late Middle Ages, established there on the recommendation of James IV.; that the John de Grot of the time was a Dutchman, and that he arrived in Caithness with a letter from the Scots king adjuring the 'kind' subjects there to do well by the newcomer. The rest of the tradition concerns the bluff habits of John and his sons, the interjealousy of the seven young men on the question of precedence, and the whimsical way taken by the old man for evading a direct settlement and yet giving satisfaction to them all by the device of an eight-sided room and table.

Much scepticism has been expressed regarding the truth of the old tradition. The journals of the famous travellers who visited the place have been searched—William Lithgow (1582-1645), Pope of Reay (?1710-1782), and Thomas Pennant (1726-1798)—without success. The sceptics, who had taken the statement of the Rev. Dr. Morrison in the *Statistical Account of the Parish of Canisbay* (published in 1793) as their guide, then demurred to the evidence relied upon by the minister, namely, the tale told him by the parishioner, who, in turn, had had it from his father some fifty years earlier. Nevertheless there was earlier reference than that to the house as a curiosity, and by two travellers who were probably more eminent than any of those mentioned above. Both Walter Macfarlane and Bishop Richard Pococke were at John o'Groat's in the eighteenth century, Macfarlane's visit being not later than 1727, while Pococke's letter describes his tour 'by the Parish Church of (Canisbay) and towards Dungsby Head to Johnny Grott's House, which is in ruins, and from a quondam inhabitant of that name, gives the appellation to this angle of Scotland,' and is dated July 1760.

The mere mention of the house suggests that it had been noteworthy for some peculiarity. Macfarlane, who was a careful and

serious antiquary, noting all that might prove useful to future readers of his *Geographical Collections*, is disappointing, but at the same time his is reliable testimony to the singularity of the house in question. 'The Town of Duncansbay is,' he noted, 'only remarkable for John a Grott's House.' He does not say how, but passes on to the place and the ferry.

This is the northmost point of the Continent and here's the common ferry or passage twixt Caithness and Orknay. Pictland firth is commonly repute to be here twelve miles broad. The fare or freight of a yoal or small boat from Duncansbay to Barwich in the Island of South Ronaldsay (which is the common ferry place on the Orknay side) is forty pence. But the passage or horse boat pay double or four pounds Scots. Here is the dwelling house of Grott of Wares, who has ane other dwelling at Wares lying four or five furlongs S.W. of the Church.

It is clear from this that the peculiar house of the older Groats was then either ruinous, or that the head of the house preferred a different establishment from that of his 'forebears.'

These two journals have been in book form since 1887 and 1906 respectively, when they were edited and published by the Scottish History Society, so that there is now no excuse for those who adopt the line of argument taken by the writers of earlier times, when there was difficulty of access to the manuscripts of Macfarlane and Pococke.

Those, again, who have represented the origin of John o'Groat in Duncansbay as due to the letter granted by James IV. to a Dutchman named Groat—a letter which the loving subjects in Caithness were supposed to read and act upon—have put an undue strain upon the educational accomplishments as well as upon the supposed loyalty of the somewhat rough and independent Caithnessian of the period. Ability to read was extremely rare even in the ranks of the barons and other privileged classes throughout Scotland and elsewhere, and would certainly not be assumed by the King. Even had such a means of introduction been taken, James IV. would have required to know the place or to have considered that there was urgent need for a ferry from Caithness to Orkney. So far was that King from knowing the county that his policy of placing sheriff courts in every county in Scotland could not be carried out in Caithness and the highland areas, owing to the turbulence of the communities there. The Norse-descended dwellers on the coast were not of a nature to permit a Dutchman to settle among them, especially as a paid ferryman. Every man there knew the tides and currents of the Pentland Firth as their descendants know them to the present day—a fact appreciated by centuries of shipmasters who relied upon them to pilot their vessels across the firth. Moreover, Caithness never had within its bounds a royal ferry

Why the tradition should have made of John o'Groat of 1496 a Dutchman there is no explanation. The alleged letter from the King is more readily explained by the charter granted by the Earl of Caithness to John Groat in 1496 of the ferry, ferry lands, etc., of Duncansbay. That charter is the earliest extant of the many deeds concerning the family of Groat preserved in Kirkwall. The stories that survived the ages of their house, their democratic habits, and convivial meetings are just such as one might expect to find among the neighbours of a remarkable family who were, for intelligence, energy and enterprise, head and shoulders above the rest of the community, who, by services to the earls and by trading, had acquired lands in Wares, Brabsterdoran, Skirsary, Latheron and Wick, where a piece of land on the north side of the town cross was long known as 'Grote's tenement.'

The fact that their first charter is dated 1496 does not imply that the Groats were only then entering into occupation of the ferry lands in Duncansbay, but merely that the charter-giving practices, that were in use elsewhere, were coming into effect in the Caithness *régime*. Possibly that deed was drawn up by John Groat himself, for John was not only ferryman, but factor and chamberlain to the Earl. That in itself was extraordinary, and, more extraordinary still, two of his sons, Hugh and Gilbert, entered the Church as priests, Hugh remaining in the county as a chaplain, Gilbert going south and acting as a notary, an office held of the Church.

John Groat, senior, was a pious son of the Church and gave an annuity of ten merks to the Trinity friars of Aberdeen. His son Hugh, the chaplain, could not well avoid being mixed up in some of the 'tribal' warfare, particularly when instructed by his spiritual overseer, the Bishop of Caithness. In that notable year 1529, when the Earl of Caithness, accompanied by many of his vassals, crossed into Orkney for the purpose of punishing the 'wicked' Earl of Orkney, losing 500 men of Caithness in the fight at Somersdale, the Churchmen of the county had engaged in an intrigue of their own, resulting in the slaughter of the laird of Duffhouse. For being 'art and part' in that affray, Master Hugh Groat was—along with the Treasurer of Caithness and the Vicar of Wick—brought to account, but the three were acquitted on the ground that they had been acting under the orders of Andrew Stuart, the bishop.

Master Gilbert Grote led a more placid life in the south, where his services as a writer or framer of deeds and as witness to the signatures of the contracting parties were in frequent demand, as the entries in the register of the Great Seal amply attest. He had quitted the homeland for good when he gave to his brother Hugh his patrimonial rights in the 'Twopenny Land in Duncansbay,'

and doubtless drew up the necessary 'instrument of resignation,' dated 1543, by which the gift was duly transferred.

Master Gilbert continued in the service of the Church of Rome after the establishment of the Reformation, his field of labour then being the Highlands, where in 1564 he drew up a 'bond of relief' by the captain of the Clan Cameron for Grant of Freuchie.

Perhaps it was on the advice of brother Gilbert that John Groat, junior, left Duncansbay and sought his fortune as a shipmaster in Dysart. He succeeded too, and in 1540 the queen of James V. commissioned 'John Groat, Burgess of Dysart,' to deliver letters to her royal husband, who was then in Orkney. The mission was duly carried out and payment of 20*l.* made for the 'fraucht of the schip.' Did skipper Burgess Groat on his return journey find time to slip round to Duncansbay and spend a jolly evening with his kinsmen there?

There can be little room for doubting that 'James Groat in Dysart' in 1597 was a son of the shipmaster. Had it not been for his exhibition of indignation and mode of requiting a worthy bailie's exercise of justice, we should have been entirely ignorant of James's activities in the Fife seaport and equally ignorant of the kinship of Bailie Kirkcaldy with Mr. Justice Shallow. James Groat, smarting doubtless under some indignity at the hands of the bailie, had assaulted him, a crime which the bailie meant to be punished by the Privy Council. His complaint set forth that

> James Groat in Dysert maist irreverently invadit and persewit the said Michael of his life with ane drawn swerd within the toun of Kirkcaldy without fear of God or regard had be the said James to his Hieness or his authoritie, the said Michael being ane of the baillies of the said toun. Further when the said James, for the said offence, had been tane and committit to ward within the tolbuith of the said toun, he had, with the assistance of certain insolent persons, broken ward and so escaped punishment.

Groat failed to appear to answer the charge and was 'denounced rebel.' (*R.P.C.* Vol. v., pp. 439-440.)

The Groats in Caithness were occasionally, like their kinsman in Dysart, in trouble, a circumstance not uncommon in many otherwise well-regulated families of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much of their trouble was due to the lawless habits of the fourth and fifth Earls of Caithness and long-standing feuds between these and the Earl of Sutherland and the bad Earl of Orkney (Robert Stewart).

The Groats of that time required to pit their forces against those of the Orkney earl, for that wily nobleman, who had conceived ideas of obtaining money by issuing licences for all arrivals to and departures from the islands, had taken measures to prevent the disembarkment of the Groats' passengers. The more imme-

diate results of that high-handed action were the fights that took place between his soldiers at Kirkwall Castle and the ferrymen. After one of these encounters William Groat and his shipmates were made prisoners in that castle, where they remained until set free by order of the Privy Council. In another *mêlée* in the year 1606 three of the ferrymen—Donald Groat of Wares, Walter Groat and James Steven, Duncansbay—were killed. The soldiers of Kirkwall Castle, all named in the indictment, were brought to trial in the Court of Justiciary on the complaint of the next of kin of the killed men. The diet, however, was deserted, probably because the real author of the crime was not among the accused.

As a retaliatory measure for the assaults upon them in Orkney, the Duncansbay men seem to have considered the presence of a Scalloway man at Thurso Water a sufficient excuse for inflicting punishment. In that instance the Orcadian four years later (1610) appealed to the Privy Council against his assailants, John Groat and William Groat in Duncansbay, John Groat in Gills, and Edward Ireland, who, 'armed with swords and other weapons foregathering with complainer at the Water of Thurso, most fiercely set upon him and struck off the thumb of his "ker" hand.' The usual decision of the Privy Council, that the assailants should 'underlie the law,' can have had no effect in view of the relationship that subsisted between the Earls of Caithness and Orkney.

On the traditional meetings in the octagonal room of the Groats the records are naturally silent. These must have fallen off with the decline in fortune of the several branches, a decline that set in in the second half of the seventeenth century. One indication of the decline is apparent in the failure to pay heritors' dues in 1662 by Malcolm Groat of Wares, John Groat in Duncansbay, Malcolm Groat, younger, Hew Groat and his mother, and Finlay Groat in Skirsarie. They were nevertheless able to lend support to Sir William Sinclair of Mey, who in 1672 had some financial trouble with the Lady Rattar, which he tried to solve by imprisoning the lady's tenants. In this he had the active assistance of David and William Groat, one of his staff in Mey, as well as two of the servitors of Malcolm Groat in Wares and one servitor of Finlay Groat in Duncansbay. The rather questionable power of the Lords of the Privy Council having been invoked, and Sir William Sinclair, with his son, and the gentlemen named Groat judiciously absenting themselves from the hearing, an order was issued 'putting them to the horn'—in other words, constituting them outlaws and their goods forfeit to the Crown, a sentence that generally failed of its purpose.

Whether or not the various branches of the Groat family ever really insisted on equality of treatment in their social banquetings

around the table at Duncansbay, there can be no doubt as to the pre-eminence of the Wares and Duncansbay sections. Malcolm Groat of Wares had in 1649 the distinction of a place on the small Committee for War of Caithness, and in 1702 his grandson, Donald Groat of Wares, and John Groat of Duncansbay were Commissioners of Supply for the county.

The last to hold the then flickering torch of the once great family of Groat was Malcolm Groat of Wares, who, in debt and sadly in need of money, parted in 1741 with the estates of Duncansbay and Wares and a number of pendicles near Stemster and Duncansbay to William Sinclair of Freswick, who, with his heirs and successors, was obliged to undertake payment of 16,000 merks to Malcolm Groat or his heirs and assignees, or to his creditors, for the debts and other burdens over them, while Malcolm Groat agreed to waive payment until he had made up a title to the lands in question. Sinclair entered into possession of the lands in 1741 and continued in them during the life of Malcolm Groat. Groat went to Kirkwall as a writer, and died in 1772, in great poverty, intestate and without issue. He had a cousin, Robert Groat (who was then a physician in Kirkwall), who, as nearest heir, raised an action of count, reckoning and payment against Sinclair of Freswick. That was in 1780, and before the action was decided Dr. Groat died. The suit was then insisted at the instance of his son, Dr. Robert Groat, also a physician in Kirkwall, who succeeded in getting judgment in his favour to the extent of 2478*l* 4*s*. 3*d*. The difficulties of all the long generations of Groats seemed nothing in comparison with those which were now to arise and give what the old Scots lawyers used to term 'a guid ganging plea.' Before the worthy doctor could pocket the sum awarded a fresh litigant entered the lists in the person of Mrs. Esther Henderson, who, claiming as the 'executrix and nearest of kin to Malcolm Groat,' raised an action against both Freswick and Dr. Groat for payment of the price. Freswick then brought in a process of multiplepoinding to debate the question of preference. The lady died during the dependence of the case, but left as her executor and residuary legatee Francis Emslie, factor to the Earl of Wemyss, who insisted himself in the claim. The result of the action was again in favour of Dr. Groat, whose position as heir was deemed preferable to that of the executor.

The last echo of this very involved and protracted case was heard in the Court of Session in 1819 on the question of interest on expenses, and once again judgment was in favour of the representative of the old family of Groat.

C. A. MALCOLM.

BIRDS OF KENSINGTON GARDENS

When Yarrell wrote at the outset of the Victorian age that close on seventy species of birds had been observed in Kensington Gardens the place was still a country park where nightingales sang, undisturbed by the recreations of an overcrowded London and by the present unceasing roar of traffic. It speaks well for the attractiveness of the gardens as a bird haunt that, in spite of all the changes since then, a naturalist could with a clear conscience say as much of them still. Even this year I have myself identified fifty-seven species in this limited area, considerably smaller than Hyde Park.

It is a peculiar distinction of the gardens that in the height of the summer they are poorest in birds, and in winter, when other places of the same kind are usually half deserted, most full of them. Among the species which put in an appearance at this season, either regularly or occasionally, are four gulls and at least six ducks, in addition to the continuously resident mallard. The lesser black-backed gull I have seen only once, an immature bird, over the Long Water; and the herring gull, though quite frequently seen on the Serpentine, constantly on the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, and on many coasts the commonest kind of all, is hardly less of a rarity. The common gull comes in small numbers to the Round Pond, much more regularly between October and April. It is a shyer creature than the inevitable and inescapable black-headed, keeping as a rule out in the open water in the middle. The black-headed birds by contrast crowd to the edge in greedy, clamorous companies wherever there seems to be any prospect of food. They are always hungry and always on the alert ; within a few seconds of the production of something to eat they can be seen rising from all over the pond and hastening to the fray. On their first arrival in October they are not only shy, but unskilled ; they seem to find difficulty in catching on the wing more than one tossed-up fragment in ten or twenty. After a few days they improve so much by practice that if the food is thrown well up hardly a crumb of it is allowed to reach the unfortunate ducks down on the water. They intercept everything with an agility which never ceases to be surprising in a bird of apparently

such a mediocre capacity for flight. Actually they are better fliers than they seem to be; when any especially tempting food is available (sprats or bacon rinds, for example) they will take it time after time from the outstretched hand so adroitly that the wings never even brush the hand with their tips, and the sharp-pointed blood-red bill is never felt as it closes firmly on the prize.

The black-headed gull is one of the half-dozen species which have enormously increased in Britain within living memory In the intervals (which on a wet or cold day are often prolonged) when no kind-hearted person contributes to their support these resourceful birds are not altogether idle. They have two means of livelihood in particular, one industrious and the other simply disreputable, which must impress any naturalist in London, partly because of their obvious cleverness, and partly because, as regular habits, they seem to be observed nowhere else in the country. The first of these is the diving habit, which has been the subject of so much discussion during the past two or three months. It is not properly diving, even in the sense that a gannet dives, for the cormorant submerging itself from a swimming posture and the gannet plunging down like a stone from a height both reach very considerable depths and are able to follow the twists and turns of their prey under water. The gull is far too light to dive in that sense; he plunges like a tern, but less skilfully, hovering a moment at 2, 3 or 4 feet from the surface, and dashes himself down, so that the mere impetus allows him temporarily to submerge. The wings are left fully expanded, and in at least nine cases out of ten their tips never disappear under the surface. Most observers make out that a total submersion is quite exceptional, but this is not my experience. It all depends on the depth of the water; if the object lies deep and the bird is determined to get it, he will make an extra effort and vanish as utterly as a cormorant for an appreciable time. A discovery which I made for myself is that this practice of diving, which has only been recorded a very few times outside London, can be brought about in this way. The observer takes some bacon rinds, or any other favourite food which does not float, and throws it in the Round Pond at a point where there are no gulls about. It is not so easy as it sounds to get the bait to the bottom, for if these birds suspect you of having anything for them they will shadow you and snap it up before it has time to sink. But once a handful of scraps has been sunk and the watchful gulls have located it they will salve the whole treasure under your eyes. By placing it sufficiently deep I have been able to enjoy the sight of six total submersions in about two minutes.

The disreputable habit of these birds is their piratical custom of hovering over the spot where an unfortunate pochard or tufted

duck is just coming to the surface, and so persecuting him before he has time to take a breath that he dives again and again, and in the end has to surrender whatever he has brought up to the harrying gulls. The same practice is adopted against the mallards if they seem to be getting an unfair share of the bread. By hanging threateningly over the possessor of a piece worth stealing, and, if necessary, dropping on the back of the distracted duck, the gulls levy an appreciable tribute from man at second hand.

The ducks, all the same, manage to do pretty well for themselves. Plenty of people are driven by the raucous voices and pushing manner of the gulls to revenge themselves by giving everything they have to the ducks, and their sleek bodies and glossy plumage show little sign of under-nourishment. The fact that all these wildfowl are free to fly where they will is one of the most wonderful things in the whole bird life of London. If the spirit moves them to fly across to the Long Water, or to St. James' Park, or to Lake Geneva, they have only to do it; there are no pinioned, mutilated wings to prevent them and to change them in a bird-lover's eyes from wild birds to the category of turkeys and buff Orpingtons. They stay in London because they want to stay.

The tufted duck has not to my knowledge nested in Kensington Gardens, although for two years now it has reared broods on the island in the Serpentine, and I have seen young on the Long Water which were far too small to fly. This handsome little duck, recognisable by its very dark plumage, set off in the drake by brilliant orange eyes and by white patches on the flanks, is the smallest and the best diver of the three kinds usually to be seen in Kensington Gardens. The pochard, though also a diving duck, is not so finished a performer, and the mallard, which normally never dives at all, is in London a habitual but distinctly an amateur diver. Like the black-headed gull, it may sometimes be induced to dive by throwing in something for it to fish up; the young birds dive very freely, but adults (both drakes and ducks) can also perform sustained plunges when they like. When the water is clear in the Round Pond the rare opportunity sometimes arises of watching all three species under water and comparing their different actions. The pochard dives with less finish than the smaller, slimmer tufted duck, and scrambles for crumbs among the mallards, frequently coming so close that the extraordinary red of his eye, which very nearly clashes with the rusty chestnut of his round head, can be seen to perfection. When these birds jostle one another at your feet in this way it is hard to believe that they are wild birds in the strictest sense, bred on a Scottish loch or perhaps some lonely inland water in Scandinavia, to which they will return next spring and rise in quick

alarm if a man shows himself within long gunshot. A solitary gadwall has also lived for some time, off and on, in the gardens, and he mated with a common wild duck this year, as he did in 1923.

A water-fowl of irregular but not very rare appearance is the noble great-crested grebe. It cannot stand the disturbance of the model yachts on the Round Pond and the rowing-boats on the Long Water, but it sometimes remains till noon if the weather is bad enough to keep those disturbers of its peace away. I have seen one in full flight over the Albert Memorial after the arrival of a Sunday morning crowd had frightened it from the park.

The land birds of the gardens are not, as so many people imagine, entirely comprised of starlings, woodpigeons, and innumerable sparrows. The most notable species, and also the largest, is the carrion crow, of which I am glad to say a family of three was successfully reared last season in a tall tree near the Round Pond, in spite of efforts (which I witnessed myself) to shoot the old birds at the nest—an unsportsmanlike and unjustifiable proceeding. Now that the trees are bare, the bulky nest is easily picked out; in May it was well hidden by leaves. The birds themselves are generally to be found either in Kensington Palace Field or in the part east of the Long Water. They do a good deal of harm, or rather what we call harm, for it really is of no great importance if a mistle-thrush or a sparrow meets its death at the hands of a crow instead of through the numerous other agencies which exist for the purpose of thinning the ranks. Men kill birds, not by ones and twos, but by the thousand, every day through discharging oil on the waters, using unguarded lighthouses, putting down traps and poisons, and in dozens of other ways, and yet every few weeks a sentimentalist who happens to have seen one or two birds meet the end which all must meet sooner or later in one form or another launches an indignant protest demanding that the 'murderer' shall be executed. There is another crow in Kensington Gardens, smaller and less majestic than the carrion crow, but, so far as the metropolis is concerned, far rarer, for except in the elms about the Dial Walk the jackdaw is supposed to have no nesting place left in London. The numbers present vary, but are always pathetically small. I saw about ten one day last June—never more than six at a time; but usually there are only a meagre one or two pairs, very silent and retiring, with none of the high spirits which jackdaws usually show. A hundred years ago at least three other members of the crow family bred in Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens—the raven, the rook, and the magpie—but now all are gone. The park is rich in thrushes. Three species breed—the throstle, blackbird and mistle-thrush; the ring-ouzel, which I have not myself seen here, has been ob-

served on migration, and both the redwing and the fieldfa are winter visitors to be noticed intermittently at this time the year. The redwings first reached the gardens this winter o October 16, and I first saw a fieldfare near the Round Pond o November 4—both decidedly early dates. The mistle-thrush i an unaccountable bird. It is common apparently from Octobe till June, and certainly breeds; but in summer it seems to leav the gardens, and at that season, when other birds are almos without exception stationary, may be found wandering in flock about the country—for instance, on the Sussex Downs. Th three resident thrushes are among the best and certainly th loudest singers in the park; the mistle-thrush and the throstl ought to be in full song by the end, or possibly the middle, of thi month, but the blackbird does not begin till February, or some times March. On October 31 this year I heard a throstle singin in low tones near the Albert Memorial, but the performance wa exceptional and was not repeated. The robin is not at all numerou and does not make his voice heard, and the dunnock (or hedge sparrow) takes even less part in the bird music of the park. Bot have at least the merit of beginning early, and may be heard thi month in the Flower Walk by the Albert Memorial or in th shrubberies at either end of the bridge across the Serpentine.

The warbler family is never well represented in the gardens but willow-wrens and chiffchaffs are regular, and often numerou on migration (a chiffchaff sang in Long Water sanctuary this yea so late as October 17, the day after the redwings came in). A whitethroat and a sedge-warbler both held out promises o breeding last summer which were not fulfilled, and the delicat wood-wren (on which Mr. Walmesley White wrote in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for June 1924) appears both on sprin and autumn passage. In May I have listened to the beautifu trilling song in the trees behind Peter Pan—this was early in th morning, and when people began to invade the park he fell silent and in September a very bellicose bird amused himself by chasin astonished sparrows about the group of trees by the Magazine He was confiding, and I watched him from within 3 or 4 yards The whinchat has been seen in Kensington Gardens, but not by me, though I have watched one as close as the Hudson sanctuary in Hyde Park. I have seen a stonechat in Long Water sanctuary on two occasions in autumn, only eight days apart, so that it might have been the same bird which had stayed and been unobserved in the interval. I have seen no other bird of this group in Kensington Gardens except the garden-warbler, a passage migrant only like the wood-wren. The wren, which has unfortunately ceased to breed here, invades the park in autumn in numbers which point to a considerable local migration. I have never heard him sing

in Kensington Gardens, although where he is a permanent resident he sings all the year round.

I saw yellow wagtails on passage over the Round Pond in May and over the Long Water late in August, and the grey wagtail is an irregular winter visitor to the Long Water. The status of the pied wagtail is dubious; I should call it a winter visitor too but for the fact that on June 15 last I came across a cock feeding a family so young (being still provided with only the most rudimentary stumps of tails) that they can hardly have been brought up far away. The whole occurrence is a mystery to me, for the pied wagtail certainly is not a regular nester, and except on this one day I never saw it between April and September. In winter it is not uncommon.

The swallow, martin, and sand-martin all occur on passage, principally over the Round Pond and the Long Water. In September the numbers are pretty considerable; in spring there are odd birds. This year I noticed some rather late swallows at the Round Pond—a pair on October 22 and two more on the 27th. All these were flying west or south-west.

Of titmice the blue and great do pretty well in the park—much better than thirty years ago, to judge by Hudson's account. The coal-tit seems to be a winter visitor: there is no serious reason why it should not stay to breed.

Even that does not complete the list of passerine birds. There are two flycatchers to add—the spotted, which is the only summer visitor to breed regularly in the park at the present time, and the much rarer pied, which I had the good fortune to observe in the trees not far from Physical Energy on August 26, 1925. It was in autumn plumage, in which the breast is a peculiar creamy tint, the colour of a faded letter. Except the white patch on the wing, most of the spring beauty has moulted off by that time. Finches include the inevitable sparrow, the chaffinch and the greenfinch. Last summer chaffinches were particularly flourishing, and they sang on into July. On the sunny spring-like morning of October 24 I heard the song three times delivered in the Flower Walk near the Albert Memorial, rather feebly at first, but the third time clear and ringing. Between June and February this species is usually silent. The greenfinch, I suspect, bred last season in the gardens—certainly it remained through the summer. It is not a shy bird, but one which has a great talent for getting itself overlooked in some places, though in others it may be one of the most conspicuous species.

The great annual migration of larks and meadow-pipits is one of the most conspicuous movements to be observed in Kensington Gardens. It occurs in March and early April, and again on a much larger scale in September and October and a little way into

November. All through the autumn period skylarks are to be seen passing west almost every morning, attracting attention by their characteristic flight note. They rarely descend, but I have flushed a pair off the grass at the place where the Kensington Volunteers play in summer near the Round Pond. The meadow-pipits when they alight are as tame as sparrows, for which I suspect they are almost invariably mistaken by the people who put them up. The last of the passerine birds to be mentioned is the starling, which for some curious reason seems to live a more natural life here in the heart of London than almost anywhere else in England. Here he nests and lives in the trees, which is the natural habit of starlings; almost everywhere else he has transplanted himself to the chimney-pots and buildings of civilisation.

The cuckoo, once a familiar summer inhabitant, is now rare, but one appears to have lived in the gardens for a clear month in 1925. At any rate, I saw one cross the Serpentine before crowds of oblivious people on the fine afternoon of June 25 and again in Kensington Gardens on July 30, and twice in the interval competent observers reported it in *The Times*. We have three British woodpeckers, and curiously I have met with each of the rarer species more than once in Kensington Gardens, but never with the commoner green. The repeated feeble 'pee-pee-pee' of the barred (or lesser spotted) form may be heard sometimes in early spring from the trees about Physical Energy; I last listened to it and saw the bird on Easter Monday. The very different, apoplectic 'tchack' of the pied (or greater spotted) woodpecker could be heard only last month, when a hen of this species, eccentric to the point of madness, appeared in Long Water sanctuary and excavated unaided a perfect nest-chamber in a willow stump about 6 feet above the ground. The persecution of sparrows and starlings was severe and unceasing; eventually the bird disappeared about November 2, but anyone who stands by the park-keeper's sentry-box on the path between the Fountains and the Magazine may still see the hole which she left as her monument in a group of willows by the water's edge. Swifts stay all through the summer, their numbers fluctuating from about one pair to about thirty, according to the weather. After watching them very carefully I have been converted from the idea that they nest in the neighbourhood; I think now that some breed in the suburbs, and one or two are simply non-breeders.

Hawks put in irregular appearances; this autumn, for example, there was a sparrow-hawk near St. Govor's Well on October 17, and a kestrel was seen in the gardens on October 26, and on November 2 and 4. On this first date it was seen to swoop at terrific speed past a grey squirrel perched on a man's shoulder, swerving aside at the last moment. The last I saw plunged with

feet extended and wings closed from a great height above the Speke Obelisk. The ringdove is common, but it is strangely rare to see one of the ordinary London pigeons alight anywhere in the gardens, though they often pass over. Turtledoves appear on passage in both spring and autumn, and the same applies to the common sandpiper, although I have only seen it myself in May on the Long Water. The lapwing, that curiously scarce bird in the London area, I have only observed once, flying over the Round Pond on a foggy morning. Pheasants exist at Kensington Palace, but they can hardly be called wild birds. The splendid heron, our grandest common species, probably passes over at a great height far more frequently than anyone suspects. But it descends in Kensington Gardens comparatively rarely, and mostly in the early morning; its extreme shyness causes it to decamp as soon as the first passers-by come to disturb its solitude There is no earthly reason why wild herons should not fish in the Long Water at all hours of the day. They are not shy by nature; their wildness is as much a result of the unchecked avarice of the British fishery interests as the confidence of the Round Pond pochards is the result of the bird-loving spirit in London. The heron is another 'harmful' bird because he eats fish; the fact that he is also one of the deadliest enemies of rats, mice, and water-voles is never considered. The proof of the pudding is surely in the eating, and if English streams were as rich in fish as those of the west of Ireland, where herons are allowed to flourish and are quite ridiculously tame, the meanest and greediest water-bailiff would acknowledge himself a fool to shoot them.

The richness of any place in bird life, whether it is a county or simply a fraction of a square mile, is so generally reckoned in terms of species that it is easy to overlook the obvious fact that it might more truly be reckoned in numbers of individual birds

The difficulties to be overcome in taking a bird census are certainly considerable, and the results finally arrived at should be compared not so much with the efficient counting of a highly-organised modern people as with the old Chinese census which gave a population of 28 millions when a poll-tax was imminent and 103 millions a few years later when it was proposed to distribute relief to those in distress. All the same, the consistent avoidance of the task of estimating bird populations in Britain is regrettable, for a bird census is not simply an academic exercise, but a very necessary basis for any clear understanding of economic ornithology and bird protection. American naturalists are far ahead of us in this respect. Kensington Gardens, it seemed to me, were, owing to their comparative isolation and other peculiar circumstances, uncommonly suitable for such an experiment, and possibly the description of this attempt to enumerate the bird

population may stimulate other observers with more opportunities to go out and improve upon it in their own neighbourhoods.

First of all a sketch map of the gardens was drawn and divided up into convenient sections, as long and narrow as possible, so that two observers with field-glasses, walking abreast, but not together, could examine every inch of them. Paths and other obvious boundaries were used as a guide. The postponement of the task till early November was made necessary by the absolute impossibility of taking a moderately exact count until the leaves were down. Where many trees are involved this is the ideal season for such a census, since it finds the birds still unharmed by frost or winter privations, and yet not too well concealed to be picked out even in the tops of the trees. To attempt a census in an area which one does not know perfectly beforehand is dangerous, since the daily movements of birds from one part to another, if not understood and taken into account, might result in numbers of birds being counted twice or left out of the calculation altogether. In the case of thickets and shrubberies it is advisable to know pretty well in advance the birds which have to be expected in them in order to make sure that none are left out; robins, wrens, and even thrushes, are otherwise very easily missed. It is also necessary to have a keen ear for the call-notes of the various species. But no precautions can alter the fact that the bird population is fluid, changing not only from day to day, but from hour to hour. That should never be forgotten in looking over the deceptively exact items of such a table as the following.

Census of the Birds in Kensington Gardens
(November 2 and 4, 1925).

House-sparrows, 2603	Starlings, 411
Black-headed gulls, 289	Woodpigeons, 241
Mallards, 240	Blue titmice, 37
Moorhens, 26	Blackbirds, 21
Great titmice, 19	Robins, 16
Pochards, 16	Skylarks (passing), 11
Chaffinches, 10	Tufted ducks, 7
Dunnocks, 6	Wrens, 6
Carrion crows, 5	Throstles, 4
Mistle-thrushes, 3	Coal titmice, 3
Greenfinches, 2	Jackdaws, 2
Gadwall, 1	Kestrel, 1
Pied woodpecker, 1	Pied wagtail, 1
Fieldfare, 1	

Totals: Species, 27. Birds, 3983

The population was very unevenly distributed. It was densest as a rule in the most frequented parts, round the borders, and on the banks of the Long Water (especially near Peter Pan), and most sparse in the 'back blocks' of planes, elms, and other tall trees south and north-east of the Round Pond. There were not thirty birds in the great section between the Broad Walk and the refreshment house east and west and the Flower Walk and Round Pond borders north and south.

The results of the census are so extraordinarily interesting that they have well repaid the labour of making it. The first point to be noticed is the enormous number of birds in the gardens, which are only 275 acres in extent. The density works out at over seven pairs to the acre (the United States Bird Census has ascertained that the agricultural areas of the North-eastern States have a bird population of only just over one pair to the acre, and in some parts there is only one pair to two acres or more). The reasons for this abnormal abundance of bird life in the middle of London are apparent from the composition of the population. The five dominant species numbered altogether 3784—all but 199 of the total; and of these the sparrow, black-headed gull, and mallard are almost entirely, and the woodpigeon and starling to a very considerable extent, dependent on man. If London were suddenly evacuated, or even if they were closed to the public for a few months, the gardens would only support about 60 of the 2603 sparrows, 15 of the 289 gulls, 30 of the 240 mallards and perhaps as many as 90 of the woodpigeons, and 100 of the starlings. The moorhens and possibly the wintering pochards might also suffer a reduction, and in the consequent readjustment the throstle, chaffinch, and one or two other species would probably gain ground. Taking as a basis a similar area little affected by man, the natural bird population of Kensington Gardens in their present state at this season appears to be somewhere about 500. If the vegetation grew up, or if part were cultivated, there would be a corresponding slight increase.

At the present moment, then, there are in Kensington Gardens appreciably over 3000 more birds living on the bounty of Londoners than could possibly exist there without it. From the unsentimental standpoint of economic ornithology the place is a vast open-air almshouse maintained by the daily voluntary contributions of hundreds of people.

Although lack of space forbids an explanation of the evidence on which these conclusions are based, it would be unfair to leave them to be taken wholly on trust, and these three general indications may be given: the conspicuous preference of the birds dependent on man for the most frequented parts of the gardens; the fact that water birds are seven times as numerous on the

Round Pond as on the larger and more attractive Long Water, where they are comparatively little fed; and the daily journeys of the sparrow population to the Fountains and other spots where they stand most chance of finding a charitable giver of crumbs.

The habit of feeding the birds has so far developed from a mere haphazard act of charity that if London abandoned it now six or seven birds out of every eight in Kensington Gardens would have either to emigrate or to perish by starvation. The birds have come to depend upon imported foodstuffs almost as much as the people. It is an artificial and unconscious experiment on our part, but the most magnificent example imaginable of the fulfilment of the sanctuary idea.

E. M. NICHOLSON.

THE PASSING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Perhaps the greatest benefit which the present generation has derived from its reaction against the Victorian age is its rediscovery of the eighteenth century —*The Guardian*, August 14, 1925

The eighteenth century is having its second innings again with a vengeance in music as in literature It is an interesting phenomenon, this revival of the pre-Revolution age.—*The Outlook*, August 25, 1925.

THE nineteenth century has come and gone. It blew up in the Great War of 1914. And the German Emperor, who more than anyone else helped toward that appalling catastophe, was typical of the age that produced him—at once versatile and shallow, well-meaning and irresolute, dutiful but disloyal, religious yet make-believe, mediæval and modern. In the nineteenth century two voices were first and last heard above the din of debate. The first was that of that amiable but ambitious charlatan, the chivalrous Chateaubriand. The last was the gorgeous rhodomontade of the German Emperor. In the Great War the nineteenth century signed its death-warrant. Let us in the retrospect try and count up our gains and losses in four directions.

I. The State

The nineteenth century on its political side opened with the Reform Act of 1832. That Act declared its disbelief in the feudal system and the Corn Laws. That system was in substance the creation of the first Christian emperor, Constantine. It was a Christian, or at least a Catholic, version of the polity of the Cæsars. For military supremacy Constantine substituted the rule of a hierarchy and of a hereditary squirearchy The village was henceforth to be, instead of the town, the centre of social life. This admirable system lasted till 1806. In that year Napoleon broke up the last remains of the so-called Holy Roman Empire.

And the reign of Democracy began. To the rule of the Few succeeded the votes of the Many. From government by the best we descended to government by the second best. Public posts,

in which needy but promising young men could place all their talents at their country's service, were now thrown open to competition. Education gave place to examinations. Aristocracy yielded to Plutocracy. The best henceforth were to be the best off. The result is mass production. To-day at any general election, in America or in England, a large part of the population has ceased to take interest in politics or even to trouble to record its vote. It has been well said that eighteenth century England could produce a gentleman, but nineteenth century England only a professor.

Now let us glance back for a moment at the eighteenth century. Why did it produce such permanent results in the lasting work of so many great men? In politics we had Walpole and Bolingbroke, the two Pitts, and Charles James Fox; in law, Mansfield and Erskine and Blackstone; in poetry, Pope and Thompson and Cowper and Gray, Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Coleridge and Scott; in painting, Reynolds and Raeburn, Opie, Gainsborough and Lawrence; in the field of action, Warren Hastings and Wellington, Nelson and Clive; in the Church, Butler and Simeon, Wesley and Waterland, Lowth and Warburton, Lardner and Paley, Horsley and Kaye; in history, Gibbon and Robertson and Hume; in philosophy, Coleridge, Hegel, Kant; in music, Mozart and Handel, Bach and Beethoven; in science, Cuvier and Newton, Lamarck and Laplace, Linnæus and Hunter, Watt and Hargreaves, Arkwright and Davy. What is the reason for the failure of supply to-day? In those days there was a real aristocracy. And an aristocracy involves (1) security for leisure and learning, and, above all, (2) responsibility.

Explain it how we will, these two things our nineteenth century, with all its talk about education, has lost. It was by the gift of a pocket-borough that the Duke of Rutland secured for the country the talents of the younger Pitt, who, without such help, had come out bottom of the poll for Cambridge! Lord Lansdowne provided Macaulay with the pocket-borough of Calne. It was for the pocket-borough of Sarum that the great Lord Chatham originally stood. This was an abuse. But was it greater than the abuses of to-day, when capitalists, like Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook, can control between them sixteen millions of readers of the Press, and when members of Parliament, without reference to the nation, pay themselves out of the public funds 400*l.* a year for their own services? Individualism was the danger of the eighteenth century; it ended in the despotism of Napoleon. But it is a lesser danger than Socialism; for in Socialism there is no responsibility. The Socialism of the nineteenth century ended in a war for which no one person or party was responsible. The German Emperor,

who fired that mine, was (technically at least) not responsible; for he was only the tool of a *clique*.

Let us now return to the nineteenth century. It began, as we have said, with the passing of the Reform Act in 1832. To the old society resting on a basis of agriculture succeeded the new society resting on the basis of industry. Free trade banished the Corn Laws. The town as a social centre displaced the village. At first the new democracy, mingling with the old aristocracy, gave to the age a flavour of enterprise. It was the age of new discoveries in roads, rails and steam. Coal became our basic product. A whole series of mechanical inventions placed England at the head of the markets of Europe. And the young Queen, who ascended the throne in 1837, bade fair to rival Elizabeth of glorious memory. Her political views were avowedly Liberal. Liberalism became the catchword of the century. Even Pope Pius IX. for the nonce became Liberal. Tests of orthodoxy for admission to the universities were gradually removed. The whole world was to become good by the natural process of 'evolution.' Immense fortunes of the Manchester school (made largely by 'sweating') created a new order in society. Birth, even in the highest walks of life, gradually yielded to wealth, genius to talent, merit to 'push.' 'First men got on; then they got on-ner (honour); then they got on-nest (honest).'

The last was a phrase of Disraeli. And he brilliantly represented the new order. Lord Palmerston had died in 1865, the last of the old English. In 1867 Disraeli lowered the franchise, and (to use another of his phrases) the 'leap in the dark' began. In 1884 Gladstone lowered the franchise further still. Ere long he advocated Home Rule for Ireland and disestablishment for the Church. Next came payment of members of Parliament. Then the House of Commons, by a vote on Money Bills, took away the supremacy of the House of Lords. To-day the trade unions have threatened the supremacy of the House of Commons; and coal, once the basic industry of Victorian England, is the seat of the trouble. This is the meaning of Lord Salisbury's cynical remark in 1890—'One thing is certain: the British Government has ceased to govern.'

Germany was the pole star of nineteenth century English politics, and by Germany has nineteenth century England been destroyed. If the twentieth century is to survive, it must have a real House of Lords to strengthen the hands of the King For leadership is a law of Nature even among animals. And since it is a law of Nature that in any walk of life only the few can succeed, then it must be a law of politics that only the few can govern. Sir Charles Walston has coined for the coming age a new word to express the new need—'Aristodemocracy.'

II. The Church

In 1832 the Church was in danger. Not only did the great Dr. Arnold think so. Lord Grey told the bishops that they must 'put their house in order.' And they did. An Ecclesiastical Commission sat and redistributed the prizes of the Church. Protestantism had almost lost the idea of a Catholic Church and seemed wedded to a theory of the Hanoverian Succession. Then Newman arose to revive the theory of an Apostolic Succession. That was, if we may believe the early *Tracts for the Times*, the first plank of the whole Catholic platform. It was, in fact, all part of the new romantic movement, of which Carlyle and Ruskin and Scott were pioneers, and which yearned wistfully for the feudal age which Napoleon had just destroyed and looked back to the Middle Ages as the ages of faith secure from the licence of democratic revolution. Keble's *Christian Year* had already (1827) recalled the Church to a forgotten air. Ritual soon gave a new grace to the renewed sense of Church Communion. And the Church was undoubtedly the gainer.

But the performance of the Oxford Movement, like its founder, has disappointed its promise. The very theory of Apostolic Succession, on which it is founded, is no longer credible as an historic fact. For this we have not only the name of Bishop Lightfoot as guarantee. Dr. William Sanday in his *Conception of Priesthood*, Mr. A. E. J. Rawlinson in *Foundations*, Dr. Headlam in his Bampton Lectures on *Reunion* all have come to the same conclusion: they confirm the opinion of Hooker and Andrewes that Episcopacy, date it as far back as we will, is not 'essential' to a 'valid' ministry.

> Where the Church must needs have some ordained and neither hath nor can have possibly a Bishop to ordain . . . we are not simply without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination.

Historically there has been a proved 'succession' of competent witnesses to the Church's faith. Of 'transmission' there is no historical trace. And, if there is, Cyprian's theory is the only instance, and that theory received no countenance at the time from Augustine, Eusebius, Jerome, or the Roman Church. The theory was a novelty. It dates *de jure* from the fifth century, *de facto* from the tenth, when Pope Gregory Hildebrand stopped the endless irregularities of ordination and 'wheeled' the Church 'into line.' On this point there seems to be no reasonable doubt. Dr. Sanday is here in conscious collision with Dr. R. C. Moberly, Dr. Headlam with Dr. Gore; and Dr. Cuthbert H. Turner, Dr. Gore's ally, seems to have yielded the pith of the whole contention in his able contribution to Dr. Swete's collected essays

on *The Church and the Ministry* (Longmans). The best restatement of the whole question occurs in the recent work of a young Swedish theologian, Dr. Brilioth, in his *Anglican Revival* (1925). It is commended in a preface by the Bishop of Gloucester.

In another historical sphere the Anglo-Catholics are hardly making good. Froude's theory of the English Reformation is a provoking work, based though it was on original research in the Hatfield and Simancas archives and on true sympathy with the contemporary verdicts of honest Erasmus. Dr. Brewer, Dr. Gairdner, Dr. Frere, Canon Dixon, and Bishop Creighton have tried as honestly to draw a different conclusion. But they have hardly succeeded, if we may judge by the first-rate expert work of Lord Acton and Professor Pollard (writing in deliberate antagonism to Brewer), of H. A L. Fisher, A. D. Innes, C. R. L. Fletcher, H. C. Lea, G. G. Coulton, and the contributors to the *Cambridge Modern History*. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were too violently individualist to have been other than Protestants. And the English Church, whether on its Catholic or Protestant side, to a remarkable degree reflects their vagaries. But what do we mean by 'Catholic' and 'Protestant'? They are not essentially, but they are largely, *political* concepts; and both are equally necessary coefficient factors in any Church's life. Catholicism and Protestantism respectively stand for Institutionalism and Individualism. In the Church, Order is as necessary as Freedom, the priest as the prophet, the man of habits as the man of moods. Athanasius stood for Unity of Church and State. His formula was: The Son is 'co-essential' with the Father. This became the watchword of Catholic orthodoxy. Luther stood for variety in national Churches as against an imperial State His formula was: Justification by Faith. This became the watchword of the Protestant Reformation. It is impossible for the Church of to-day to go back on these findings and disturb the landmarks of centuries. As Athanasius adjusted the old ante-Nicene theology to the aristocratic requirements of the fourth century, as Luther adjusted mediæval theology to the more democratic requirements of the sixteenth century, so it is the mission of the Church of to-day to reconcile her theological programme with the findings of true Science and true History. And never was the task easier than to-day.

III. History

The eighteenth century developed, under the ægis of Montesquieu and Voltaire, a 'philosophy of history.' The nineteenth century turned history into a science. Following on the lines of Wolf's prolegomena to Homer (1795), Niebuhr destroyed the legend of the early Roman kings and (by what Gibbon has called

'the divination of conjecture') rewrote the history of early Rome. Histories of other nations were in like manner rewritten with the help of philology. Menes, the first King of Egypt, was only another name for Minos, King of Crete, and this, in turn, was only another form of *manù*, the Sanscrit for 'man.' Ewald and Baur similarly transmuted into legend the historical records of the Old and New Testaments. (1) The Pentateuch was written long after Moses and (2) Deuteronomy long after the Pentateuch (which included Joshua). (3) Isaiah's later prophecies—though seemingly quoting the tenth chapter of Jeremiah—were supposed to have been by another hand after the Captivity. (4) The book of Daniel—why mince words?—was a Maccabean forgery of about 164 B.C. These were some of the 'settled results' of the Higher Criticism. Baur in the same way recast the New Testament to account for (1) a prolonged controversy between St. Paul's and St. Peter's view of the Church. This allowed him only (2) four acknowledged epistles of St. Paul; and (3) he post-dated to the second century the rest of the books of the Canon!

The twentieth century is in possession of sounder knowledge. The exhaustive researches of Harnack (Baur's pupil) and Sir William Ramsay acclaim St. Luke as the most accurate historian of the Empire. Harnack specifically confirms the 'traditional' chronology of the books of the New Testament. Assyriology has confirmed the historicity of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. The flood of Noah—universal only in respect of man, and, therefore, confined to the plains of Chaldea—has come down to us in every tradition of the human race. The name of Belshazzar has been recovered, and the hall of the very palace in which he saw the writing on the wall. The Greek names of three musical instruments invented in Ionian Greece were preserved in Assyrian and thence transliterated into Hebrew. Thus the very argument once adduced for the late date of Daniel is now an additional proof of the authenticity of the book. In the same way the classic past stands recovered. The coffin of Menes and the throne of Minos have been found. According to J. B. Bury and D. S. Margoliouth, Homer is no longer two but one; and Lanciani has shown the tomb of Romulus.

IV. Science

The triumphs of applied science are justly the boast of the nineteenth century. No age in history has recorded such conquests of man over Nature. To disintegrate the Atom—one of Nature's bricks with which she built the universe—into revolving electrons is the least of the miracles of modern science. The steamship, the photograph, the telegram, the telephone, the

gramophone, the wireless, the aeroplane and the submarine are only a few of the marvels of the century. It is in the philosophy, or rather metaphysics, of scientific theory that the nineteenth century has disappointed us. The old Protestant view of the world—based too exclusively on short-sighted theories which had come to be a sort of 'targum' on the sacred Scriptures—required too many instances of abrupt creative acts. It made no allowance for Nature. In the presentation of a new scientific theory of the universe an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a German contended for the world's prize: Darwin, Lamarck, and Haeckel. The first of these by his modesty made the theory plausible. The second left it doubtful. The third (who was a German) made it ridiculous.

It was in 1859 that Darwin's *Origin of Species* gave Evolution universal currency. From some original 'protoplasmic' element, resident in the waters and varied either by initial impulse or accidental sympathy reacting upon 'environment,' the present universe arose. There was no 'design.' For there is no such thing as 'cause' or 'purpose'; all is matter and motion. But all things came about through pre-established harmony or accidental affinity or the unconscious sympathy of like with like ending in (what Darwin called) 'transformation by descent.'

At this point there are some difficulties. First, for the historian. The theory is not new. It was formulated word for word, even to the pet formulæ of Darwin and Spencer, by the Ionic and Attic physicists of the 6th century B.C. It reappears in Democritus. It was known to Lucretius and Horace. It was based on no facts, but on the patient deductions of the conceiving mind. Then there come difficulties for the naturalist. Nature as a rule breeds no hybrids, and hybrids left to Nature are sterile. Moreover, according to Weismann (the latest 'pure Darwinian'), Nature transmits no acquired characteristics. In all this Darwin was quite honest He thought the geological record 'imperfect.' He hoped for new data. He made large draughts on the bank of Time.

Haeckel developed Darwin's 'wish' for Spontaneous Generation as his vital starting-point. But this Pasteur and Tyndall killed. And Depéret has made an amusing analysis (confirmed by Haeckel's frank admissions) of how many leaps the imagination has to make and how many embryonic parallels she has to fake in the twenty-three stages which the 'amœba' took in the course of becoming man. But further, there are gaps—not in the geological record, but in the continuity of the chain of life-forms. There is 'a vast gulf,' Huxley admitted, between the brute and man. There is a vaster gulf between the animate and inanimate, between the organic and inorganic, between the mammal and the bird. It was these mysterious breaches in continuity that made

Russel Wallace, Darwin's co-discoverer of Natural Selection, give up the theory.

Lastly, skulls of all ages have been collected to prove the simian ancestry of man. In vain; so thought Cuvier in France, Virchow in Germany, Agassiz in America, Owen and Lyell in England. Huxley stated the difficulty in the last edition of his collected essays. There are two conflicting tendencies in Nature which he calls the 'ethic process' and the 'cosmic process.' The presence of free-will in man proves a supra-natural factor in the 'ethic process' by which he is able to triumph over the 'cosmic process.' In a famous letter to the *Spectator* (February 10, 1866) he at length admitted the possibility of the miraculous!

A still more remarkable profession was made by Lord Kelvin in the Botanical Theatre at University College, Gower Street, Lord Reay, President of University College, being in the chair.

> Science positively affirms creative power. Science makes everyone feel a miracle in himself It is not in dead matter that we live and move, but in the creating and directive power which science compels us to accept as an article of belief We cannot escape drom this when we study the physics and dynamics of living and dead matter all around. Modern biologists are coming once more to a firm acceptance of something, and that is a vital principle . . . We only know God in His Works, but we are absolutely forced by science to admit and to believe with absolute confidence in a directive power—in an influence other than of physical, dynamical, electrical forces. Cicero has denied that we could have come into existence by a fortuitous concourse of atoms. There is nothing between absolute scientific belief in creative power and the acceptance of the theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms Is there, I ask, anything so absurd as to believe that a number of atoms by falling together of their own accord could make . . . a sprig of moss, a microbe, a living animal? People think that, given millions of years, these might come to pass. But we could not think that a million of millions of millions of years could give us unaided a beautiful world like ours —*The Times*, May 2, 1903.

The brilliant work of J. S. Haldane has carried us a step further still. A deeper experimental analysis of life is now displacing the mechanistic interpretation. And Professor Haldane points to a 'guiding' power innate in what was formerly interpreted as merely material. It is spiritual reality that is ultimately the only reality, and matter is but the fleeting garment of its self-expression. And now comes Dr. E. A. Burtt in his *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science* (Kegan Paul, 1925) to show that the complexity of man's nature requires some better explanation than one merely rational. Love, genius, beauty, virtue are facts of life which transcend intellectual analysis; whereas such phrases as 'law' and 'motion,' and the mathematical formulæ in which scientific terms are expressed, are but mental abstractions which have no real correspondence with objective fact. This is just what Buffon had already said so wisely and so well in the pro-

legomena to his once famous natural history. But in quoting Buffon, we find ourselves back in the eighteenth century once more.

SUMMARY AND REVIEW

Parts I. and II. The eighteenth century represents the triumph of too much Individualism—in politics Aristocracy, in the Church Protestantism. The nineteenth in like manner represents Collectivism, which in things of the State becomes too democratic, in things of the Church too Catholic. The twentieth century State will restore the balance in favour of an Aristo-democracy, or 'pick of the best in a democracy'; and the new Church will probably clothe herself, as Dr. Charles Sarolea prophesies in his brilliant Life of Newman, with a Protestant soul in a Catholic body. Part III. History has already been treated alternately as if it were largely a Biography or a Science. Tacitus and Macaulay have taught us that to be readable it must be also the work of a supreme Artist. Part IV. Science now frankly admits (as Huxley long ago did) her limitations. Religion professes to transcend Science as being the bearer of a revelation from God to man. But since God and Nature are one, and God is greater than Nature, it is clear that neither the old-time 'Creationist' theory nor the new 'Evolutionist' one holds the field. The whole world stands in need of a religion that corresponds to the findings of scientific fact. Bergson's Creative Evolutionism is not enough. The world can only be explained in terms of an evolutionist Creator. Huxley shall sum up for us the debate on this great question:

Atheism is as absurd, logically speaking, as polytheism. . . . Denying the possibility of miracles seems to me quite as unjustifiable as speculative atheism (letter to *Spectator*, February 10, 1866). Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and the evil tendencies of man may have come about, but in itself it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call Good is preferable to what we call Evil (*Evolution and Ethics*, p. 80, 'Collected Essays').

A. H. T. CLARKE.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PRICE OF COAL.

To the Editor, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—In your October issue I notice an article, 'Chaos in Industry,' by Mr. William Sanderson, in which he proposes certain remedies as a solution of our industrial troubles of the present time. In touching on the question of the cost of domestic coal he uses the following words:—

> 'In October 1924 the average price of coal as sold at the pithead was 20*s*. 6*d*. a ton. At the same time inquiry was made as to the average cost to the consumer at Newcastle, Swansea, Glasgow, and several other centres. This inquiry resulted in showing an average retail price of 50*s*.: so that the middleman's charges were about one and a half times as much as the cost of production. This shows either bad organisation or deliberate exploitation.'

Will you, I wonder, allow a member of the much-abused coal trade to explain the above and to show that the figures are completely erroneous?

First of all, as to the cost of house coal at the pit: 20*s*. 6*d*. is not the average pit price of house coal, but of *all qualities raised*. All collieries raise each week so many thousand tons. A considerable portion of their output is fine slack, rough slack, peas, small nuts, large nuts. Then there will be steam coals, kitchen coals, and house coals (perhaps a best and seconds coal). All these qualities are sold at varying prices at the pit, from as low as 2*s*. up to 40*s*. per ton or more for very best house coals. The average cost of *all* the qualities raised was 20*s*. 6*d*. in October 1924. (Incidentally, 18*s*. is about the average to-day) It is evident that the collieries lose substantially on their sales of slack and nuts, and they are naturally compelled to obtain a fairly high price for their house coals to enable them to carry on at all. Even as it is they are losing money all over the country. There is a small proportion of very cheap house coal which was sold in 1924 at, say, 20*s*. 6*d*. at the pit. There would also be another small portion of best house coal at 35*s*. to 45*s*. at the pit, but the bulk of the house coal sold would be (of medium quality) from, say, 22*s*. 6*d*. to 32*s*. 6*d*. Therefore a fair average for house coal in October 1924 is not 20*s*. 6*d*., but more likely 25*s*., for the whole country. I may say that I am the proprietor of two extensive coal depôts in Manchester, and my accounts for the last eighteen months show an average pit price of 27*s*. 9*d*. It is quite likely that this will be a fair average for the three towns mentioned by Mr. Sanderson.

Secondly, as to the average selling price of 50*s*. Is this correct? I have made the most exhaustive inquiries, and find that no such average price existed in October 1924. In both Newcastle and Glasgow (notorious towns for cheap coals) good qualities of coal could be bought anywhere at about 40*s*.; best coals were only 43*s*. 6*d*., whilst cheaper coals could be obtained from 28*s*. 4*d*. and upwards to 33*s*. 4*d*. and 35*s*. In Swansea the prices

are higher, owing mainly to its geographical position Best coal commanded 50*s*. in October 1924, but excellent qualities could be obtained at 35*s*. to 45*s*. In the three towns I found a few customers who bought absolutely the best coals regardless of price, but the bulk of the coal in Glasgow and Newcastle was sold at the medium price. In my opinion it is fairer to raise the average for these cities to 28*s* at the pit and reduce the selling figure to 42*s*., whilst for Swansea the average cost is more likely to be 30*s*. 6*d*. and the selling price 44*s*. delivered I should like to emphasise that in none of the three towns was it possible to find any single merchant selling his coal at such an average as 50*s*

It should be clearly understood that coal merchants generally buy about six to twelve kinds of coal, cobbles and nuts, and sell them to the public at various rates. Thus, if a coal merchant buys kitchen coal, he sells it at a low price. If he buys best house coal, he sells it at a higher price. I myself sell about six kinds of coal and nuts: my highest price is 43*s*. 4*d*. and lowest 37*s*. 6*d*., and my average for the last eighteen months is 41*s*. 9*d*. (all prices include delivery)

As shown above, my own margin between the cost price at the pit and as sold to the consumer is 14*s* per ton Out of this carriage is to be deducted 6*s*., leaving a gross profit of 8*s*. per ton. Out of this, of course, I have to provide for my establishment charges, that is, in addition to the ordinary wages for carters, such items as food for horses, veterinary services, coal bags, repairs and upkeep of carts, lorries, siding rent, office rent, demurrage, inferior coal and slack, stationery, telephone, stamps, clerical expenses, bad debts, depreciation, etc. Furthermore, I may say that, like the landlady, I have to make my profit during a certain limited season of the year In summer, for instance, the public do not buy house coal, and in my own business I meet expenses in April and September, lose substantially in May, June, July and August, and have to make a profit in the other six months. I might add that a very serious item in coal merchants' expenses is loss by short weight, from which there is practically no recovery, either from the colliery company, the railway company, or the factor, and in one twelve months I lost 156*l* on this item alone My selling price, however, shown above, is based on selling weight, and therefore the question of short weight does not arise. My own figures are typical of most coal merchants' businesses, and I do not suppose, after deducting carriage, there will be much variation between the gross profits of the merchants at Newcastle, Glasgow, and Swansea, and my own at Manchester

It will be seen, therefore, that the middleman is *not* charging 'one and a half times as much as the cost of production' He is not guilty of 'exploitation,' nor is his organisation 'faulty' There is no 'ring' of merchants; they live and do their business in open competition After twenty-five years' experience in the coal trade I can say with confidence that it is conducted on up-to-date business methods We are neither 'brigands' nor 'profiteers,' but, as I hope and believe, reasonable business men. Our trade is an honourable one with nothing to hide, and I am proud to be in it. If Mr. Sanderson requires any information I shall be pleased to assist him in any reasonable inquiries, but before he writes again to the Press on this subject, would not it be a good plan to make inquiries from the trade itself? He would save himself many absurdities, erroneous data, and faulty conclusions.

In fairness to our trade, I think this should be given the same publicity as the original article.

A. E. P. FURSE.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN QUEENSLAND.

To the Editor, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—An article by Mr. Meredith Atkinson, 'Australian Lessons for British Labour,' appeared in your issue of August 1925, in which references were made to the abolition of the Legislative Council in Queensland.

Owing to his absence from Australia Mr. Atkinson has probably not been able to look up the data on the subject, which were set out again in the *Argus* (Melbourne) of September 21 last. The facts are as follows:—

In May 1917 Mr. Ryan, the Premier of Queensland, submitted to the people the question whether the Legislative Council should be abolished. The result of the referendum was that 169,240 persons voted against abolition and 108,000 in favour of the measure. Despite this decisive vote, an attempt was made to induce the Governor (Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams) to appoint sufficient Labour members to the Legislative Council to encompass its destruction, but the Governor, in view of the vote of the people, refused to do so. When the Governor's term expired, early in 1920, the Chief Justice (Sir Pope Cooper) should have acted as Lieutenant-Governor under a dormant commission; but Mr Theodore, who succeeded Mr. Ryan, issued a special commission to Mr. Lennon, the Labour Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, appointing him Lieutenant-Governor. Less than two months after Mr. Lennon's appointment fourteen new members were appointed to the Legislative Council, though sixteen had previously been sworn in, and later Mr. Lennon, as Lieutenant-Governor, approved of his own appointment as member and President of the Legislative Council. In October 1921 a Bill providing for the abolition of the Council was forced through the Legislative Assembly; and with the aid of the appointees the Bill was carried in the Council also.

From this it will be seen that the Labour Government of Queensland deliberately flouted the wishes of the majority of the people, and by the irregular use of Executive authority forced the will of the minority on the majority.

I should be grateful if you would make the correction necessary,

Yours faithfully,

JAMES W. BARRETT.

MELBOURNE,
September 23, 1925.

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